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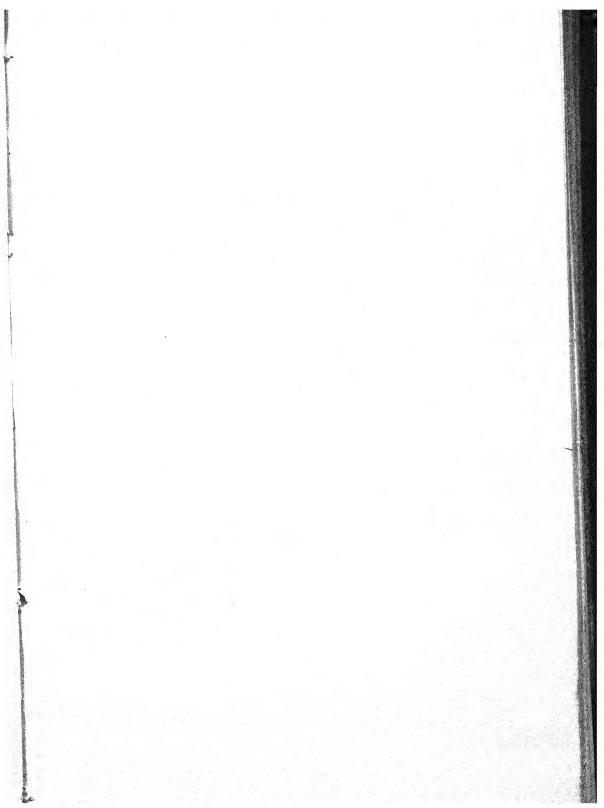
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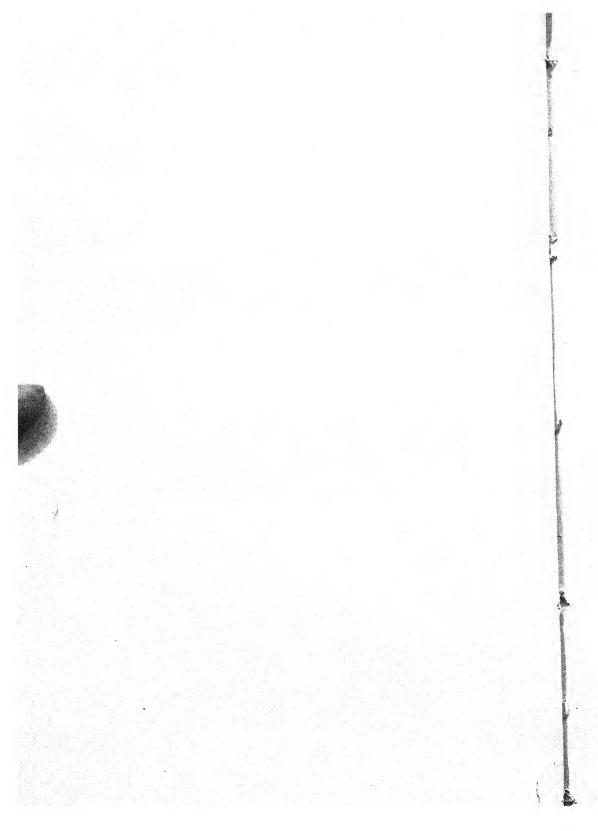
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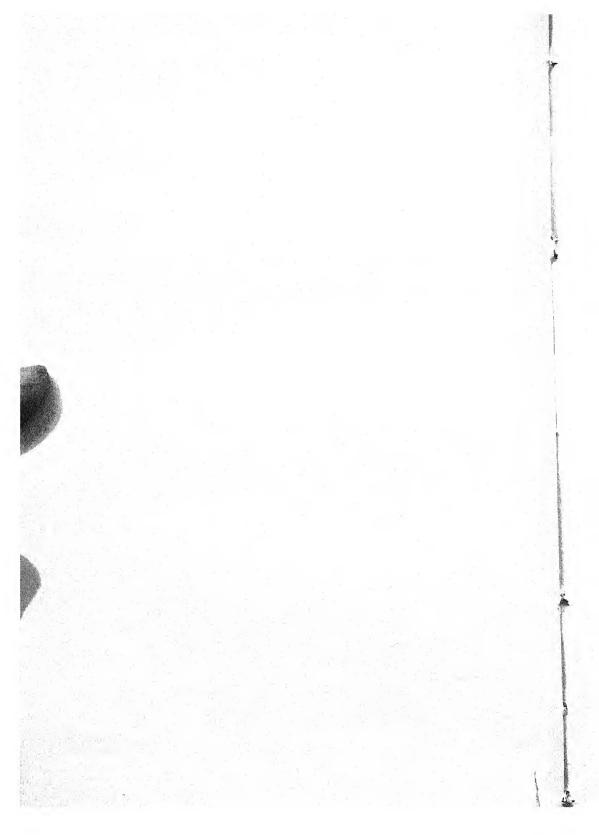


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[PARTS I-II.

HISTORY OF INDIA

c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.

[NĀGA—VĀKĀŢAKA IMPERIAL PERIOD.]

By K. P. Jayaswal.

FOREWORD

This work is divided in five parts: (i) India under the Naga Dynasty (150 A.D.—284 A.D.), (ii) The Vākāṭaka Empire (284 A.D.—348 A.D.) with an Appendix on the Later Vākāṭaka Kingdom (348 A.D.—520 A.D.), (iii) History of Magadha (31 B.C.—340 A.D.) and Samudra Gupta's India, (iv) Southern India [240 A.D.—350 A.D.] and the unification of the North and South; and (v) The Effects of Gupta Imperialism. This reconstruction is based primarily on the Purāṇas, and has been executed in consequence of a suggestion of the Editor-in-Chief of the Indian Antiquary [1932, p. 100]. The author acknowledges his thanks to Mr. K. K. Roy, m.a., for his ungrudging help in preparing this volume and for several useful suggestions.

The reader will forgive a few repetitions due to the plan of the work having overlapping periods.

July 23rd, 1932.

The period 180 A.D. to 320 A.D. is called the DARK PERIOD. I undertake the work with the prayer

'Lead me from darkness to light.'

K. P. J.

PART I.

India under the Nāga Dynasty [c. 150 A.D.—284 A.D.]

'Daśâśvamedhâvabhritha-snānām BHĀRA-ŚīvĀNĀM'

Of the BHARA SIVAS who had performed Ten Asvamedhas followed by baths of completion'—[Vākātaka Royal Copper-plate Deeds]

I. INTRODUCTORY.

RE-FOUNDERS OF THE IMPERIAL HINDU THRONE.

- 1. Dr. Vincent Smith in the last edition (1924), as well as

 Period regarded as in the earlier editions, of his Early

 blank. History of India declared:
 - A. 'So much, however, is clear, that Vāsudeva was the last Kushān king who continued to hold extensive territories in India. After his death there is no indication of the existence of a paramount power in Northern India' (page 290);
 - B. 'Probably numerous Rājas asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states...... but historical materials for the third century is so completely lacking that it is impossible to say what or how many those states were' (page 290);
 - C. 'The period between the extinction of the Kushān and Andhra dynasties, about A.D. 220 or 230, and the rise of the imperial Gupta dynasty, nearly a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history' (page 292).

In other words, the period is a 'blank' in the history of India as he put it at page 291. This hopelessness has been tacitly acquiesced in up to this time. After working at the materials available I find that none of the three statements cited above can be accepted and need be repeated in future. The materials are copious, as we shall see below, and for two

sections of the period, scientifically arranged for us by Hindu historians.

The statement that there was no paramount power 2 . before the Imperial Guptas is Revival of Imperial thoroughly incorrect and cannot be main-Power. tained for a moment. The history of the Imperial Hindu revival is not to be dated in the fourth century with Samudra Gupta, not even with the Vākātakas nearly a century earlier, but with the Bhāra-Sivas half a century earlier still. There is not a line about the Vākātakas in the history of Dr. Vincent Smith, nor a line about the Bhāra-Śivas in any text-book. About the latter I have not seen even a paper written upon in any of the historical or archæological journals, although the main history of both these dynasties is contained in well-attested documents on copper or stone, and as we shall see, fully set out in the Puranas, which is supported by coins. The miss and neglect is due to the fact that the editors of those records, Fleet and others, did not read the facts contained in the inscriptions though they read the inscriptions. And as Vincent Smith who surveyed the history of India missed the period, following the lead of Fleet and Kielhorn, the period was declared to be blank. But as a matter of fact it is unusually full as compared with many periods of Indian history. Dr. Fleet while translating the Vākāṭaka inscriptions even missed the prominent expression Samrāt, 'EMPEROR OF ALL-INDIA,' the title of

3. The Emperor Pravarasena I, of the dynasty of the Vākātakas, who was crowned, as we shall presently see, a

Pravarasena I, who assumed it after performing as many as four sacrifices of imperial sovereignty, that is, four

Vākāṭaka Emperor and the preceding Power.

asvamedhas.

generation before the Emperor Samudra Gupta, was the Emperor of Āryāvarta and also a large portion of the South, if not of the whole of the South, im-

¹ See Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 113, verse 15, on the definition of Samrāṭ; in vs. 9-14 the limits of India [as distinguished from Further India, § 149A] are given, and Samrāṭ is the emperor of 'all' (kritenam) India.

mediately before Samudra Gupta. And it was the position of that Brahmin Emperor, Pravarasena the Vākātaka, which Samudra Gupta took over from his grandson Rudrasena I, described as Rudra Deva, the leading sovereign of Āryāvarta in the list given in the political biography of Samudra Gupta published on the Allahabad pillar.

- 4. It was a continuation by Samudra Gupta of that imperial rule and paramount sovereignty which had been in the hands and the keeping of the Vākāṭakas for 60 years before Samudra Gupta, as is evident from the Vākāṭaka inscriptions and the Purāṇas. I say advisedly 'in the hands and the keeping of the Vākāṭakas', for they had inherited that paramountey from the BhāraŚivas whose dynasty had performed no less than Tenaśvamedhas on the Ganges—a repeated assertion of their imperial position in Āryāvarta. It is needless to state that the aśvamedhas were at the cost of the Kushan² Empire, That history written in the orthodox Hindu fashion of these imperial functions sums up the breaking-up of the Kushan Empire and the driving of the Kushans further and further north-west towards the confines of the Salt Range.
- 5. The Emperor Pravarasena got his son GautamîThe Bhāra Śivas.

 Putra married to the daughter of the
 Bhāra Śiva King, Mahārāja Bhava
 Nāga. This event was so important in the history of the
 Vākātaka dynasty that it was incorporated in their dynastic
 history and repeated in all the official deeds of the Vākātakas.
 There it is recorded that before this political marriage, the
 rājavaṁśa (dynasty) of the Bhāra Śivas had performed Ten
 Horse-Sacrifices on the Ganges which they had acquired by valour;
 that with the holy water of the Ganges they had been crowned
 kings. The Bhāra Śivas adopted Śiva as the presiding deity of
 their empire. The site of the daśâśvamedha of the Bhāra Śivas
 performed on the bank of the Ganges, seems to me to be the
 sacred site come down to us as Daśâśvamedha at Benares,

¹ See § 64, below.

² I have preferred the foreign form *Kushan* and have left it unpunctuated.

the earthly home of Lord Siva. The Bhāra Sivas issuing from Baghelkhand must have reached the Ganges through what we now call the Ancient Deccan Road terminating at the town of the Goddess Vindhyavāsinî [Mirzapur, U.P.]. The district of Benares was at one end of the Kushan Empire. It was far removed from its western seat. If a new power arising from the Vindhya hills were to reach the plains and if it went, not through Baghelkhand but through any part of Bundelkhand, it would reach the Jumna and not the Ganges. The site of the home of the Vākātakas also gives an indication: the ancient town of Vāgāt $(=V\bar{a}k\bar{a}ta)$ from which the $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}taka$ family derived its name, I have discovered in the northern part of the Orchha State in Bundelkhand; and the Vākātakas were evidently the neighbours of the Bhāra Śivas 1. There are other indications which I shall discuss in their proper places, in the shape of monuments, place-names, and coins which fix the seat of the Bhara Sivas between Kauśāmbī and Benares.

- 6. To perform ten aśvamedhas before or up to the time of

 Beginnings of the Bhāra Śivas.

 Beginnings of the Bhāra Śivas must have been in existence for about at least a century. To put it roughly here, their rise is to be dated about 150 A.D.
- 7. The real contribution of the Bhāra Śivas is the foundation of a new tradition—or rather the revival of an old tradition—the tradition of Hindu freedom and sovereignty. The national law-book, the Mānava Dharma Śāstra, had laid down that Āryāvarta was the God-given land of the Āryas and that the Mlechchhas must live beyond that and outside. This was their political and international birth-right ² prescribed by the sacred law of the land. It had to be vindicated. The tradition initiated by the Bhāra Śivas was kept up by the Vākāṭakas and was taken over by the Guptas and fully maintained by the

¹ There is a pillar at Durchā (Jāso State, Baghelkhand) which bears the inscription Vākāṭakānām and below it their royal wheel-mark. See appendix at the end of the book.

² For this ruling idea see the references cited under § 38.

subsequent emperors from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya to Bālāditya. If there had been no Bhāra Śivas there would not have come into existence a Gupta Empire and the Gupta Vikramādityas.

8. The history of those Bhāra Śivas is set in lapidary by the Vākāṭaka historiographer. Never so shortly, yet so pregnantly, was a history in miniature set in, as in these three lines

of the copper-plate 1:

amsabhâra-sannivêsita-Śiva-lingôdvahana-Śiva-suparitushṭa-samutpâdita-râjavamśânâm parâkram=âdhigata-Bhâgîrathy=amala-jala-mûrddhâ-bhishiktânâm daśâśvamêdh=âvabhṛitha-snânâm Bhāraśivânâm

'Of [the Dynasty of] the Bhāra Śivas whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva on account of their carrying the load of the symbol of Śiva on their shoulders—the Bhāra Śivas who were anointed to sovereignty with the holy water of the Bhāgīrathī which had been obtained by their valour—the Bhāra Śivas who performed their sacred bath on the completion of their Ten Aśvamedhas'

9. The last Kushan emperor was Vāsudeva who was ruling up to the year 98 of the Kushan era as evident from a Mathurā inscription.² Either in the last years of Vāsudeva (c.

165 A.D.) or on his death (176 A.D.) the imperial rule of the Kushans came to an end. The end of the Kushan rule synchronizes with the rise of the Aśvamedhin Bhāra Śivas. When they rise, the power they had to face and break was the imperial Kushan.

II. IDENTIFICATION OF THE BHARA ŚIVAS.

10. After a century of Kushan domination, a Hindu king
The Bhāra Śivas and
Purāṇic Chronicles.

in the person of the Bhāra Śiva king was
consecrated to Hindu sovereignty with
the holy waters of the Ganges. The
significance of this statement is that after an interregnum
of hundred years he became the first legal king. In
this connection we may recall the Purāṇic statement about
the foreign kings in India in those days, namely that they
were not consecrated kings: naiva mūrdhâbhishiktās te.

¹ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 245, 236.

² Lüders, List, No. 76 (Epigraphia Indica, vol. X, supplement).

Now, is it possible that the Purāṇas will fail to record these *Mūrdhābhishikta* kings, consecrated to the throne with Vedic hymns and Vedic rites, a line of lawful kings, who performed not one or two but ten *aśvamedha*s in the sacred land of the Āryas—an achievement which was not to the credit of any of the ancient dynasties of the Kali Age whom the Purāṇas have described? The Śuṅgas performed two, and the Śuṅgas are in the Purāṇic list of the Emperors. The Sātavāhanas performed two, and the Sātavāhanas have been recorded. The Bhāra Śivas, who performed ten, could not have been left out. And in fact, they have not been left out.

11. We have in the Vākātaka inscriptions one of the Bhāra Śivas named, and we have in that Bhāra Śivas were name that he was a Naga king-' of the Nāgas. Bhāra Śivas-ſi.e. of the dynasty of the Bhāra Śivas]-Mahārāja Śrî Bhava Nāga'. The Purānas describe, after mentioning the fall of the Andhras and their contemporaries the Tukhāra-Murunda dynasty [i.e. the dynasty we now call the Imperial Kushan], the rise of Vindhyaśakti on the Kilakilä, that is, the Vākāţaka dynasty in Bundelkhand, 'Kilakila' being a river near Panna. The Purānas in explaining the importance of the rule of the son of Vindhyasakti begin to describe the Naga Dynasty. The Nāga Dynasty arose at Vidiśā, the well-known seat of a viceroyalty under the Sungas.

12. The Purāṇas divide the Nāga dynasty of Vidiśā into two parts:

¹ To Rai Bahadur Hira Lal I am indebted for the information that the Kilakilā is a small river near Pannā. I have since ascertained, through the kind offices of Mr. Śaradā-Prasad of Satnā (Rewah) that one crosses it on the road Satnā-to-Pannā, about 4 miles E. of Pannā, and the river enters the town of Pannā. It still bears its original name. It finally falls into the Ken under the name Mahāur. Probably the entire table-land of Pannā was termed Kilakilā at the time. It agrees with the contemporary designations of other territorial units like Kosalā and Mekalā. [Since the above information I have personally seen the river and found it called 'Kilkila' on two tablets on its bridges in Pannā, erected in 1870 A.D., marked 'Kilkila Bridge'.]

- (A) Those kings who flourished before the end of the Sungas, and
- (B) those kings who flourished after their end.

We must recall here that the Matsya and the Bhagavata chronicle 1:

- 'Suśarmāṇam prasahya (or, pragṛhya) tam
- 'Śungānām ch=aiva yach=chhesham kshapitvā tu balam tadā.'
- '[The Āndhra king] having taken Susarman (the Kāṇva king) a prisoner and having destroyed whatever had been left of the Śuṅga power at that time.'

This statement would refer to the Śunga power which had been left in Vidiśā, their ancestral home. And as the Purāṇas here are dealing with the Vaidiśa kings, the statement about the Vaidiśa Nāgas coming into power before and after the Śungas, must refer to the Āndhra or Sātavāhana period when the Sātavāhanas become the emperors of Āryāvarta in addition to their being the emperors of Dakshināpatha, i.e. about 31 B.C.²

- 13. The kings before 31 B.C. in the Nāga dynasty, according to the Purāṇic chronicles, were:
 - (1) Śesha, 'king of the Nāgas', 'conqueror of his enemy's capital' (Surapura 3—according to the Brahmānda).
 - (2) Bhogin—son of King Śesha.
 - (3) $R \bar{a} m a c h a n d r a$, chandrāmśu, 4 as the second descendant, i.e. a grandson of Śesha.
 - (4) $Nakhav\bar{a}n$ (or, $Nakhap\bar{a}na$), i.e. $Nahap\bar{a}na$. It is noteworthy that the Vishnu Purāṇa omits this name from the list, evidently for the reason that it was not to be read in the line of the Nāgas.
 - 1 Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, p. 38.
 - ² J.B.O.R.S., I, 116:

Pushyamitra: acc. 188 B.C.

Śuṅgas: 112 years 157 Kāṇvas: 45 years 31 B.C.

- ³ Surapura may be Indrapura, now Indor Kherā in the Buland-Shahr district, where a large number of the so-called Mathurā coins have been found. See A.S.R., XII, p. 36 ff.
- ⁴ I do not read Chandrāmsu separately, as the Vishņu Purāņa does not read it so.

- (5) Dhana-, or Dharma- varman (Dharma, according to the Vishnu).
- (6) Vangara.¹ The Vāyu and the Brahmānda without naming him call him the fourth descendant, i.e. he was the fourth descendant from Śesha; probably Dharma (5) was the third descendant of Śesha.

The Purāṇas, after this, make the definite division from the next king, the Bhāgavata omitting the previous names altogether and the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa stating that the next kings flourished 'after the end of the Śuṅga Dynasty',² that is, after the conquest by the Sātavāhanas of Nahapāna, and their arrival in Central India and their conquest of the Kāṇvas and the Śuṅgas. These post-Śuṅgan Nāgas were:

- (7) Bhūta Nandi or Bhūti Nandi.
- (8) Śiśu Nandi.
- (9) Yaśo Nandi [younger brother of Śiśu Nandi]; other kings are left unnamed.
- 14. Before proceeding further we should notice here that the Vāyu calls these Vaidiśa Nāgas 'Vrisha'3—Śiva's bull, i.e. 'Nandi', with which the names of the kings coming after the close of the Śuṅga dynasty end. It seems that the title Bhāra Śiva, which was taken up later, is connected conceptually with the 'Vrisha' of the Vāyu and the 'Nandi' of the names.
- 15. There is a positive confirmation of the existence of A Nāga inscription. these post-Śungan Nāgas in the first century A.D. At Padampawāyā, which is the site of Padmāvatī, a statue of Yaksha Manibhadra was dedicated by some members of a public body in the fourth year of the reign of 'King Svāmin Śiva Nandi'.4

¹ This name, as a name, is traceable in a village-name Vangara [near Nāgaudh] in the Khoh copper-plate of Mahārāja Hastin. G.I., page 105.

² भूति[भूत]नन्दिसतसापि वैदिशे तु भविष्यति ग्राङ्गानां तु कुस्त्यान्ते। [Pargiter's PT., p. 49, n. 15.]

⁸ ट्यान् वैदिशकांसापि भविष्यांस निषोधत । (II. 37-360.)

⁴ Archæological Survey of India Report, 1915-1916, p. 106, plate LVI.

The script of the inscription is earlier than that of the early Kushans. The 'i'-vowel-marks do not curve and are straight; seriph is not developed. The style of the Yaksha image is also early. The script will place the record in the first century A.D. Siva Nandi would be one of the unnamed kings coming after Yaśah Nandi. As the Purānas generally omit the names when a dynasty comes under an overlordship, Siva Nandi was probably the king superseded by Kanishka. It is stated in the Purāņas that Padmāvatī passed under a ruler named Vinvasphāņi who is to be identified with the viceroy of Kanishka, Mahākshatrapa Vanaspara (§ 33). Śiva Nandi up to his fourth year was an independent king, for the inscription is dated in his regnal years and not in the Kushan Era. Under the Kushans the dating was universally in their imperial era. The royal style 'svāmî' is exactly after the fashion of the earlier Sātavāhanas.1 It was a term denoting 'sovereign' which was borrowed from Hindu politics, and which was adopted by the early Saka rulers of Mathura, for instance, in the Amohina inscriptions of Samvat 42 of the reign of 'Svāmî' Mahākshatrapa Sodāsa—a style which went out of use at Mathurā since the rule of Kanishka.

16. It seems that from the time of Bhūta Nandi when the dynasty was re-established as treated by the Bhāgavata, they made Padmāvatī their capital. A famous Śivaliṅgam called Svarnabindu was established there, and seven centuries later in the time of Bhavabhūti it was popularly alleged (ākhyāyate) that it had no human origin. The platform of the Svarnabindu Śiva has been discovered by Mr. Garde at Pavāyā.² An image of

 $^{^1}$ See Lüders, List No. 1100 for Pulumāvi. $\it Cf.$ No. 1174 for Nahapāna. See below § 26 A.

² A.S.R., 1915-1916, p. 100 ff. On the description of Padmāvatī, see Khajuraho inscription, E.I., Vol. I, page 149. The description (1000-1 A.D.) is worth quoting. It runs:—'There was on the surface of the earth a matchless (town), decorated with lofty palaces, which is recorded to have been founded here between the golden and silver ages by some ruler of the earth, a lord of the people, who was of the Padma dynasty, (a town which is) read of in histories (and) called *Padmāvatī* by people versed in the Purāṇas. This most excellent (town) named Padmāvatī built in an

Nandi with human body and bull's head has also been found there, and also a number of sculptures in the 'Gupta style'.

17. Let us take a series of coins which, in my opinion, belongs to this early Naga dynasty. Some Nāga Coins. of the coins are generally assigned to Mathurā. In the British Museum there are coins of Śeshadāta. Rāmadāta 1 and Śiśu-chandra-dāta. The script of the Śeshadāta coin is the oldest and belongs to the first century B.C. In the same series there are coins of Rāmadāta. These three kings, in my opinion, are identical with Sesha-Nāga, Rāma-chandra and Sisu-Nandi of this dynasty. Amongst themselves they are connected by their coinage—a fact already recognised.2 The coins of Sesha and Sisu are intimately connected with those of Virasena, as already pointed by Prof. Rapson (J.R.A.S., 1900, page 115). Vīrasena's coin, reproduced by Prof. Rapson. has a serpent rising over the throne, on which is seated a female figure holding a jar in her up-raised right hand, the figure being evidently that of Ganga. Another coin of Virasena, reproduced by General Cunningham, has a naga standing by a male figure. The Naga figures there, on the analogy of the coins of Nava Nāga (§20), complete the name as 'Vīrasena Nāga'. The Vrisha or Nandi, serpent and triśūla are prominent on the Naga coins.

18. The word 'dāta' in Śiśu cham. dāta³ and Śesha dāta, Rāma dāta, etc. may not correspond to 'datta', as hitherto held, but to 'dātri' or 'dātva', which is evident in Śiśuchandra dāta—meaning 'liberal,' 'sacrificer,' 'protector,' 'donor'. This is further evident from the legend 'Rāmasa'—without dāta—on some coins of the series.⁴

unprecedented manner, was crowded with lofty rows of streets of palaces, in which tall horses were curvetting: with its shining white high-topped walls, which grazed the clouds, it irradiated the sky; (and) it was full of bright palacial dwellings that resembled the peaks of the Snowy Mountain.'

¹ Mr. Carlleye found at Indor Kherā a coin of 'Rāma' (Rāmasa) without the addition of dāta. A.S.R., Vol. XII, p. 43.

² Rapson, J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 109.

³ J.R.A.S., 1900, pl. opposite p. 97, fig. No. 14.

⁴ A.S.I., Vol. XII, p. 43.

- 19. There are also coins of *Uttama dāta* and *Purusha dāta*, ¹ *Kāma dāta* and *Śiva dāta* (mentioned by Prof. Rapson as *Kāmadatta* and *Śivadatta* in J.A.R.S., 1900, p. 111), and also of *Bhava dāta* [illustrated in J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 97, pl., fig. No. 13, which, read by Prof. Rapson as of *Bhīmadāta*, really reads as of *Bhavadāta*] ². Against these there are the unnamed kings of the line in the Purāṇas amongst whom figures *Śiva Nandi* of the Pavāyā inscription who can now be easily identified with *Śiva dāta* of the coins.
- 21. Thus we have the following names of the dynasty against which we have coins of this connected series:—
 - (1) Śesha, Nāgarāja .. (coins) Śesha dāta.
 - (2) Rāma chandra .. ,, Rāma dāta.
 - (3) Śiśu Nandi .. "Śiśu chandra dāta.
 - (4) Śiva Nandi (from ins- ,, Śiva dāta.³ cription: one of the unnamed kings of the Purāṇas)
 - (5) Bhava [Nandi?] [one ,, Bhava dāta. of the unnamed kings]
 - 22. Whether the early Nāga princes, Śiśu Nāga and others, ruled at Mathurā or not we cannot say. For, Mathurā was the mart where coins from adjoining territories, e.g.

Padmāvatī, Vidiśā, Ahichhatra, etc., came. We have, however, the Purāṇic datum that they ruled at Vidiśā and that the first king, Śesha, was the conqueror of his enemy's capital. In view of the fact that the Brahmāṇḍa gives Surapura as the description of the town conquered, we would be authorised in assuming that he took Indrapura, now in the Buland-shahr district, a very important town in those days 4 where a number of coins of these early Nāgas have been found. We do find Śiva Nandi's rule extending up to Padmāvatī. In any case, the political connection of Mathurā with Vidiśā had been very old, and it was again

¹ V. Smith, C.I.M., pp. 190, 192.

² Cf. V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 193.

³ Described by Prof. Rapson as Siva-datta in J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 111.

⁴ A.S.R., Vol. XII, p. 36 ff.

firmly established in the later Nāga history. The presumption that the earlier Nāgas played a part in ousting the Mathurā satraps is not discounted by the fact that we have a line of kings at Mathurā with 'Mitra'-ending names in coins found there in the period succeeding the satraps, as these coins seem to be later.¹

The Vidišā Nāgas' Chronology. § 22A. Approximately the following table will represent the chronology of the Vidiśā Nāgas:

C. 110 B.C. to 31

B.C.

5 successions but four generations.

Sesha (110-90 B.C.)

Bhogin (90-80 B.C.)

Rāma-chandra (80-50 B.C.)

Coins)

(No coins)

(Many coins)

Vaṅgara (40-31 B.C.)

(No coins)

The time of the kings after 31 B.C.—probably henceforward at Padmāvatī—would be as below:

Circa 20 B.C.-10 B.C. Bhūta Nandi (No coins). 10 B.C.-25 A.D. Śiśu Nandi (Many coins). C. 25 A.D.-30 A.D. Yaśaḥ Nandi (No coins).

[The unnamed kings in the Purāṇas: under whom will come, c. 50 A.D., Śiva Nandi (from the inscription of his 4th year and from coins as 'Śiva dāta'); c. 80 to 175 A.D., comes the Kushan rule with the withdrawal of the Nāga kings to Purikā and Nāgapura-Nandi-vardhana in the Central Provinces (§§ 31A, 44).]

Reconstructing the list of the early Nāgas, we get the following kings:—

- 1. Śesha Nāga.
- 2. Bhogin.
- 3. Rāma chandra.
- 4. Dharma-varmā.
- 5. Vangara.
- 6. Bhūta Nandi.
- 7. Šiśu Nandi.
- 8. Yasah Nandi. [We know the relationships of the kings up to No. 8, § 13.]

¹ Vincent Smith, C.I.M., p. 190.

9 to 13:

Purusha dāta

Uttama dāta

Kāma dāta Bhava dāta

Śiva Nandi or Śiva dāta

Five kings from inscription and coins. (Order of succession uncertain.)

They cover about 200 years, from about c. 110 B.C. to 78 A.D.

III. THE SENIOR NAGA DYNASTY AND THE VAKATAKAS.

23. The Senior Nāga dynasty merged into the Vākāṭakas

Main Vidiśā Nāga line merged into a daughter's son. by a marriage, according to the Purānas, which is confirmed, as we shall see, by the Vākātaka inscriptions. After Yaśah Nandi, say the Purānas, 'there will be

kings in the line of Yaśaḥ Nandi' or in the Vidiśā line:

tasy=ānvaye bhavishyanti rājānas tatra yas tu vai dauhitraḥ Śiśuko nāma Purikāyām nṛipo 'bhavat¹

'In his line there will be kings, and therein he who was a daughter's son, popularly called the Infant, became king at $Purik\bar{a}$. In place of $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}nas$ tatra yas tu (dauhitrah), some manuscripts read $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}nas$ tam [or, te] trayas tu vai, which is a clear misreading, because the article 'te' before 'trayah' would not be needed, and tam would give no meaning. If the reading 'trayah' (three) be there, which I doubt, it will have to be interpreted as three lines of kings arising from Yasah Nandi and not three kings, in view of what the Vishnu says later, that the $NavaN\bar{a}gas$ ruled from three capitals, $Padm\bar{a}vat\bar{1}$, $Mathur\bar{a}$, and $K\bar{a}nt\bar{1}pur\hat{1}$. The

¹ P.T., p. 49, n. 23.

² On Purikā, see Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 262, J.R.A.S., 1910, 445. The location agrees with Hoshangabad.

^{3 &#}x27;Nava-Nāgāh Padmāvatyām Kāntipuryām Mathurāyām; anu-Gangā-Prayāgam Māgadhā Guptās cha bhokshyanti.' As the Guptas are qualified by 'Māgadhāḥ', so the Nāgas are qualified by the word 'Nava'. In both cases the Purāṇa does not give any number. It cannot mean here 'nine'. It may mean either the 'New', 'Later', Nāgas or the Nāgas of Nava's Dynasty. See § 26.

dynasty of Yasaḥ Nandī, or at least one line of it, lapsed and got merged into 'the daughter's son', popularly known as the 'Infant'. The Nāgas had, under the evident pressure of the Kushans, left Padmāvatī. We have the definite statement in the Purāṇas that Vinvasphāṇi ruled at Padmāvatī and ruled up to Magadha (§§ 33-34). Therefore, we may take it that about 80-100 A.D. the Nāga dynasty takes shelter, away from the trunk road between Mathurā and Vidiśā, into the inaccessible jungles of the Central Provinces (§ 31 A).

24. The Purāṇas, when they reach 'the Infant' in the Nāga

Nāga dauhitra and Pravîra-Pravarasena at Purikā and Chanakā. line, again take up the line of Vindhyasakti's son, about whom they say that he was popularly known 1 as Pravīra, 'the Great Hero'. The Vishnu expressly

states that the two, the Infant and the Great Hero, ruled together: 'Śiśuka-Pravīrau.' The Vāyu applies to them a plural verb, 'bhokshyanti'—a Prakritism for the dual.2 The Bhāgavata omits the Infant altogether and only gives Pravīra. It is thus evident that the Purānic historians are signifying here that the Infant succeeded to the territories of the Nāga king, his maternal grandfather, and that in the name of the grandson (the Infant), Pravīra son of Vindhyaśakti ruled. The joint rule is emphasised by the word 'ch=āpi' ('Vindhyaśakti-sutaś chāpi') of the Vāyu and the Brahmānda. The Vishņu expressly places the Infant first while the Vāyu and the Brahmānda imply it. The Vāyu and the Brahmānda give a rule of 60 years to Pravīra, at 'Purī Kānchanakā' or at 'Purikā and Chanakā's, the latter reading being, more likely, correct, owing to the presence of the 'and' [cha]. All this is fully confirmed by, and fully tallies with, the known details of the Bhāra Śiva and Vākāṭaka history as contained in inscriptions (§ 25).

¹ प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान्. ² Pargiter, PT., p. 50, n. 31.

^{3 &#}x27;bhokshyanti cha samā shashṭim purim Kānchanakān cha vai' where, it is possible to read, following the Prakrit forms Pulakā and Chalakā of Pargiter's e Vāyu, 'Purikām Chanakān cha vai'. Chanakā may be the same as Nachnā. Such transpositions of syllables are a common phonetic

25. According to the Vākātaka inscriptions I Gautamī-Purāṇas corroborated by Inscriptions.

Purāṇas corroborated by Inscriptions.

The description of the Emperor Pravarasena and father of Rudrasena I, did not succeed, but Rudrasena I both as the grand-

son of the Emperor Pravarasena and as the grandson of the Bhārasiva Mahārāja Bhava Nāga, succeeded; and with this marked distinction that he comes in as the maternal grandson of the Bhāraśiva first and then as a Vākāṭaka-quite unlike Samudra Gupta who comes in the inscriptions as a Gupta king first and as a Lichchhavi grandson next. In one of the Vākāṭaka copper-plates (Bālāghāṭ-E.I., vol. IX, 270) Rudrasena I is expressly described as a 'Bhāra Śiva' Mahārāja [Bhāraśivānām Mahārāja-Srī-Rudrasenasya]. The Vishnu Purāņa is here thus fully supported by the Vākāṭaka dynastic inscriptions. Then, the Vākāṭaka inscriptions mark off the period at the death of Rudrasena I and separate it from the next Vākātaka period commencing with Prithivishena I, his son and successor. This is, as we shall see later, because of the extinction of the imperial position of the Vākāṭakas with the defeat and death of Rudrasena at the hands of Samudra Gupta [§ 52 ff], who calls him 'Rudradeva', just as in the Nepal inscriptions Vasantasena is called Vasantadeva.2 At the accession of Prithivishena I the dynasty had completed 100 years with which the inscriptions mark off the previous period which is the period of independence: 'varshaśatam'= abhivardhamāna-kośa-danda-sādhana-'.3 There is '96 years'

phenomenon. Nachnā is an ancient capital in the Ajayagarh State where Vākāṭaka inscriptions and monuments have been found. [A.S.R., XXI, 95.] The name Chanakapura is known to the Jaina literature as the older name of Rājagriha [Abhidhāna-Rājendra.]. Chanakā will mean 'celebrated'. Very likely Kāūchanakā and Chanakā were alternative names. The Kalki-Purāṇa (III, 14, 2-21; Veṅkateśvara ed., p. 298) gives the name of the capital of the Nāgas as Kāūchanā purī, which was a secluded (guptā) hillfortress (giridurgāvritā). See also § 60 on Nachnā.

¹ Fleet, G.I., pp. 237, 245: भारिष्यानां सदाराज-श्रीभवनाग-दौहित्रस्य गौतभीपुत्रस्य-पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां मदाराज-श्रीरद्रसेनस्य

² Fleet, G.I., Introduction, pages 186 to 191.

^{3 &#}x27;[Who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons], whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years' [Fleet].

given to the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa.¹ The '100 years' of the inscription stands for what we will say to-day—'well-nigh a century'. The result is that the identity of the Bhāraśivas with the family of Bhūta-Nandi Nāga is established.

IV. THE KINGS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE BHARA SIVAS.

Classified under a tentative name [De]va we have a coin of the Kauśāmbī mint which is repro-Nava Nāga. duced by Vincent Smith in the Catalogue of Indian Museum, page 206, plates XXIII, 15 and 16. The coin is 'common in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh'. The first letter of it has not been read with any confidence uptill now. I have compared this letter with the letters occurring in the scripts from the first century A.D. to the third and I read it as 'Na'. The n is of the early Kushan type.² The coin is 'Navasa' and above 'Navasa' there is a figure of a naga (serpent) with raised hood. It stands for the dynastic name $N\bar{a}ga$ which is expressly given on other coins of the dynastic series (§ 26B). I read it as the coin of Nava Nāga. The palm symbol occurring here occurs on the coins of the series and on Bhārasiva monuments (§ 46A).

This coin has been a great puzzle to numismatists.³ Its large area point to the king having been an important figure in history. But his personality could not be discovered, his name and dynasty remained concealed. These things are certain about him:

² See the N's in E. I., vol. i, pl. opposite p. 388, no. 2A. of the year 15, no. 7 B of the year 35; cf. also in vol. ii, p. 205, no. 20 of the year 79.

¹ समाः षस्वति भूला [जाला], प्रथिवी तु गमिखति. P.T., p. 48, ns. 86, 88—
'On completion of 96 years, the Empire (see Part III, § 125, below) will pass away.'

³ Cf. V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 199: 'The Devasa class (separately numbered) is puzzling. The coins are common in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and a good specimen which I formerly possessed came from Kōsam in the Allahabad District. The upper characters look like numerals in the old notation. The reading devasa is due to Prof. Rapson. The first character, being peculiar in form, has been read

- (1) He was a king who ruled in the United Provinces.
- (2) His coins were issued from Kauśāmbī where they are often found and the coins have symbols and fabric of the Hindu mint of Kauśāmbī.
- (3) His coins are of the same series which Dr. Smith has published on Plate XXIII of the C.I.M., and called them 'unassigned' (see below, § 26 B).
- (4) His coinage bears affinity with the Vidiśa-Mathurā Nāga coins.
- (5) He had a reign of at least 27 years, as his coins are dated in the years 6, 20 and 27.1
- (6) By his coinage he is connected with Padmāvatī and Vidišā on the one hand and with Vīrasena and the kings of the Kaušāmbī coins on the other.

As we shall see in § 26 B below 'the Kauśāmbī coins' are really Bhāraśiva coins. Several of them bear names ending in '-Nāga'. This Nava Nāga of our coins seems to me to be no other than the king after whose name the Purāṇas designate the Nava Nāga or Nava Nāka Dynasty. He was the founder of the Nava Nāga dynasty whose official title was Bhāra-śivas. The letters on his coins being in form identical with those of the Huvishka-Vāsudeva records, we should take him as a contemporary of Vāsudeva and assign him approximately to 140-170 A.D.

§26 A. About 175 or 180 A.D., we find a Nāga king reestablishing Hindu sovereignty at Mathurā. It was Vīrasena. The rise of Vīrasena is a turning point not only in the

Bhārasiva Power at Mathurā, established c. 175-180 A.D. under Vīrasena. Nāga history but also in the history of Āryāvarta. His coins have been largely found in Northern India, almost all over the United Provinces, and also in the

Punjab.² They are most common at Mathurā where Cunning-

generally as Ne, but De appears to be the correct reading. There is nothing to indicate who Deva was.'

¹ V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 206.

² In the words of Mr. Vincent Smith, they 'are tolerably common in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab'. J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 876.

ham obtained about a hundred. Carlleyle obtained thirteen at Indor Kherā, Bulandshahr district. They have been also collected in the Etah district, as well as at Kanauj and at other places in the Farukhabad district.1 It is thus evident that he occupied Mathurā and ruled all over the Āryāvarta Doab. 'The commonest variety' of his coinage is the small rectangular piece 'with a palm tree on obverse' and a figure seated on a throne 3 (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 191). The palm tree, as already pointed out above, is a Naga symbol. It recurs, as we shall see later, in the architectural monuments of the Bhāraśivas (§ 46A). Another variety of his coinage is the one illustrated by General Cunningham in his Coins of Ancient India, pl. VIII, fig. 18, where a human figure 4 probably seated, holds a standing naga. A third issue is illustrated by Prof. Rapson in J.R.A.S., 1900, fig. 15, in the plate facing page 97, where a female figure is seated on a canopied throne and a naga rises from the bottom of the throne up to the chhatra (canopy) as if upholding the canopy and protecting the throne. It is the figure of Gangā as the right-hand holds a jar.5 There is a palm tree on the reverse flanked by a symbolic design of the same type on each side of the tree. The coin is artistically connected with those of Nava; the Naga figure is made to complete the title. It is dated like Nava's. The naga represents the dynasty and the palm tree, the royal emblem. In the issue where the naga rises up to the chhatra of the throne, probably a double significance is artistically intended to denote Ahi-chhatra, i.e. it is the issue of the Ahi-chhatra mint. There is also an issue of the Padmävatī mint of this king, with the legend $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja\ V(i)$

See also 'Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum', Pt. III, 128; Rodgers, C.I.M., Pt. III, pp. 32-33.

¹ V. Smith, C.I.M., 191. ² Ibid., p. 191.

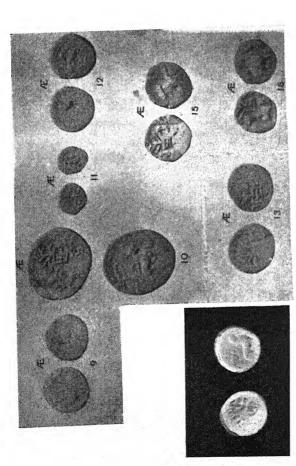
³ The chhatra or canopy part of the throne has been often mistaken for a crown. [Cf. C.I.M., p. 197.]

⁴ See Plate I herein. The reproduction of Cunningham is a hand-copy, not a photograph.

⁵ See Plate I herein. [The standing figure in the cast coin of the period in C.I.M., pl. XXIII, fig. I seems to be of Gangā.]

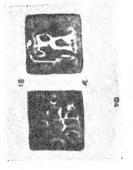
⁶ Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, pl. II, figs. 13 and 14.

Bhārasiva Coins.



[C, I, M. Plate XXIII.]

Traya Nāga (Indian Museum)

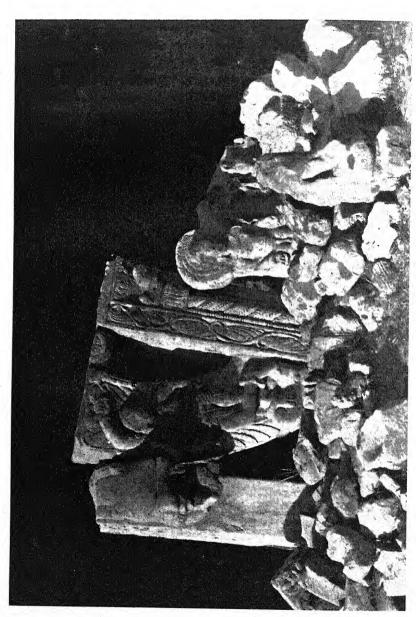


C. A. I. Plate VIII.



J. R. A. S., 1900, P. 97. Virasena.

Bhāra Siva Sculptures, cir. 200 A.D., at Jānkhat.



Probably a Makara head, bearing Virasena's inscription.

Lion-Capital pilaster, (Bhumara Style). Gaigā on Makara L Royal, emblem of the Bhāra Sivas > forming door=jamb of a Temple.

Two=handed God (Bhumara Style).

Indistinct Figure.

and a figure of the peacock which is the 'vāhana' of the god Vīrasena or Mahāsena. It is the earliest coin of the series of the Padmāvatī Nāgas [§ 27]. All these coins go back to the Hindu system, both in weight and shape and in the matter of symbolic language. In other words, Vira-Vîrasena's inscription. sena discarded the Kushan coinage. We have also an inscription of this king discovered by Sir Richard Burn thirty-six years 1 back, at a village called Jankhat in the Tirwa tahsil of the district of Farukhabad. It is now published in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, p. 85, edited by Mr. Pargiter. There are a number of broken sculptures and carved pieces, and this inscription is on the head and mouth of a sculptured animal.2 It bears the same royal symbols as the coin reproduced by Prof. Rapson. There is a rough representation of a tree, which on the analogy of the coins is to be taken as a palm tree. The side decorations are the conventional marks denoting the same thing as on the coin, but the significance of which is yet undisclosed. I regard the record as one of a royal foundation on account of the royal symbols. The inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of 'Svāmin Vīrasena' (Svāmisa Virasenasa samvatsare 10, 3). The other portion of it is too fragmentary to give the object of the record. It is dated in the fourth fortnight of the summer season on the eighth day The letters are identical with the letters on the Ahi-chhatra coin. Further, they agree in all their characteristics with the inscriptions of Huvishka and Vāsudeva, found at Mathurā, published in vols. I and II of the Epigraphia Indica by Dr. Bühler. For instance, compare the inscription of the 90th year of the Kushan era given in the plate opposite page 205 in vol. II, where the heads of the perpendicular lines in 's' and 'k' and 'n' are thicker. The 'y' in the Jankhat inscription is older in shape, but very near

¹ J.R.A.S., 1900, 553.

² These pieces are undoubtedly examples of the Bhārasiva art. Fortunately I could obtain a photograph of these. It was taken in 1909 by the Archæological Survey of India. See Plate II herein. For the photograph I have to thank Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, Director-General of Archæology. The pillar is a *Makara-torana* (bracket). The female figure is the royal Gangā.

the shape in the record of the 90th year. Compare also the slanting vowel-marks in this inscription with the same forms in the Mathurā inscription no. 11 of the 4th year of the Kushan era in line 3, words 'saha' and 'dāsena' and in 'dānam', line 3 of the inscription no. 13 dated in the 18th Kushan year, also those in 'ganāto' and the other 'to's in line 2, and in the inscription of the 98th year (kshune ganāto). Most of the characteristics of the Jānkhat writing being earlier than the inscriptions of the time of Vāsudeva and a few being contemporary, we have to assign the record to a period not later than the time of Vāsudeva Kushan.

1 Mr. Pargiter (E.I. XI, 85) has misread a passage on the date of Virasena's coins in Dr. Vincent Smith's Catalogue of Coins. Mr. Pargiter thought that Dr. Smith accepted the date about 300 A.D. for Vīrasena. But he missed Vincent Smith's distinction which he made between the Vīrasena of the coins of Cunningham and Rapson and the so-called Vīrasena of a later series. [The later 'Vîrasena' is really Pravarasena (§ 30)]. The result of this unfortunate mistake in regarding the two series of coins as one by Mr. Pargiter has been a sad one. Although he notes that the forms 'Y' and 'V' are found in inscriptions varying in date from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., and that of 'sh' 'not until the second century A.D.', yet to bring the age of the inscription in agreement 'with Mr. V. Smith's conjecture regarding Virasena's age' [which Dr. Vincent Smith never made about the Vîrasena we are concerned with] Mr. Pargiter would place the inscription in the third century A.D., and 'very possibly' in 'the latter part of it'. Mr. Pargiter never realised that Dr. Smith postulated two Virasenas. Mr. Pargiter put forward two reasons for assigning a late date, both of which are absolutely untenable. One is that the bar denoting the long 'a'-value shows a slight curve upwards, which he regards to be a Gupta tendency and not Kushan. His second reason is that the heads of the letters in this inscription are slight. ly wedge-shaped. Mr. Pargiter is entirely wrong both on principle and on fact. His principle for determining a later age of an inscription is to find out as to when 'later or new forms found in this inscription came into use'. I am not the first to question this principle. Dr. Fleet himself has questioned it by a footnote (E.I. XI 86: 'any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them'). The two grounds of Mr. Pargiter, assuming them to be correct on fact, cannot make a record whose letters admittedly range from the first century B.C. to second century A.D. and not later, a record of the end of the third century A.D. But the facts of Mr. Pargiter are also wrong. The slight

Virasena, like Nava, assumed full sovereignty from the first year of his reign. The Jānkhat record is dated in his own regnal years, while the universal practice under the Kushan régime was to date records in the Kushan era. As in Śiva Nandi's inscription, the title of 'Svāmin' is employed, which in the Hindu law and politics (Manu, IX, 294; VII, 167) means the 'sovereign-in-the-state'. Virasena thus reverts here also to the orthodox system, as in his coinage. He adopts the ancient technical title and ignores the pompous royal style of the Kushans.

The distribution of the coins and the different issues prove that Vīrasena ousted the Kushans from Mathurā and from the whole of the Doab of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā which constitute the present territory of the United Provinces. From the evidence of the Kushan inscriptions and the age of the coins and the inscriptions of Vīrasena it is certain that soon after the 98th year of the Kushan era, the new king Vīrasena occupied Mathurā, which we may date about the year 180 A.D. The date, therefore, of the Jānkhaṭ inscription would be about 180–185 A.D. Vīrasena had a fairly long reign. His coin reproduced by General Cunningham bears a date, which I read as year 34. Giving him a reign of about 40 years, we place him from 170–210 A.D. as the sovereign replacing the Kushans.

His predecessor Nava Nāga must have been an independent ruler in the eastern part of the United Provinces in the reign of Vāsudeva, and Vīrasena's 10th or 13th year would have coincided with the last years of Vāsudeva. He would have thus come to the throne about 170 A.D.

thickening of the heads of the letters are as early as the records of the year 4 of the Kushan era. (Inscription no. 11 in the plate facing page 203 of vol. II of the *Epigraphia Indica* and even earlier as in the Śunga inscription of Ayodhyā edited by me in J.B.O.R.S., vol. X, p. 202, and in the Pabhosā inscriptions in E.I., vol. II, p. 242, which everybody has accepted to belong to the B.C. centuries). His view about the slightly upward tendency of the 'ā'-vowel-marks, which one would find throughout in line 1 of the Pabhosā inscription given in E.I., vol. II, plate facing page 243, and in numerous other examples, is one which cannot be entertained for a moment.

¹ Dr. Vincent Smith was wrong in supposing it to be dated in the year 113 of the Kushan era [C.I.M., p. 192] and Sir Richard Burn was right when he read it as 13.

The intimate connection between his coins and the coins of the undoubted Bhāraśiva kings (§ 26 B), the Nāga emblem on his coins as if to complete his name, the period of his rise and his establishing himself at Mathurā, mark Vīrasena out as one of the earliest Bhāraśiva Nāgas of the inscriptions and the Nava Nāgas of the Purāṇas.

§ 26 B. We have discussed Vīrasena. The other kings may be taken up now. We know from the inscriptions that Bhava Nāga was a Bhāraśiva and the last Bhāraśiva king. Coins reveal a series of kings of his line, preceding him. They also prove that the family ruled in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh—the area of these coins, and that there was a definite mint at Kauśāmbī of these kings. These coins hitherto have not been assigned by numismatists or historians to any dynasty. Nor has their connection inter se been realised. I discuss them in full below.

This series of coins belongs to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They are grouped in section X, as the 'Unassigned Miscellaneous Ancient Coins of Northern India'. Its subdivision IV (C.I.M., pp. 205, 206) has the following coins 1:

- Serial No. 7, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. no. 9. Dr. Smith describes it: 'Peculiar object springing from railing. Br. na r. [Reverse]—Aśokan ja (?)'
- Serial No. 8, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. no. 10. A tree in railings with five branches or leaves, with Brāhmī legends in characters of the second century A.D., read by Dr. Smith as *Chīja*. On obverse: lion, railing above, Brāhmī writing, unread before.
- Serial No. 9, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. no. 11. A smaller coin, with Brāhmī writing, read by Dr. Smith as *Charāja* or *Charāju* (large letters).

¹ For the sake of convenience, I reproduce these coins on Plate I. The coins have been slightly reduced in size. I have had the advantage of obtaining their easts from the Indian Museum, thanks to Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

On reverse: one Brāhmī letter in field, read by Dr. Smith as 'la'.

- Serial No. 10, A.S.B. It is not reproduced by Dr. V. Smith. 'Tree in railings. Obverse: lion standing, a disc above, marginal legend read by Dr. Smith as 'traya nāgasa; before traya—'yana(?)'. Its symbols and shape are noted to be similar to the next coin, serial no. 11, plate XXIII, fig. no. 12. [I am reproducing the coin here.]
- Serial No. 11, A.S.B., Plate No. XXIII, fig. No. 12. (Tree in railing, Brāhmī legend, read by Dr. Smith as 'ratha yana gicha m(i)ta(sa)?' On reverse, 'lion standing'. Over its back Brāhmī letters which Dr. Smith read, with doubt, as 'ba', and a letter below which he read as 'ya'.
- Serial No. 12, I.M., Æ., Plate XXIII, 13. Dr. Smith described it: 'Tree in railing', 'thunderbolt, traces of marginal legend'. [This is really reverse, not obverse.] ['Reverse—Tree in railing, and obscure symbols; marginal Br. legend' (?) ga bhemanapa (or,-ha).]

[Just below the group of the above coins, under sub-heading (2), Dr. Smith has catalogued 8 coins which he, with doubt, read as coins of 'Deva' (pp. 206, 207, 199). They, as pointed out above, really belong to Nava (Nāga). These coins have the same tree in railings which is to be found on the coins abovenoticed and which he and other numismatists call the 'Kosam' symbol (Plate XXIII, figs. 15 and 16). The reverse bears sometimes the bull and sometimes the elephant. The obverse has a small hooded nāga above the name of the king.]

The following peculiarities of these coins are to be noted:

The 'five-branched' tree in railings is identical on figures 10, 12, 15 and 16, and serial no. 13. The shape and form of 12, 15 and 16 are identical. The size of 10 is larger but the shape is the same. The size of 11 is very small but the shape is the same. A look at these coins will convince one that they belong to the same series. Further, all these coins are dated.

Serial No. 10, not reproduced by Dr. Smith, has been studied by me. I have examined casts of the coin. The reading traya nāgasa, about which Dr. Smith was certain, is clear and correct.1 I reproduce this coin from a cast. In photographing, it has become slightly reduced. Its real size is just the same as of the serial no. 12, plate XXIII, fig. 13 of Dr. Smith. It has the same tree-symbol as the others. Tra begins near the bottom of the railing. There are no letters before it. There might have been a figure-symbol there, but I am not certain about it. What Dr. Smith read as sa in Nāgasa is probably sug. Over the lion, on reverse, sun and moon [not 'disc'] are in relief. Its great value lies in the fact that it establishes the Nāga coinage of these issues of the United Provinces. About the findspot of the 'Deva' [cor. Nava] series, Dr. Vincent Smith has given his opinion that they evidently belong to the Kosam mint, as a coin of that series he received from Kauśāmbī, and the particular tree-symbol is known to be connected with the Kauśāmbī mintage. I now give my reading of the published coins of the series.

Serial nos. 8 and 9 [Pl.-figs. 10 and 11] bear the same name. They read *Charaja*. The letters on no. 8 read *Charaja*; the 'ra' being between 'cha' and 'ja' was missed by Dr. Smith on account its being finer than the other letters. The second line on the obverse of this coin (Plate XXIII, fig. 10) reads nāgaśa; and above the lion (reverse) there are the figure-symbols for 20, 8 (28)². It is thus the coin of Charja Nāga dated in his 28th year. *Chara* is a name of Mangala, i.e. Mars.

Serial no. 11 (Plate-figure no. 12) reads '[Śri] Haya-Nāga-śa, 20, 10'. What Dr. Smith read as 'ra', taking it to be a perpendicular stroke, is probably part of Ś[ri]. What he read as 'tha' is really a 'ha' and his ' $n\bar{a}gi$ ' is ' $n\bar{a}ga$ '. What he read as 'cha' I read as the figure for 20. His 'ma' stands for the figure '10'. There is no 'ta' and 'sa' about which

¹ I have to thank Mr. N. Majumdar of the Indian Museum for the casts of this coin and of Serial no. 12 of C.I.M., p. 206. The letter Tra is clear on the cast, though not in my photograph.

² There is a fragmentary letter before 20, probably sa=year.

he himself was doubtful; a part of the foundation of the railings was supposed by Dr. Smith to be writing. On the top of the reverse side, what Dr. Smith read doubtfully as 'ba' and ya on its top is the taurine symbol. There is no letter below the animal. Dr. Smith's has the reverse upside down. The whole legend is: [Si] Haya-Nāgaśa; 30.

Here we should take the coin of the smaller denomination, Serial no. 7, plate XXIII, fig. no. 9. Dr. Smith read only one letter—na on the obverse, and one letter on the reverse as Aśokan ja. The so-called Aśokan ja is the figure-symbol for 6, and it is the date. The obverse reads sa ya ha. The legend reads in the reverse way—a feature not unknown on coins and seals. It has to be read from the right beginning with ha. It is Hayasa [=Haya- $N\bar{a}ga$'s]. It should be compared with the smaller coin of Charaja for its small size, with which it agrees.

The small coin of 'Charaja' has on its reverse a date. Dr. Smith read it as 'la'. I read it as the symbol-figure 30. The coin is of a smaller denomination and was struck after his bigger coin.

Serial no. 12, [plate XXIII, fig. no. 13]: I read on the obverse [misdescribed by Smith as reverse]: $[\dot{S}ri] Ba[r]hinasa$; the left-side leaves of the tree are combined with the tail of a peacock, i.e. looked at from the bottom they are branches, turning the coin upside down the branches become the tail of the peacock. The peacock represents the name of the king [Barhina]. The reverse bears the same tree and a legend which is partially worn out; I read from a cast: $[N\bar{a}]ga[sa]$. What Dr. Smith took as vajra has probably the symbol for 7 at the bottom of a taurine symbol.

We have thus four kings after Nava Nāga and Vīrasena, namely, Haya Nāga who ruled for 30 years or more, Charja Nāga who also ruled for 30 years or more, Barhina Nāga (7 years), and Traya Nāga whose years we do not yet know. The script of the coin of Haya Nāga is the earliest and is referable to the period of Vīrasena. He should be placed immediately after Vīrasena, i.e. c. 210 A.D. It should be noted that the coins of all these kings bear dates and the palm tree, which, according to Prof. Rapson, is also on the coin of Vīrasena

and which I have identified with the tree-symbol in his inscription. The tree is essentially the same as on these Bhāraśiva coins. Giving the latter four kings 80 years after 210 A.D. (Vīrasena) we get approximately their date as 210–290 A.D. Some of these kings evidently had long reigns; probably some younger sons succeeded as in the case of the imperial Guptas. The date for Bhava Nāga, c. 300 A.D., I have assigned on the considerations of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta chronology [§ 67, 68]. Bhava Nāga was a contemporary of Pravarasena I, who was an elder contemporary of Samudra Gupta. Thus the dates for these kings as allotted here receive an indirect corroboration from the date of Bhava Nāga.

The Nava Nāgas of the main line or the Bhāraśivas may be listed as follows on the consideration of the lettering on their coins and their artistic connection *inter se*:

[c. 140-170 A.D.]	(1) Nava [Nāga]	[coins]	ruled for 27 years
			or more.

[c. 290-315 A.D.] (7) Bhava Nāga .. [inscriptions] ..

This agrees fully with the Purāṇas which give 7 successions to the Nava Nāgas.¹ We shall now take up the subsidiary dynasties of the Nava Nāgas at Padmāvatī and other centres and the question of the seat of the senior, the Bhāraśiva, line.

The period of the Kushan imperial rule is of about a century. This is to be gathered from the Kushan inscriptions at Mathurā running up to the 98th year of their era which falls under the reign of Vāsudeva and

¹ Nāgā bhokshyanti sapta vai—V., Br.; PT., 53.

after which we get no date for Vāsudeva.1 The Bhāraśivas reissuing from the jungles of Hoshangabad and Jubalpur, seem to have reached the Ganges through Baghelkhand. The place where the road from Baghelkhand brings one to the Ganges is the old fort of Kantit² between the towns of Mirzapur and the Goddess Vindhyavāsinī or modern Vindhyāchal. This Kantit seems to represent the Kanti-puri of the Vishnu. I found in the fort on a stone pillar-slab the name Kānti in modern Devanāgarī. It is a large mud fort, about a mile long, on the Ganges, marked with several pieces of Gupta sculpture³ and a big stepped well. It is now in the zemindari of the Rajas of Kantit who are the direct descendants of the Gāhadwāla kings of Kanauj and Benares. The fort was destroved in Muhammadan times and the Raja's seat was removed into the neighbouring hills at Bijayapur and Manda where the family, now in two branches, reside. The local tradition at Kantit is that long before the 'Gaharwars' the fort belonged originally to the Bhar kings. The 'Bhar' kings here are evidently a corruption of the 'Bhāraśiva' kings, and not the Bhar tribe of whose rule in Mirzapur-Vindhyachal there is no evidence. The same tradition is repeated about the 'Bhar Deul,' 4 once a magnificent Siva's temple covered all over with the figures of Naga [Serpent-] kings, built near Maughat in the Vindhya hills, 25 miles to W.S.-W. of Allahabad. It is in the region of Bhārahut 5 (=Bhāra-bhukti), 'Bhāra Province'. We have no historical fact proving the existence of a rule of the aboriginal Bhars in historical times in the district of Mirzapur,

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 311, Lüders, *List*, nos. 76-77, E.I., X, App., p. 8. The *Rāja-Tarangin* (C.I., 169-172) also gives only three generations to the Turushka rule in Kashmir: Hushka (Huvishka) Jushka (Vāsishka) and Kanishka, put in an order from the last, backwards.

² See A.S.I., XXI, 103 ff. on Kantit in Muhammadan times.

³ There is a characteristic Gupta statue of Sūrya, about 7 ft. in height, there. It is worshipped at present as Bhairava guarding the fort gate.

⁴ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, plates 3 and 4, description at pages 4-7.

⁵ I heard the name pronounced as *Bhārahut* and *Bharahut*. Its original will be *Bhāra-bhukti*, 'the Bhāra Province'.

Allahabad and the neighbourhood. The tradition stands explained if it is taken to refer to the Bhāraśiva dynasty. The name Bhar deul which is prominently associated with Nāgas in sculpture and in popular tradition recorded by Kittoe in whose time it was called the 'Temple of Karkot Nāg,' evidently supports the view that the 'Bhar' here stands for Bhāra Śiva. The place names Nāgaudh¹ and Nāgadeya mark the occupation by the Nāga kings of Baghelkhand, and so does Bhārahut and also probably Bhar deul.²

The situation of Kantit³ admirably suits the Bhāraśiva history for their descent on the Ganges from Baghelkhand. The Vishnu Purāṇa has:—

'Nava-nāgā Padmāvatyām Kāntipuryām Mathurāyam'

It is significant that the other Purāṇas omit Kāntipurī. The reason for this may be the absorption of the line of Bhava Nāga into the Vākātaka line. In place of the 'Bhārasivas' the Purāṇic designation is the 'Nava Nāgas'. The first, the Vidiśā Nāgas, i.e. Śesha to Vaṅgara, are the earlier Nāgas; from Bhūta Nandi, when the style of the name changes to Nandi ('Vṛisha'), then or certainly at their re-rise about 150–170 A.D., they are the Bhāraśivas. The coins of King Nava and his successors are marked off from the earlier coins of the Nāgas by dropping 'dāta' and adopting 'Nāga'. The Bhāgavata vata does not mention the Nava Nāgas but concerns itself with the princes from Bhūta Nandi to Pravīraka. The Nava Nāgas, to the author of the Bhāgavata, are therefore covered by the line of Bhūta Nandi and the rule of Pravīraka. Pravīra-Pravarasena was guardian to Rudrasena 'the Infant', and according to the

¹ I have passed this town three times. It is called $N\bar{a}gaudh$ and $N\bar{a}god$. The form $N\bar{a}gaudh$ would mean the 'boundary' (avadhi) 'of the $N\bar{a}gas$ '. Of. the use of avadhi in this sense in the Matsya, 113. 10.

² The roof of this temple was flat, with sloping stones over the verandah. The cusped bracket, which is a restoration on the plate by Cunningham, is found generally in mediæval architecture, but no one can be definite as to how ancient its origin is. The large bricks found there and other features are decidedly early.

³ Yule identified Kindia of Ptolemy with Mirzapur. See McCrindle, Ptolemy, p. 134.

other Purānas they two ruled together. The Vishnu Purāna which had some materials not used by others, gives the order of the Capitals as Padmāvatī-Kāntīpurī-Mathurā. It probably implies that the original seat of the Nagas was Padmāvatī and the next seat was Kāntīpurī and the third was Mathurā. This is verified by the known facts. Bhūta Nandi's line, up to Siva Nandi and about half a century later, was at Padmāvatī. Padmāvatī then passes to the Kushan vicerovs [§§33-34]. The Bhārasivas in the latter days of the imperial Kushans, about 150 A.D., reach Kantipuri on the Ganges. They performed their aśvamedhas 1 and coronations at or near Benares where the place Nagwā, the present site of the Hindu University, seems to be associated with their From Kantipuri they move westwards and under Virasena, who strikes coins extensively and whose coins are found from the east of Ahichhatra up to Mathura, regains Padmāvatī and Mathurā. The early coins with the letters ' Vi'^2 and ' $V(\cdot)$ ' amongst the Padmāvatī coins are the first of the Padmāvatī series, and belong Vīrasena's Padmāvatī to Vīrasena. The peacock on the reverse coins. of these two coins is the well-known symbol of Vīrasena who seems to be the same as Mahāsena, meaning the general of the Gods. As Bhima Nāga and Skanda Nāga both follow the peacock design,3 these two princes seem to have followed Virasena. For though with Skanda the peacock is connected, with Bhīma it is unconnected. Vīrasena having reached Mathurā and even beyond, Indor Kherā, where his coins have been largely dug out 4, would have naturally recovered the old Naga territories in western

^{1 &#}x27;Haya'- $N\bar{a}ga$ was probably a name given to a child born after one of the ' $A\dot{s}va$ 'medhas.

² It is read as 'kh(a)' by Cunningham but I read it as 'Vi', as the hook turns upwards disclosing it to be an *i*-mark, and identify it with the series having $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja\ V(.)$, as the reverse of both and their letterings are identical (Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India, Plate II, Nos. 13 and 14).

³ Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India, Plate II, Nos. 15 and 16, p. 23.

⁴ Cunningham, A.S.I., Vol. XII, pp. 41-42.

Bundelkhand which had passed under the Kushan rule a century back.

The Purānas advisedly use the term Nava Nāgas. 28. For if they used the term Bhāraśiva or 'Nava Nāgas.' their own term Vaidisaka or Vrisha Nāgas, the idea of their revival as practically a new dynastv would have been lost and the practical break by the intervention of the Kushan rule would have been lost and confused. After describing the empire of the Vindhyakas, i.e. the Vākātakas, the Purāņas total up and close the Nava Nāgas immediately before beginning the imperial line of the Guptas and their empire. The reason for doing this was the peculiar situation of Rudrasena the Śiśuka, who, though a grandson of Pravarasena Vākāṭaka, had succeeded as a Bhāraśiva dauhitra, so much so that the Vākāṭaka plates of Bālāghāṭ describe him only as a Bhārasiva Mahārāja and not also as a Vākātaka.¹ And as we shall see below [Part II, § 64], it was Rudrasena, described as Rudra Deva ('His Majesty', or 'King' Rudra) who was killed in battle by Samudra Gupta. The Naga line thus continued up to the time of Samudra Gupta in the Vākātaka period. The position of the Nava Nagas, both chronological and territorial, is accurately given by the Purānas. They are placed between Vi(n)vasphāni (the Kushan viceroy) who ruled in Magadha and at Padmävatī and the Guptas of Magadha who are said in the Vishnu to have risen while the Nava Nagas were ruling. And this insertion is made in the general history of Magadha which starts as a new section after the Vākāṭaka imperial history. The Nava Nāgas were not only rulers of the United Provinces but also of both eastern and western Bihar, for the Vāyu and the Brahmānda in all their copies describe their capitals both as Mathurā and Champā 2 ('Champāvatī' -Bhagalpur). That the Guptas established a government of

¹ Legally the Bhārasiva dynasty superseded the Vākātakas in the person of Rudrasena I (a *putrikāputra*), and the Vākātaka imperial dynasty and rule ended with Pravarasena I from that point of view.

² There were only two Champās—one in Anga, now Champā-nagar at a distance of about 5 miles from Bhagalpur, and an old town with Jaina temples to Vāsupūjya who was born and died at Champā; and the other was in the hills now called Chambā.

their own at Champā (as we shall see in Part III, below) is especially noticed by the Purāṇas when dealing with the Gupta imperial system.¹ The Gupta emperor there was substituting himself in the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭaka system.

The system of the Naga Government was a federation consisting of (1) three Nāga Government. main monarchical Nāga families, one of which the Bhārasivas, was the imperial leader, with a number of gubernatorial families under them, and (2) a number of republics. Two branches—at Padmāvatī and Mathurā—were set up by the Bhāraśivas, with distinguishing dynastic titles of their own. The Padmāvatī dynasty had the official designation—the Tāka-vamśa, which is given in the Bhāvaśataka, a book dedicated to Ganapati Nāga (§ 31). The Mathurā family had the official title-the Yadu-vamsa, which is given in the drama Kaumudīmahotsava written about the same time as the Bhāvaśataka. The two titles incidently furnish ethnological data regarding the Nava Nāgas. They were Yādavas and had migrated from the Takka-deśa [in the Punjab].2 The Mathurā family never minted any coin. But the

¹ The Purāṇas are specially full on the Vākāṭaka and Gupta Empires. The chronicles of those periods seem to have been composed in the Vākāṭaka country where, in the Vākāṭaka secretariat, the details of both could be easily available. The imperial system of the Āndhras is also attempted in the Purāṇas by recording their feudatories [see Part IV, below], though not in such detail. As in the case of the Vākāṭakas they go back to the early Nāga history from the imperial land-mark of the merging of the Nāgas into the Vākāṭakas, so also in the Āndhra history they go back to the origin, from the point of imperial succession to the Magadha throne. The Purāṇas have thus followed a system of going back to the beginning of a dynasty from a critical point and giving the earlier history of the imperial families. This they have done in the case of the Āndhras, the Vindhyakas and the Nāgas, and they would have done so regarding the Guptas if they could give their full history. Yet the earlier history of the Guptas is attempted in the Vishṇu (see Part iii, § 122).

² See Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 6 ff. on the Takkas and Takkadeśa, and p. 14 ff. on the $Y\bar{a}davas$ in the same area. Hemachandra in his Abhidh $\bar{a}na$ -Chintamani (IV. 25) equates $V\bar{a}h\hat{i}ka$ with Takka.

Padmāvatī family did so from the beginning to the end. They were thus a sovereign family, and their subordination to the Bhārasivas was evidently of an imperial type. The Mathurā family and the family to which Nagadatta (father of Maharāja Maheśvara Nāga of the Lahore seal) belonged and who ruled somewhere in the Ambālā district, probably at the old capital Srughna, seem to have been under the direct control of the Bhārasivas. There was a ruling family at or near Indrapura (Indor Kherā) in the district of Bulandshahr. At Bulandshahr the seal of Mattila with a Naga symbol (Śankha-pāla) and without the title 'rājan' was found. This Mattila has been identified by Growse and Fleet with the Matila of Samudra Gupta's inscription2. This area is described as the governorship of Antarvēdī (western part of the land between the Ganga and the Yamuna) in the Indor plates issued by a Naga ruler of the name of Sarva Nāga, governor of Skanda Gupta.3 Nāga-datta, Nāgasena or Matila or their ancestors did not strike any coin, nor did any governor of Ahichhatra in the time of the Bhāraśivas. At Ahichhatra the ruler called Achyuta on his coins and Achvuta Nandi in Samudra Gupta's inscription, strikes his coins for the first time, but that was under the Vākāṭakas, which indicates that the Vākātakas set up a feudatory family nextdoor to the Province of Kośala [Oudh], probably as a counterpoise against the Lichchhavis and the Guptas. As far as the Bhārasiva government is concerned, we find only two sovereign centres—Kāntipurī and Padmāvatī. seat at Champāvatī (Bhagalpur), given by the Vāyu and the Brahmānda⁴, was evidently a subordinate seat, as we find no coins of Champāvatī. As we shall see in due course [88 132. 140], in Samudra Gupta's inscription the Āryāvarta rulers are divided into two groups—one beginning with Ganapati Naga, which is the group of the kings killed in the first

¹ See Part III on Gupta history (§ 140). I.A., XVIII, p. 289, pl., where a conch and a serpent are sculptured. Light radiates from the serpent's body.

² I.A., XVIII, 289. 3 G.I., p. 68.

⁴ Nava-Nākās [Nāgās] tu bhokshyanti purim Champāvatīm nripāh. P.T., p. 53.

Āryāvarta War of Samudra Gupta, and the other being the group of those rulers who were attacked in or after the second campaign and who are enumerated in territorial order beginning with Rudra Deva, i.e. Rudrasena the Vākātaka. The first group is headed by Gaṇapati Nāga; he was the chief sovereign among the Nāga rulers in the Vākātaka times, which is confirmed by the Bhāvaśataka (§ 31). The republics in Malwā and Rajputana and probably also the Kunindas in the Punjab, who strike their respective coins in the Bhāraśiva times, were also sovereign members of the Bhāraśiva Federation (§ 43).

§ 29 A. The Purāṇas give to the Padmāvatī and the Mathurā Nāgas—or, in view of the Vishṇu, to the Padmāvatī-Kāntipurī-Mathurā Nāgas—seven successions (p. 28 above). This is fully borne out by the names gathered from the coins and inscriptions as tabulated below.

BHĀRASIVAS: Rise at Kāntipurī, c. 140 A.D.

NAVA NĀGA, (Year 27 on his coin) .. Founder of the Nava Nāga
[C. 140–170 A.D.] Dynasty [Bhāraśiva].

Vīrasena (year 34 on coin) .. . Founder of Mathurā and [170–210 A.D.] Padmāvatī Branches.

Padmāvatī	Kāntipurī.	Mathurā. (Yadu Dynasty.)
(Ţāka Dynasty)	(Bhāraśiva Dynasty)	
c. 210-230 A.D. Вніма Nāga.	c. 210-245 HAYA NAGA (year 30 on coin)	Name unknown.
 c. 230-250 A.D. SKANDA Nāga. 	c. 245-250 Traya Nāga	Name unknown.
c. 250-270 A.D. Bṛінаs- раті Nāga.	c. 250–260 Barhina Nāga (year 7 on coin)	Name unknown.

[Vākāṭaka Suzerainty begins c. 284 A.D.]

c. 270-290 A.D. VYĀGHRA	c. 260-290 Charaja Nāga	· · · · · ·
Nāga.1	(year 30 on coin).	
c. 290-310 A.D. DEVA	с. 290-315 А.Д. Внача	c. 315-340 A.D.
NAGA.	Nāga.	Kīrti-sheņa.
c. 310-344 A.D. GAŅA-	[c. 315-344 Rudrasena at	c. 340-344 A.D.
PATI NAGA.	Purikā.]	NAGA-SENA.

¹ Cunningham read only ' $Vy\bar{a}ghra$..' but the plate [C.M.I., Pl. II, fig. 22] shows ' $Vy\bar{a}ghra$ - $N\bar{a}ga$ '.

Gubernatorial Nāga families.

A hichhatra family.	Antarvedi family with capital, pro-	family.	Champāvatî family.
с. 324-344 A.D. Аснуита	bably at Indra- pura (Indor Kherā). c. 328-348 A.D. MATILA.		Names un- known.
NANDI.		[c. 348-368 Mahā- rāja Maheś- vara Nāga.]	

My reasons for assigning the above order in the succession of the Padmāvatī kings are these: Gaṇapati Nāga is the last king; about his date we are certain from the date of Samudra Gupta. As he has left several thousands of coins—in fact, he has left the largest number of coins out of all the kings of Hindu times—we have to assign to him a long reign. The issues of his coins are also many (I have counted about 8). I have, therefore, given him a reign of 35 years. Bhīma Nāga's coins immediately follow Vīrasena's; and SkandaNāga's coinage follows his. Deva Nāga seems to have immediately preceded Gaṇapati Nāga, for they both add at times 'Indra' (A.S.R., 1915-16, p. 105) behind their names—Devendra, Ganendra. Between Bṛi has pati Nāga and Vyāghra Nāga, the latter preceded immediately Deva Nāga, as both have the [Vākāṭaka] imperial wheel-mark [§§ 61A, 1021] on their coins.

In the Mathurā dynasty, the last name, Nāgasena, is taken from the record of the conquest of Samudra Gupta. His seat, on the basis of Samudra Gupta's inscription, which is discussed in Part III below, seems to be, almost certainly, at Mathurā. Kīrtisheņa is described in the Kaumudī-mahotsava as a friend of Sundara - varman and as the father-inlaw of Kalyāṇa-varman, son of Sundara-varman, who dispossessed Chandra Gupta I from Pāṭaliputra. His date is discussed in Part III in the Gupta history [§ 133]. On the basis of that date Nāga-sena is given only 4 years and Kīrtisheṇa, c. 315-340 A.D. To complete seven successions

¹ See also Appendix at the end, on the Durcha Pillar.

there should have been three more kings after Vīrasena at Mathurā. The Nāgasena of the *Harsha-charita* was a prince at Padmāvatī and not at Mathurā, and he probably flourished under the Guptas as he has left no coin at Padmāvatī.

The Ahichhatra family is located from the coins of A chyuta and the occurrence of his name in Samudra Gupta's inscription, which I discuss in Part III. His coins bear the same imperial wheel-mark (C.I.M., Pl. XXII, 9) as the coin of Devasena of Padmāvatī (C.M.I., Pl. II, 24). I restore the territorial unit, the province of Antarvedī, from the Indor plates of Skanda Gupta's reign, issued by Sarva Nāga, governor (vishayapati) of the Province (G.I., p. 70). I regard Indrapura [Indor Kherā] as its capital on account of its probable mention in the Brahmanda as Surapura and on account of the antiquity of the place, where also the Indor plates were found. Sarva Nāga was very likely a descendant of Matila whom I discuss in Part III (§ 140). The location of Nāga-datta of Samudra Gupta's inscription is discussed in Part III (§ 140). His headquarters must have been at or near Srughna, in the Ambala district. His son's seal was found at Lahore (G.I., p. 282) who, in his time, must have ruled as a Gupta feudatory or servant. The seat of Champāvatī is mentioned in the Vāyu and the Brahmānda, but names of the rulers have not yet been found.

30. As we have been dealing here with the Bhāraśi-

Pravarasena's coin alleged to be that of Vīrasena.

va coins, I may discuss a coin which has been taken as a coin of Vīrasena but which I take to be a Vākāṭaka coin, of Pravarasena I. It belongs to the same series as the

coins we have been noticing. It is of the old orthodox Hindu type, post-Kushan in script and pre-Guptan in style. The coin is illustrated in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum by Dr. Vincent Smith on plate No. XXII, fig. no. 15^1 It is read by him as 'V(i)rasenasa'. He reads the 'i' doubtfully, and although he takes the coin on the whole as a coin of Virasena, yet he says that this is subsequent to the coins of the earlier Virasena.² His estimate of the difference between the

¹ See Plate III herein.

² C.I.M., p. 192, p. 197, n. 2.

two in point of time and the decision to take it as belonging to another and a later king is correct, but he is incorrect in reading the name as 'Vīrasena'. I read the legend on the coin as Pravarasenas[y]a, reading 'Pra' as the first letter in the left-hand bottom-corner, beginning the legend with it. And I also read as 76 [70, 6], below the name. On the obverse there is seated a female figure with a jar in her right hand, which denotes that it is the figure of the River Goddess Ganges [cf. § 17].¹ In the right-hand bottom corner there is the Vākātaka wheel which we meet at Nachnā and Jāso (see last App.).

§31. The family history of Ganapati Nāga has been

The Bhāva-śataka and the original Nāga home.

yielded by a manuscript in Mithilā of a poetic work written in the reign of Ganapati Nāga and dedicated to him. The author says that both 'Vāk' (Sara-

svatî) and 'Padmālayā' (=Padmāvatī) adore the Nāga king (Nāgarāja) whose name he gives in verse as 'Gajavaktra Śrī (the "Elephant-faced Majesty") Nāga'. In one of the verses he says that by looking at 'Ganapati,' the other Nāgas feel afraid. The king is called the overlord of Dhārā (Western Malwa). His family is described as Tāka vamŝa and his gotra is called Karpati. Neither his father, Jālapa, nor his grandfather, Vidyādhara, was king; he evidently succeeded from a collateral line. The name of the book is 'Bhāva-śataka' which consists of a little over a hundred verses, 95 verses of which are mostly on sentiments. Every verse is complete in itself with one poetic idea, as in Amaru. Many verses, however, are in praise of Śiva who was the ishṭa devatā of the author's patron. The author's patron is described as of a severe and austere character,

नागराज-समं [मतं] यन्यं नागराजेन तन्तता।

चकारि गजयक्रा-श्रीनीगराजी गिरां गुरः॥२॥

4-5 पद्मगपतयः सर्वे वीचन्ते गणपतिं भीताः (80). धाराधीण! (62).

¹ There is no 'rayed crown' on the head of the figure (C.I.M., p. 197), but it is the canopy (chhatra) part of the throne. See also § 61 below on Vākāṭaka coins.

²⁻³ Jayaswal, Cat. of Mithila MSS., Vol. II, 105.

who did not take interest in beautiful women and who is noted to be of a warlike temperament and a veteran warrior. The book is printed in the Kāvyamālā series, Part IV, 1899, pages 37 to 52.1 But in the second sloka of the Kāvvamālā text the name of the king is wrongly given as Gatavaktra-Śrīr Nāgarājah,2 while in the Mithila manuscript it is Gajavaktra-Śrīr Nāgarājah, i.e. Śrī Ganapati Nāgarāja, which led me to identify the king with Ganapati Naga. The Tāk Nāgas living near Jammu and elsewhere in the Punjab are well known.3 Their royal race is mentioned by the chronicles of Rajputana, Chandbardai and Muhammadan historians. Their gotra Karpați is to be traced in the Mahā-Bhārata where we have the Five Karpatas placed in the company of the Malavas in the Punjab-Rajputana region, evidently as republican communities.4 The Naga family seems to have been akin to their next-door neighbours the Mālavas who were worshippers of Karkota Naga and had migrated from the Punjab to Rajputana (see Pt. III of this book, §§ 145-6).

31 A. The Nandi-Nāgas, when they leave Padmā-

The Refuge of the Nagas from A.D. 80 to 140 A.D.

vatī and Vidišā in the Kushan period about 80 A.D., migrate to the Central Provinces where they live and rule in the security of mountain fastnesses

for over half a century. There is a definite piece of evidence of their occupation of the district Nāgpur (C.P.). The Deoli plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja II (E.I., Vol. V, p. 188) which was found within a few miles of Nagpur, the modern capital of the Central Provinces, and is dated in the Śaka year 852 (940-41 A.D.) describes the gifted estate to be in the district of 'Nāgapura-Nandivardhana'. Now, both these names are connected with the Nandi-Nāgas. We find Nandivardhana much earlier than this

¹⁻² On character see verses 76, 66, 62, etc. See Kävyamālā text, verses 1, 98-100, where the family is described.

³ Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 10. For *Takkârikā* a Bhatta village in Madhyadeśa in the Middle Ages, see I.A., XVII, 245.

⁴ See my Hindu Polity, Part I, page 156; M.Bh., Sabhā, C. XXXII, verses 7-9.

inscription, going back right to the time of the Vākāṭakas who were the immediate successors of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā, edited in E.I., vol. XV, p. 39, the town of Nandivardhana figures. This Nandivardhana has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, as pointed out by Mr. Pathak and Mr. Dikshit in E.I., XV, p. 41. with Nagardhan, which is 20 miles from Nagpur. The name Nandivardhana could not have come into existence under the Vākātakas or the Bhārasivas when the title Nandi had dropped, and would go back to a period before the Bhāraśiva rise. When the Naga kings left Padmāvatī and Vidiśā they at the time bore the dynastic style Nandi. It seems that the Nandi-Nagas for about half a century made the country on the other side of the Vindhyas in the Central Provinces their place of refuge and haven of freedom where the Kushans could not reach. This migration of an Aryavarta dynasty into the heart of the Central Provinces had a tremendous effect upon the subsequent history which united Aryavarta with a part of Dakshināpatha in the reign of the Bhārasivas and their successors the Vākāṭakas. From 100 A.D. up to 550 A.D. the Central Provinces became absolutely interwoven and one with the Vindhyan Āryāvarta, i.e. Bundelkhand-a unity which has obtained and come down to our own days. A part of Bundelkhand and the Nagpur part of the ancient Dakshinapatha have remained a Hindusthani province, wholly become Northern in race, language and culture; and Āryāvarta has been de facto extended up to the confines of the Nirmal range. This is a legacy of the history of those sixty years of the Naga exile. From Nagpur up to Purika (Hoshangabad) on one side and through Seoni and Jabalpur on the other, they maintained touch respectively with Eastern Malwā (from which they had been dispossessed) and with Baghelkhand (Rewah) through which ultimately they reached the Ganges. This new home became the second and subsequent home of the Vākātakas in the Gupta time and led to the enrichment of Ajanta, which had been throughout its main history under the influence and direct possession of the

¹ Hira Lal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, p. 10. Nāga-vardhana= Nagardhana

Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas. The art of Ajaṇṭā in the main is the Nāgara (Bhāraśiva) and Vākāṭaka art; Ajaṇṭā passed hands from the Sātavāhanas to the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭakas about 250–275 A.D.

§ 32. Up to the reign of Skanda Gupta there were some Nāga feudatories, as Skanda Gupta is Later history of the described to have dealt severely with Nāgas. a Nāga rebellion.1 Chandra Gupta II married a Nāga princess, Kubera-Nāgā, who was mahādevī and the mother of Prabhāvatī Guptā, and, if not identical with Dhruva-Devi, was probably the second wife of Chandra Gupta. A Nāga family of feudatories in Koṭā, Rajputana, is found in the Middle Ages.² The Nāgavamśī families of the Bastar inscriptions, published by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, descend very likely from the Nāgas of the Central Provinces who have left a memorial to their name in the place-namee Nagpur 3 and Nagar(var)dhana, and are the probable remnants of the Bhāraśiva occupation.

V. THE KUSHAN RULE AT PADMĀVATĪ AND IN MAGADHA (c. 80 A.D. to 180 A.D.).

33. The Purāṇas, to complete the history of Padmāvatī and Magadha before the rise of the Nava Nāgas and the Guptas, insert the history of Vanashpara, spelt in the Purāṇas as Viśvasphāṭi(ka), Viśvasphāṇi and Viṁvasphāṭi, where Kharoshṭhī n has been misread and misreproduced as ś, s as in the case of Kunāla misspelt

¹ G.I., p. 59 (Junagarh, l. 3). ² I.A., XIV, 45.

³ Nāgapura (present Nāgpur) is found in an inscription of the 10th century. See Hira Lal's Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar (2nd ed.), p. 10; E.I., Vol. V, 188. For the Nāgavaṁśis of the 11th and later centuries, see his I.C.P.B., pp. 209-210 and references in that book (p. 196). Nagar-dhana, as pointed out above (§ 31A), is the ancient site of Nandi-vardhana, the town mentioned in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā, and in the Rashtrakūta inscription (Deoli plates). It is now called Nagar-dhana, i.e. "the Nāgas' Vardhana," where Nagar stands for Nāgar.

⁴ Pargiter, Purana Text, p. 52, n. 45 and others on that page.

⁵ Ibid., p. 85.

as Kuśāla. Vimvasphāṭi and Vi(n)vasphāṇi stand for the name found in inscriptions at Sarnath, spelt as Vanashpara and Vanaspara. We know from two Sarnath inscriptions (E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 173) that Vanaspara ruled as governor of the province wherein Benares was situated, under the reign of Kanishka in his year 3. Vanashpara (Vanaspara) was at that time only a governor (Kshatrapa), while his chief Kharapallāṇa was a Mahākshatrapa (Viceroy). Vanashpara would have become a Mahākshatrapa later. We may, therefore, place him at about 90 A.D. to 120 A.D., for he seems to have had a long rule. This is the period when the Vidiśā Nāgas must seek security in obscurity.

This Vanaspara was so important that his descen-34. dants, the Banaphars of Bundelkhand. His policy. retained military reputation down to the They were considered low in origin and found it Chandel times. difficult to marry into Rajput families and their position is low still to-day. A dialect—Banāpharī—in Bundelkhand goes by their name. Vimvasphāţi established himself at Padmāvatī (according to the Bhagavata) and up to Magadha (according to all the Puranas). The Puranas record that he was very brave, that he conquered capitals, i.e. from Padmavatī to Bihar; that in war he was powerful like Vishnu; that he looked like a eunuch. The Puranas here anticipated the description which Gibbon, the great historian, gave to the Huns:-- 'as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age'. Vanaspara evidently had a Hun-like, Mongolian appearance. His policy is specially noted. He made the population practically Brahmin-less (prajāś ch-ā-brahma-bhūyishthāh). He depressed the high-class Hindus and raised low-caste men and foreigners to high positions. He abolished the Kshatriyas and created a new ruling caste. He made his subjects un-Brahmanical. The same policy was followed by the later Kushans as we shall see hereafter (§ 146 B)—a policy of social tyranny, and religious fanaticism—both actuated by political motives. Vanaspara created a new ruling or official class out of the Kaivartas (a low caste of aboriginal agriculturists, now called Kewat) and out of the

Pañchakas, i.e. castes lower than the Śūdras—the untouchables. He imported [into Bundelkhand-to-Bihar] the Madrakas who had their home in the Punjab, and the Chakas and Pulindas or Chaka-Pulindas or Pulinda-Yavus 1. The detail about the first class of men imported for administrative purposes from the north to the east is useful as showing the policy of importing mercenaries from one part of India into another. The Chaka-Pulindas are really Saka-Pulindas, Saka often being rendered as Chaka in India, e.g. in the Garga-samhitā.2 They are qualified as yapuor yavu-Pulindas and are called Pulinda-yavu and Pulindaabrāhmanānām.3 In other words, they were non-Brahmanical Scythic Pulindas, as opposed to the Indian Pulindas. They seem to be the Pāladas or Pālada-'Shākas who appear prominently in the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century on account of their coinage and their acceptance of the coinage of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta.4

35. This description of the rule of the Kushan viceroy gives us a great insight into the character of the Kushan rule in India. This is further confirmed by what we read in the history of Kashmir [the Rājataraṅgiṇī] about the Kushan rule [i, 1,174–185]. In Kashmir they stopped the prevalent worship of the Nāgas and imposed Buddhism. Buddhism was the only religion whereby the foreigner Śakas could claim equality with an old, orthodox, proud society organised on exclusive, ethnic lines. These Mlechchha rulers felt the ignominy which the Brahmanic system of society automatically imposed upon them, and they

Vishnu: Kaivarta-yad(v)u-Pulinda-abrāhmaṇānām (°nyān) rājye sthāpayishyati utsādyâkhila-kshatra-jātim.

Bhāgavata: karishyaty aparān varnān, Pulinda-yavu-Madrakān ļ prajāš ch-ābrahma-bhūyishṭhāḥ, sthāpayishyati durmatiḥ ļ

Vāyu: utsādya pārthivān sarvān, so 'nyān varņān karishyati | Kaivartān Pañchakām's chaiva Pulindān(a)brāhmānām's tathā || Other readings: 'Kaivartyānām Cakām's chaiva Pulindakān', and 'Kaivartān yapumām's chaiva' (etc.).

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 52, n. 48:

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, p. 408.

³ Pargiter, P.T., p. 52, note 35 and others.

⁴ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 209. [There were Northern Pulindas, in Afghanistān, probably, now called *Povindāh*. See Matsya Pu., 113-41.]

tried various means to destroy that social system which excluded them. The consequent agitation in Kashmir was great, and it is recorded that Gonarda III restored the Nāga-worship which the Turushka [i.e. the Kushan] rule of Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka had abolished. In Hindustan we have a similar tale, without understanding which we cannot understand the national movement under the Bhārasivas.

36. Of Buddhism and Jainism alone we have monumental

Pre-Kushan orthodox monuments and Kushan social policy. evidence in the period of the Kushan rule. Of the orthodox worship of the Hindu system we have no trace in monuments. And we have no trace of earlier

orthodox monuments, although we know that orthodox motifs and orthodox architecture and orthodox iconography had already been established facts before the earliest Buddhist monuments were erected. That Hindu temples of various styles and Hindu Gods and Goddesses of various forms existed before 300 A.D. is proved by their elaborate and scientific treatment in the Matsya Purāna, and orthodox books are full of reference to them.² In the face of that evidence there can be no manner of doubt that before the Gupta period the national art and architecture of the orthodox Hindus had reached a point which was not repeated in all its details in the revivalist period of the Bhārasivas, the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. This is established by the internal evidence of Buddhist and Jaina monuments themselves. To take one example: There was no scope for the rise of the Apsaras in sculpture on Buddhist and Jaina sepulchral memorials. But we do find the Apsarā with her lover, the Gandharva, in loving attitude at the Bodh-Gaya railing gate, at the Mathurā Jaina stūpas, at the Nāgārjuni Koṇḍā stūpas, etc. The origin of the Apsarā motive is not to be found in Buddhism and Jainism but in the Hindu texts (e.g. in the Matsya Purāṇa), which at least go back to the third century. Their treatment with citations of 18 previous authorities

¹ One exception is the five-faced lingam at Bhīṭā (A.S.R., 1909-10) which bears an inscription of the second century B.C.

² These have been ably collected by Mr. Brindaban Bhattacharya in his book 'The Hindu Images'.

shows that they must go back centuries earlier.1 The Hindu texts lay down that the doorways must be decorated with Gandharva-mithunas, the Gandharva couples 2, and that Apsarases, Siddhas, Yakshas and others must be sculptured on the temples. The toilet scenes at Mathura are of Apsarases in their characteristic, toilet-bathing poses which give them the name 'water-nymphs'. Now, where did the Buddhists or Jainas get the Apsaras from; from where did the Buddhists and Jainas get their Gaja-Lakshmi; wherefrom did the Buddhists get the Vaishnavi carrying the Garudadhvaja? My answer is, they got them from the orthodox Hindu buildings. There they had become too stereotyped for the architect and the mason to ignore; without these motives and decorative icons no building could be regarded as a sacred building when the Buddhists started erecting their sacred monuments which had to be in the style current in the country. On Hindu temples they all have a meaning, mystic (yogic) and traditional, dating back to the Vedic age and Vedic conceptions and are intimately connected with the previous history of Hindu mythology, which faithfully descended down to the last days of Hindu sacred architecture and iconography. But they have no meaning with Buddhist and Jaina structures where they are mere architectural, conventional decorations, i.e. borrowed and repeated from orthodox Hindu buildings. The orthodox buildings themselves of the pre-Kushan period are completely wiped out. And, who destroyed them? My answer is, the Kushan rule destroyed them. It is recorded 3 that one of the early Kushans destroyed temples of the Sacred Fire and raised in their places Buddhist temples. We see from the recorded policy of the Kushan viceroy that he suppressed Brahmins and orthodox castes and made the popu-

¹ The subject is treated in the Matsya Purāṇa in chapters 251—269, and the text is avowedly based on 18 named authorities (Ch. 251, 2-4). From chapter 270, chapters dealing with history (Chs. 270-274) begin, which end about 240 A.D. The eighteen authorities will take back the science to about 600 B.C. at least, for its initial stage.

² Matsya, 257, 13-14 (re. Vishnu's Temple): toranān choparishtāt tu Vidyādhara-samanvitam | devadundubhi-saniyuktam Gandharva-mithunānvitam |

³ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 15.

lation practically Brahmin-less. Alberünī took note of the character of the Śaka rule referring to the period of 78 A.D.:

'The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over the country between the river Sindhu and the Ocean after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of his realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas.' [ii. 6]. The Garga Samhitā has a similar history to repeat:

'The king of the Śakas [was] greedy, very powerful, sinful........ The terrible and the numerous Śakas [made] the population lose their character and degraded in their acts.' (J.B.O R.S., Vol. XIV, pp. 404 and 408.)

Guṇāḍhya in the first century A.D. gives a similar description of their doings, the doings of the Mlechehhas, the foreigners, defeated by Vikramāditya Śālivāhana (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 296):

'(These) Mlechchhas slay Brahmins, interfere with sacrifices and other sacred ceremonies. They carry off daughters of hermits. Indeed, what crime do not the villains commit?' (Kathāsarit., Bk. XVIII.)

36 A. How the Hindu nation looked at the Buddhist India

Mahā-Bhārata on social conditions, c. 150 A.D.-200 A.D.

Mahā-Bhārata, Vana-parvan, chapters 188 and 1901:—

'Then will rule over the land many Mechchha kings. These sinful kings, addicted to falsehood, will govern on principles that are false, and they will be given to false controversialism. The Āndhras, the Śakas, the Pulindas, the Yavanas (i.e. Yaunas), the Kāmbhojas, the Vālhikas, and the Śūra-Ābhiras will then be rulers (188. 34–36). Then,

¹ Ch. 190 is mostly repetition of Ch. 188. It seems that Ch. 188 was the original text which was revised in the shape of Ch. 190 and the name of Kalki introduced at the end which is not to be found in Ch. 188, and which was expressly borrowed from 'the Purāṇa by Vāyu' (Ch. 191.16). It is not to be found in the present Vāyu P., though it is in the Vāyu-prokta-Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. The period (c. 150 A.D.-200 A.D.) is fixed by the rulers mentioned in Ch. 188.

the utterings of the Vedas become futile, the Śūdras address (Brāhmaņas) with 'Bho' (term of equality), while Brāhmanas address them with 'Noble Sir' (39). Citizens will lose character on account of the terror of the burden of taxation (46). They become addicted to materialism ('this-worldism'—aihalaukikam) which ministers to their flesh and blood (49). The whole world will be Mlechchhanized; all rites and sacrifices will cease (190. 29). The Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas will disappear; at this time all men will become one caste, the whole world will be Mlechchhanized, men will no more gratify the Celestials with śrāddha or manes with libations (46). Prohibiting the worship of the Celestials, they will worship bones. In the settlement of the Brāhmanas, in the Āśramas of the Great Rishis, in places sacred to gods, in sacred spots and in temples which had been dedicated to the Nagasthe land will be marked with tombs (' Edūkas '= Buddhist stūpas) containing bones. They will have no temples dedicated to the Celestials.' (65, 66, 67.)

This in places textually corresponds with the description of India under the Śaka rule given in the Garga Samhitā. The description seems to be a description by an eye-witness. The times to which the description applies is fixed by the mention of the rulers—the Āndhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Bactrians (i.e. the Kushans), Ābhiras—that is, the latter part of the Kushan times. I have said before that the Kushans destroyed the Hindu temples. This is borne out by this Mahā-Bhārata passage. The whole Hindu world was turned into Mlechchhas; all castes were abolished and practically one caste was created. Śrāddha and other rites were suspended; people worshipped bone-relics instead of Hindu gods. The Varnāśrama system had been superseded. Oppression resulted in loss of character. Moral decay is set out at length in the same chapters.

¹ Edükän püjayishyanti, varjayishyanti devatāḥ. Śūdraś cha prabhavishyanti na dvijāḥ yugasamkshaye. Āśrameshu Maharshīnām Brāhmanāvasatheshu cha, Devasthāneshu chaityeshu Nāgānāmālayeshu cha, Edüka-chinhā prithivī na devagriha-bhūshitā. (Kumbakonam Text, p. 314.)

The Śakan rule aimed at denationalising the Hindus and at the basic destruction of their national system. The social revolution which the Sakas strove for with a calculated policy, was a scheme to depress the high and the aristocrat, the custodian of national culture and the trustee of national liberty—the The Śakas were more afraid of Brahmin and the Kshatriya. the Hindu social system than the arms of the Hindu rulers whom they had already conquered. They aimed at sapping character from the common people by systematic terrorisation and proselytisation. The Garga Samhitā says that they carried away one-fourth of the total population from the Siprā to their own capital, i.e. Bactria. Their massacres are noted both by the Garga Samhitā and in their summing up by the Purāṇas.1 They must have carried away as well great wealth from the country to Bactria. Their infamous greed was notorious. They systematically imposed a non-Brahmanical religious system on the Hindus. Hindu life, in short, was suspended. No book written between 78 A.D. to 180 A.D. is to be traced in the orthodox literature of Northern India. It became, therefore, imperatively necessary for the Hindus to undertake to deliver their country from such a political and social scourge.

VI. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BHĀRAŚIVAS, AND THEIR EMPIRE.

The undertaking to deliver the country from such a national calamity (§ 36) was shouldered by the Bhāraśivas on the Ganges. Now, here we have to take note of the contemporary motive factor which rules national undertakings in every human community and in every age and clime. That factor is the spiritual sentiment and the faith for the time-being. If the historian misses to read that, and merely attempts to record the catalogue of facts, he misses the bird and counts the feathers. It is more than doubtful whether he can read his facts correctly without reading the curves of national thought and sentiment.

¹ See below, Pt. III, §§ 146B—147.

38. Then, what was the National Cult and Faith with which the Bhāraśivas entered on their mission? We find in that period everywhere—Siva. Siva rules over the actions of the Bhārasivas and continues to preside over the Vākātaka India. In their period even books on poetic sentiments, which ought to be devoted to love, were devoted to Lord Siva. National service of Hindu state-makers was always a solemn dedication to the Supreme Force which presides over human destiny. The dedication was made to a particular aspect of Him, to a particular temperament of His, according to the national temperament of the time. The presiding God to whom political service was this time dedicated, was the God of Destruction. The Bhāraśivas called in Siva who stood up in Yoga for a partial Tāṇḍava through his people of the Gangetic valley. We find Siva everywhere in this The air is surcharged with the belief that the Des. trover Himself has founded the Bhārasiva State, that He is the guarantor of the king and the people of the Bhara. siva kingdom. He has stood up to see His people free-free to follow their dharma, free to be their own masters, free to be in Āryāvarta, the land of the Āryas, their God-given home. This politico-geographical idea of 'legitimacy' of the Hindu sovereign in Āryāvarta, which we may call Āryāvartism is laid down in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra (II, 22-23), and is traceable from the time of Patanjali (180 B.C.) down to Medhātithi [ākramyākramya na chiram tatra Mlechchhāh sthātāro bhavanti],2 and to Vīsala-deva [1164 A.D.] as a living belief [Aryāvartam yathārtham punarapi kritavān Mlechchha-vichchhedanābhihl.3 This sacred principle had been violated, and He must set the wrong right. He must do it by His own method, by His own process, the dance of destruction. The Nāga kings became Bhāraśiva. They undertook to execute and they successfully executed that national dance of destruction in the valley of the Ganges. The names assumed by the Bhāraśiva Nāgas-'Vīrasena,' 'Skanda Nāga,' 'Bhīma Nāga,'

¹ J.B.O.R.S., IV, p. 202.

² Tagore Lectures, Manu and Yājňavalkya, pp. 31-32.

³ Delhi Pillar, I.A., XIX, p. 212.

'Deva Nāga,' 'Bhava Nāga'—all prove that sense of Śaiva responsibility and necessity which the time required. Their repeated aśvamedhas, like the revival of the names of divine heroes, are records in themselves. A series of acts of valour continued, and repeated exertions resulted in progressive destruction of the Kushan power in Āryāvarta. Soon after the

Bhārasiva Nāgas' success against the Kushans. rise of Vîrasena we find the Kushans pushed back as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind from the Gangetic valley. About 226-241 A.D., the Kushan king

(Junāh=Yauvan) 1 had diplomatic dealings with Ardashir, the first Sassanian emperor, from Sirhind.2 By that time North-Eastern India up to the confines of the Punjab had been freed. This is amply borne out by the coins of Virasena which are found all over the United Provinces, and parts of the Punjab. The Kushans were so pressed by the Bhārasivas that they ultimately sought the protection of the Sassanian Emperor Shapur (between 238 and 269 A.D.) whose effigy they had to stamp on their coins. Before Samudra Gupta, the greater portion of the Punjab as well had been liberated. The Mādrakas were striking their own coins once more and negotiated peace with and accepted the suzerainty of Samudra Gupta. The hills up to Kängrä once more were under Hindu rulers when Samudra Gupta appeared on the scene. Most of this achievement is to be credited to the Bhārasiva Nāgas, performers of ten asvamedhas; and the maintenance of that free inheritance for 50 years, with further progress, to the Vākāṭakas, who carried on the Bhārasîva policy.

39. To appraise the success of the Bhārasivas we have to

Prestige and strength of the Kushans, and the Bhāra-siva boldness.

imagine and visualize the immense prestige of the Bactrian Tukharas whom we call to-day the Kushans. Here was a power whose reserve forces were centred in their homeland in Central Asia and which

was constantly fed from that centre—a power which had become firmly established from the banks of the Oxus up to the Bay of

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 201.

² V. Smith, E.H.I., 4th, p. 289, n.

Bengal, from the Jumna down to the Narbada, 2 and in the west, from Kashmir and the Punjab to Sindh and Kathiawād and to the sea beating against the coast of Gujarat, Sindh and Beluchistan—a power which for nearly one hundred years had insisted on its divine right as the Son of Heaven (Daivaputra 3) to rule over the Hindu humanity—a power which had the established fact of an iron rule in its favour. That power now to be challenged by a leader risen from obscurity, was a bigger fact than the challenge by the subject Greeks against the mammoth Persian Empire. The Greeks had not been under the direct administration of Persia, while the area now called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Bihar had been under the direct imperial administration of the Kushans. It was not the question of merely throwing off a suzerainty, it was not the case of merely tearing off the veil of prestige hanging from a distance, but attacking directly a mighty power bodily installed in the country. The Bhārasivas did it and did it successfully. While the Sātavāhanas in the West were still struggling against the Saka power—the Sātavāhanas who had been emperors of the South for three centuries—the Bhāraśivas attained the result where the Emperors of Dakshinapatha failed.

40. The Bhāraśiva rule was marked with Śiva's asceticism. They have no grandeur, except the grandeur of their severe and austere undertaking. They ignore the imperial coinage of Kushans and revert to the old Hindu coinage. They assume no grandeur, unlike the Guptas. Like Śiva, they have a self-imposed non-richness. Like Śiva, they bestow and not partake. They give freedom to the Hindu Republics; they give them freedom to mint their own money and to live their own full life. Like Śiva's domestic polity, they have a gana, of

¹ Coins of Vāsudeva were found in Pātaliputra excavations. A.R.A.S., E.C., 1913-14, p. 74. The Kushan and Pūrī Kushan coins would indicate their influence up to the Bay of Bengal, though beyond Bihar they seem to be limited generally by the Rajmahal Hills. The Orissa tradition about a yavana invasion probably refers to the Kushan yaunas.

² At Bherāghāt a Kushan inscription has been found.

³ Cf. Alberūnī, II, 10, on the pretensions of the Barha-takīn, ancestor of Kanishka (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 225).

Hindu States, around them. They are the true Śiva-made Nandi, the lord of the *Ganas*. They merely preside over a confederacy of states and foster freedom everywhere. They perform aśvamedhas, but do not become *eka-rāṭ* Emperors. They remain political Śaivas and international ascetics amongst their countrymen.

41. A worshipper of Siva is a worshipper of a symbol, a bindu. The Saiva worshipper would have looked down upon the Buddhist idol-worshippers as followers of a low cult. Whether the Bhāraśiva did so or did not, we can be certain of one fact that Buddhism could not but have declined in the Naga country, if for nothing else, at least for its political alliance with the enemy of the national civilization. It had become the fosterchild of a tyrant and with the uprooting of the tyranny it must This is the explanation of the decay of Buddhism fall. which was so marked by the time of the early Guptas. The decay was in an advanced stage by the end of the Bhārasiva period. Buddhism had become a denationalized system and assumed a non-Hindu character by its contact with the Kushans, in whose hands it had lost its spiritual independence and become a political instrument. The Buddhist Bhikshus in the Kushan period in Kashmir were felt, on the evidence of the Rāja-taranginī, as a social nuisance and a load of oppression. They must have been so felt also in Āryāvarta. Śaiva asceticism became a necessary antidote for a readjustment of society. The Sakas had weakened the character of the Hindu population; Saiva asceticism was a necessary factor of correction. The greedy imperialism of the Kushans was destroyed; the Hindu people were purged of deteriorated morals. And when the task was done, the Bhāraśivas retired. Siva's mission was complete, and in Lord Siva the Bhārasivas re-entered in spiritual triumph. Unconquered till the last, untainted by any material selfishness, the true servants of their Lord and His people exit from the stage of history—a rare, honourable and noble finis which the Bhāraśiva fully deserved. The Bhāraśivas

¹ During the Nāga-Vākātaka period, the Ceylonese Buddhists transferred the tooth-relic from Andhra to Ceylon (§ 175). It indicates that Buddhist worship at the time stood discredited in India [cf. § 126].

re-established Hindu sovereignty in Āryāvarta. They restored the Hindu imperial throne and the national civilization and gave a new life to their country. They revived asvamedha after a lapse of some four centuries. They restored the sanctity of the Mother Ganges, the river of Lord Siva, throughout its length by freeing her from sin and crime, and made her worthy to be sculptured at the doors of the temples of the Vākātakas and the Guptas as a symbol of purity. They did all this, and left no memorial to themselves. They left their deeds and obliterated themselves.

The Naga performers of the ten asvamedhas, to put it in modern phraseology, the Naga emper-Nāgas and Mālavas. ors, fostered the republics which covered the whole of [Eastern and Western | Malwa, and probably also Gujarat (Abhīras), the whole of Rajputana (Yaudheyas and Mālavas), and probably also a portion of the Eastern Punjab (Madras)—all connected territory, to the west of the valley of These were certainly free in the next, the Vākāthe Ganges. taka period, when Samudra Gupta emerges on the stage. Malwā republics seem to have been formed by peoples and clans akin to the Nāgas. Those around Vidiśā were worshippers of Nagas from early times, as the republican coins of Eran prove. Eran, the Airikina town, is itself after the name Airaka, a Naga, and the Eran coins bear a Naga (serpent) figure. The Mālavas, near Jaipur, had founded their capital, Karkota Nāgara, naming it after the Nāga Karkota, which now lies within the territory of the Raja of Uniyara—a feudatory of

¹ The oldest form of Gangā in stone is at Jānkhat (see Plate II herein). The next one, together with that of the sister-river Yamunā we find at Bhūmarā; then those at Deogarh, described by Cunningham in A.S.R., vol. X, p. 104, Temple No. 5, where the figures are 'canopied by a five-hooded Nāga'. They are on the lower faces of the jambs, just as at Samudra Gupta's Vishnu temple at Eran. The Nāga-canopy at Deogarh is unique, nowhere repeated. Nāga is unconnected with the mythology of Gangā and Yamunā. The river motifs themselves are referable to the Bhāraśiva period (see § 30) and its association with Nāga lends strong support to that view. The Nāga-Gangā and the Nāga-Yamunā signify the two sacred rivers of the Nāga territory freed by them. Cf. § 86 on the conscious, political significance of the river motifs.

the Mahārāja of Jaipur, about 25 miles E.-S. from Tonk. The word Nagara itself in the capital Karkota Nagara is connected with the word Naga. It is important to recognise this fact that the Naga monarchs and the republican Malavas were, by their civilization and also probably ethnically, connected. Rājasekhara says that the Takkas and the people of Maru used apabhramśa idioms. As we have already seen, the family of Ganapati Nāga of Padmāvatī was a *Ṭāka-vaṁśa*, which means that the family came from the Takka-deśa. Thus we see that the Mālavas and the Nāgas spoke the same dialect. that with the original migration of the republican Malavas from the Punjab, the Takka Nāgas had also migrated, and that the Nāgas themselves originally belonged to a republican community [the Five Karpațas] [§ 31], and that they were a Punjab people settled in Malwā.

The Naga emperors became the leaders of a movement for freedom from the Kushan Other Republics. rule. The Malavas, the Yaudhevas. and the Kunindas (Madrakas) all re-strike their coins in the Nāga period. It may be possible to discern on a minute study their connection with the Naga coinage disclosing the symbols of hegemony or suzerainty of the Nagas.1 The connection of the Mālava republican coins with those of Padmāvatī has been already realized and noticed. Dr. Vincent Smith says, 'they (Naga coins) are closely related to some of the later Mālava coins'. The Mālava coins re-appear, after a break. about the same time as the Naga coins of Padmavati, about the second century A.D.³ The Yaudheya coinage revives about the second century A.D.,4 and the Kuninda coinage in the third century, who are, evidently, the last to be liberated. In other words, the re-rise of the Yaudheyas and the Mālavas is contemporaneous with the Nāgas.

The peculiar tree symbol with the side designs of the Bhāraśiva coins (§§ 26A, 26B) is met with on several republican coins of the period.

² C.I.M., p. 164.

³ Rapson, I.C., pp. 12-13; Cf. C.I.M., pp. 176-177.

⁴ C.I.M., p. 165.

⁶ Rapson, I.C., p. 12.

44. The main blow to the Kushan power came from the Nāga Empire: its character and extent.

Nāga emperors, but it is almost certain that on account of the confederate sovereignty enjoyed by these large republics

the Nāgas must have been helped in their campaign by these republican communities. The Naga empire was, what we may call, a Democratic Empire. In Magadha, the Kota dynasty seems to have arisen under them (Part III). The Gupta dynasty takes its root in the Nāga period, which the Purāṇas expressly mention (Part III, § 110). It should be noted here that the Guptas were also northern emigrants domiciled in the east (Part III, § 112). The Kotas of Magadha and the Guptas of Prayāga were evidently subordinate members of the Nāga Empire. In Bihar, Champāvatī is noted by the Vāyu and the Brahmānda, as a capital of the Nava Nagas. The Nagas extended their sway into the Central Provinces, a fact borne out by the subsequent Vākāṭaka history and the place-names like Nāgavardhana, Nandi-vardhana, and Nāgapura. At Purikā, they had a capital in the heart of the Vindhyan mountains, as a gateway to Malwa. We may take it that, speaking roughly, the empire of the Bhārasivas included Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bundelkhand, the Central Provinces, Malwa, Rajputana and the Madra republics in the E. Punjab. The Kushans accepted the suzerainty of Ardashir just in the middle of the Bhāraśiva period, 226-241 A.D., and they adopted Shapur's effigy on their coins between 238 and 269 A.D. This was the result of the Bhāraśiva pressure. Thus the ten aśvamedhas of the Bhārasivas were not an empty rite.

45. Apart from the asymmethas which are symbols both of Nagara Architecture. a political revival and a revival of orthodox culture, there is independent evidence of a revival of orthodox culture which marks a new era. The word $N\bar{a}gara$ as in $Karkota-N\bar{a}gara$, is undoubtedly connected with the word $N\bar{a}ga$ and is a vernacular form, denoting a derivative from that word, just as in Nagar-dhana [= $N\bar{a}gara-Vardhana$] (§ 32). The architectural term 'Nagara style' could not be explained on the basis of assuming its connection with the word nagara (city). This style-name is un-

known to the Matsya Purāna which closes its historical data at about 243 A.D., i.e. before the close of the Naga period. But it is known to the Mana-sara, a Guptan or post-Guptan work. The style designated by the term Nagara seems to be the style made popular by the Nāga kings. In this connection, we should notice the same term applied to Brahmins called Nāgar Brahmins of the Gangetic valley (Bulandshahar) who became Muhammadan in Muhammadan times, and the term applied to the Jäts called Nägrä Jäts near Ahi-chhatra.2 former were Naga priests and '-r (a)' is added to show their connection with Naga. The 'Vesara' style, which again is a vernacular term taken, like the Nāgara, from the vocabulary of the mason, is distinguished by its being in the 'ornamental' style: Sanskrit veśa, 'dress', 'make-up', Pkt. Vesa, besa, or 'ornamental' [vide Śilpa-Ratna, ch. xvi. 50: 'vesaram veśya uchyate']. In both Nāgara and Vesara, ra has been added to the base-word forming a vernacular derivative, as gatthar ('bundle') from 'grantha' ('tie'). The base in Nagara is thus Nāga. Vesara was the type of religious buildings which was 'artificial', 'architectonic'. Nāgara was that in which we mostly find the Gupta square temples, and the Vākāṭaka temple of Pārvatī at Nachnā, and the Bhāraśiva temple of Bhūmarā (Bhūbharā, see App. A.). It was a griha ('dwellinghouse') of one room (Matsya, 252. 51; 253. 2).

The Nāga antiquities have not been explored, yet we know that at Karkoṭa Nāgara, the capital of the Mālava Republic, the true type of also the *vesara* style existed. Carlleyle, in vol. VI, A.S.R., at page 186, describes the temple which he excavated and calls 'peculiarly-shaped':

¹ F. S. Growse, J.B.A.S., 1879, p. 271: 'The principal residents of the town are Nāgar Brahmans by descent, though since the time of Aurangzeb, Muhammadan by religion, who believe that their ancestors were the priests employed by Janamejaya to conduct his sacrifice and that in return for their services they had a grant of the township and the surrounding villages.'

² Rose, Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the N.W.F. Province, 1919. Vol. I, p. 48.

³ Compare Visika in the Hathigumpha inscription (E.I., XX, p. 80, line 13) for 'architect'. Vesar (Besar) in Hindī is a nose ornament.





Chaunsath Jogini Temples at Khajurāho.

'This small temple is remarkable for having been composed almost entirely of an exteriorly circular (or circularly many-sided) building, which probably once terminated upwards in a sikar [śikhara], and which contained within it a square chamber built of massive, rough-hewn stones; for the temple did not appear to have possessed either a pillared portico, or a vestibule, or antechamber.

There is found in the period a sikhara style: on the square body [Nāgara plan] a four-sided śikhara. Of this type, I have discovered a very small temple at Surai Mau, which though dedicated to a lingam, now outside the temple, is called the Nag Baba Temple. The small temples of Karkota Nāgara with Śikharas, were out of a class. The temple which I discovered at Suraj Mau has in its lower square portion the perfect 'Gupta'-body, while the sikhara part is a suggestion of so many storeys rising one on the other, tapering in imitation of a mountain peak. Such shrines at Khajurāho of Chaunsath Joginis belong to that class. Cunningham rightly dates the latter before the grandfather of Dhanga, i.e. about 800 A.D. (A.S.R., XXI, 57). A glance at the two (the Surai Mau Nāg Bābā)² and the Jogini shrines³ will at once convince one that the Nāga Bābā is much older. Cunningham found at Tigowa foundations of 34 such small temples,4 open on the east and closed on three sides, i.e. like the Suraj Mau Temple and of similar dimensions. He assigned them to the Gupta period, a date which he gave to the sculptures there. Smith after the publication of his History of Art, amended the date of the Tigowā remains by placing them in the Vākāṭaka period, contemporaneous with Samudra Gupta.⁵ I found there numerous four-sided sikhara pieces. The small sikhara temples at Karkota Nāgara would also go back, at the latest, to 350 A.D., after which date the Mālavas disappeared, and the deserted town yields no coins subsequent to that date. These small temples, remains of which were found at Karkota

¹ Cf. Gopinath Rao, Iconography, ii, 1, p. 99, on Nāgara plan: Nāgaram chaturasram syāt. See Silpa-Ratna, XVI, 58.

² See *Modern Review*, August 1932. Suraj Mau is near Chhatarpur,

I have not found them illustrated anywhere yet. [See plate II A.]
 A.S.R., IX, 41-44.
 J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 334. I agree; the details there are in line with Nachnā. The place-name is Tigawāñ.

Nāgara and Tigowā, were Hindu votive temples after the fashion of the votive stupas of the Kushan period. Architecturally thus they would follow immediately the Kushan period. A normal, as opposed to a 'votive', sikhara temple must have been large. Sikhara had been an old thing; 'excellent sikharas with carved interior ' are noted in the Hathigumphā inscription (c. 160 B.C.); their artists, one hundred in number, received land-grants from the Emperor Khāravela (E.I., XX, p. 80, Insc. line, 13). The Nagara sikhara was a particular, probably a new, variety, which arose in the time of the Nagas, i.e. the Bhārasiva dynasty, and after their name received a permanent and wide name as 'Nāgara'. The Vākāṭaka period, which follows the Naga period, affords an example of the Nagara śikhara in the shape of its Chaturmukha Śiva Temple at Nachnā. Its Pārvatī Temple is an imitation of a mountain (parvata) with caves and wild animals; while the Siva Temple has the sikhara (Kailāsa). Both are contemporary, and both styles existed contemporaneously. The age of both are fixed by what we call 'Gupta' sculptures, that is, the temples cannot be post-Guptan, yet they are not Guptan. The figures and decorations on both were done by the same masons. The Chaturmukha Temple has a tall sikhara with slightly curved sides and having a height of about 40 feet. It stands on a raised platform. Pillars and halls it lacks [App. A].

§ 46A. The Bhūmarā Temple, discovered by the late Mr.

R. D. Banerji, near Uch-harā (the *Uchcha-kalpa* of the inscriptions of the Gupta-Vākātaka period), Nagod State, Western Baghelkhand, has been assigned by him to the fifth century A.D.² This temple is

¹ Scholars have gone into wild guesses over the Chaturmukha Temple. They hold that the sikhara temple of Chaturmukha is probably a later building. They, however, forget that the two temples make one scheme, and sculptures in both are by the same chisel. The buildings are in their original shape and material. They are parts of the same scheme, to make Pārvatī, the Goddess living in the Parvata which is imitated on the walls, while the Chaturmukha lingam is installed under a sikhara, denoting Kailāsa. They escaped the hand of the iconoclast, being in an out-of-theway place. [See App. at the end.]

² Archæological Memoir, No. 16, pp. 3, 7. The Memoir illustrates

surely a Bhāraśiva building. It is a Saiva shrine. A large lingam, like the Chaturmukha at Nachnā, was established in the temple which is in the style followed in Samudra Gupta's time at Eran. What connects this temple with the Naga traditions is the peculiar palm designs. Palm was the Naga emblem, which has been also found at Padmāvatī, one of the Nāga capitals. At Bhumarā we have whole pillars (pilasters) carved in imitation of palm trees (Pl. IV), a feature nowhere else found. I shall designate it a Nāga (Bhāraśiva) motif. Scrolls of palm-leaf (fan) are used as decoration. Its human figures stand out classically. They express a fullness of life where nothing of the primitive or the decadent is traceable. They are entirely of a different technique, conception and execution, to what we are accustomed at Mathura. Here we have the real, old Hindu Art, practically come down direct from the art of Bhārahut which is within a few miles of Bhūmarā. To Bhūmarā, Bhārahut is primitive, although in itself Bhārahut marks a decadent close of a preceding line of Hindu Art. Bhūmarā supplies a missing link connecting the Guptan Udaygiri-Deogarh with the past of the national orthodox art. The national orthodox art seems to have survived only in Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand where the Kushan rule could not be sufficiently destructive. As there is very little difference between the Bhārasiva and the Vākāṭaka culture—the latter being a continuation of the former, we may, with some confidence, assume that the national plastic art did revive under the Bhārasivas, which is attested by the Jankhat fragments for its early and independent existence. The sikhara before the Bhārasivas was a four-cornered spire, as evidenced from the 'Bodh-Gaya' plaque found at Pāţalipuţra with a Kharosthi inscription of the first or the second century A.D., and the two sculptured replicas of sikhara temples found at Mathura of about 150 A.D., to which Dr. Coomaraswamy has drawn attention.¹ The Bhāraśiva and Vākāṭaka śikhara, on the other hand, is a four-cornered spire over a four-cornered

the remains, some of which have now been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. [See App. A. at the end here on the date.]

¹ History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Pl. XIX.

sanctum, with a bulge in the spire. This post-Kushan new type of sikhara is definitely datable in the Bhārasiva period, and we may call this style the Nāgara sikhara.

- 47. The sikhara style goes out of fashion in the Gupta times in stone temples. But the Nāgara type asserts itself in the Gupta period itself more in brick. In mediæval architecture, there is a combination of the pillar and the sikhara, of the square and the round plans, i.e. of the Nāgara and the Vesara types, the Nāgara type predominating.
- 48. There was a Nāgara style of painting. That was also evidently connected with the Nāga period, but we are not in a position to distinguish it yet. I should not, however, be surprised if one day it is discovered in some distinctive style amongst our old frescoes of Ajanṭā. Ajanṭā became part of the Nāga Empire about 250 A.D.
- 49. It is certain that the Nāgas did not discourage Prakrit. On their coins they use Prakrit. Rājaśekhara, though later, noted the Ṭakkas for using apabhramśisms. The official language, as before the Kushans, remained Prakrit. They were democratic in politics, and they remained so in the matter of language.
- 49A. In the same way the script name $N\bar{a}gar\bar{\imath}$ is to be explained. I think, the origin of this name lies in the Nāga dynasty under whom originated the headed type of writing, evidence of the existence of which we get from the time of Prithivīsheṇa I in the inscriptions of Nachnā and Ganj.² In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions the letters are bound with a box-like heading which was reduced to a line in the Nāgarī script beginning from about

¹ Cf. Cunningham, on Gupta brick-temple at Konch, A.S.R. XVI, plate 17, p. 52.

² I emphatically disagree with the new view propounded in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, p. 362, that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions belonged to Prithivīsheņa II. I have carefully compared the scripts, and it is impossible to hold that they can be later than the fourth century A.D. The view of Fleet on the age of these inscriptions was perfectly right. Prithivīsheņa II's plates clearly show that the Nachnā Prithivīsheņa flourished long before. [See 61A for the Vākāṭaka inscriptions.]

800 A.D. The name Nāgarī seems to have been applied to what is called the box-headed script of the fourth and early fifth centuries. It is significant that the box-headed writing is found exactly where the Nāga government was most prominent, viz. in Bundelkhand and the Central Provinces. In the Central Provinces before the Nāga period, we have a Kushan inscription found at Bherāghāṭ which is in the ordinary Brāhmī script. The peculiar box-headed writing, therefore, came into existence after the Kushans and before the Vākāṭakas. We can confidently date it in the Nāga period.

50. The Gangā and Yamunā motifs and their connexion with the Nāga period have been noticed above. The motifs continue in the Vākātaka period (§ 86) and are carried down to the Gupta art and further down to the Chandel art.

51. In the next big period, i.e. the Guptan, we find a sudden change in a social matter. Sacredness of the Cow. and cow are declared in Gupta inscriptions to be sacred and not to be killed. The beginning of this cult is probably to be dated in the Naga period. The Kushans used to kill bulls and cows.2 The Bhāraśivas had the bull as their sacred symbol, with which they identified themselves. With them the sacredness of the bull probably became universal in their empire, punctuating the difference of their age from the last political period when the bull was freely slaughtered for the kitchen of the Kushans. In the Gupta period, the kings take pride in being protectors of the bull and cow, emphasizing the character of their own rule as contrasted with that of the The foundations of modern Hinduism were laid by the Naga Emperors and that edifice was reared by the Vakatakas and elaborated by the Guptas.

¹ Cunningham, A.S.R. XXI, 59. The gate mentioned by Cunningham is now at the Museum gate, Khajurāho.

² See below on Kushan rule in the Gupta Section (§ 146 B).

PART II

The Vākāṭaka Kingdom (248 A.D.-284 A.D.): The Vākāṭaka Empire (284 A.D.-348 A.D.)

The Vākāṭaka Empire (284 A.D.-348 A.D.) with an Appendix on the Later Vākāṭaka Period (348 A.D.-550 A.D.) ¹

· Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya kramaprāpta-Nṛipa-śriyaḥ.'—[Vākāṭaka Seal.]

VII. THE VĀKĀŢĀKAS.

52. From the Vākātaka inscriptions the following facts are well-established. A dynasty, which The Vākātakas and took for its name Vākātaka, came into their importance. existence about a century before Samudra Gupta's conquests. The first king of the dynasty was Vindhvašakti², a Brahmin. Their gotra was Vishņu-vriddha—a subdivision of the Bhāradvājas. The second king of the dynasty was Pravarasena; the kings coming after him all assume their regnal names ending in *sena. Pravarasena, son of Vindhyaśakti, to be known hereafter as Pravarasena I, not only performed four asvamedha sacrifices but also assumed the title of Samrāt, i.e. the Emperor of India. He had a long reign, so much so that his eldest son Gautamīputra could not succeed him, but his grandson Rudrasena I succeeded him. His son Gautamīputra was from a Brahmin lady, which is clear from his name. But Gautamiputra himself was married to the daughter of the Bhārasiva king Bhava Nāga—a Kshatriya. The son of this union was Rudrasena, grandson of Pravarasena I and Bhava Nāga. We have to call him Rudrasena I, as names were repeated in consonance with the orthodox Hindu law-a practice also followed by the Guptas. Rudrasena's son was Prithivishena I, by whose time the family had existed for 100 years:

¹ The later history of the Vākāṭakas [348 A.D.—550 A.D.] is included owing to its cultural importance and for its not having been treated before.

² This seems to be an assumed name, an abhisheka-nāma, after the name of the country of his rise.

¹ 'Varsha-śatam-abhivardhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-sādhana-' meaning:

'—whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years'—(Fleet, G. I., p. 241).

This Prithivishena, whose political wisdom, heroism and good government are praised, subjugated the king of Kuntala. which was the name for a part of the Kārnātaka country and the Kadamba kingdom, with which we shall deal later. Rudrasena II, son of Prithivishena I, was married to the daughter of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditva, whose name was Prabhāvatī Guptā, born of the Empress Kubera Nāgā, a princess of the Nāga dynasty. Prabhāvatī Guptā ruled as regent after the death of her husband Rudrasena II, as guardian to her minor son Yuvarāja Divākarasena who was in his thirteenth year when the Poona Plates were issued by the Queen-Mother, and subsequently to another son called Damodarasena-Pravarasena who succeeded Divākarasena and who issued a charter in his nineteenth year, which has come down to us.² The double name Damodarasena-Pravarasena proves the practice that these kings had two names, one the pre-coronation, and the other the coronation name which in the Champā (Cambodia) inscription is called the Abhisheka-nāma.3 Similarly the Gupta Emperor Chandra Gupta II had two names, one Deva Gupta and the other Chandra Gupta.4 Damodarasena-Pravarasena would have assumed kingship when 25 years of age, as that is the age laid down by the Sastras for obtaining coronation. Prabhāvati Guptā had thus a regency of about 20 years during the minority of her two sons. Neither Prabhavati Guptā nor her son when he came of age, ever used the Gupta Era. We may, therefore, conclude with certainty that the position of the Vākāṭakas was such as the Gupta Era was not required to be used in the Vākāṭaka dominions during the reigns of Chandra Gupta II and his successors. Although the Vākātakas after Samudra Gupta were in the Empire

¹ The Chamak, Dudia, and Bālāghāt plates (See § 61A.).

² Second Poons plates. I.A., 53, p. 48.

³ Champā, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 157.

⁴ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 38.

⁵ Hindu Polity, II, p. 52.

of the Guptas, they were full sovereigns. From the Ajantā inscriptions and the Bālāghāt plates it is also clear that they had their own feudatories and they made war and peace on their own account. They subdued the kings of Trikūta. Kuntala, the Andhras, etc. and kept them as their feudatories. Their kingdom commenced in the western portion of Bundelkhand where Bundelkhand begins, in Ajaygarh and Panna, and covered the whole of the Central Provinces and Berars, and with the Trikūta territory which was situated in northern Konkan, they were also masters of the northern part of the Maratha country, up to the sea. They were nextdoor to Kuntala, i.e. Karnātaka, and the Andhra country. Their direct rule covered all the land on the table-land of the Vindhyas and the valley between the Vindhyas and the Satpura with the Maikal range. They controlled the passage through the Ajanta ghats to the South. Their feudatory empire included S. Kosala and Andhra, Western Malwā and Northern Hyderabad (§§ 73 ff.), apart from their Bhāraśiva inheritance. They had thus a very large kingdom under their direct control, which in the reign of Samudra Gupta had been reduced, but which in the next reign was fully restored and revived, and very likely it was so restored in the reign of Samudra Gupta himself, as Prithivishena I waged war against the newly constituted Kadamba kingdom and reduced its king to a subordinate position (§§ 82, 203).

- 53. Their history remains mostly uninterpreted without the aid of the Purāṇas and without reference to the history of India under the Bhāraśiva empire. With their aid we shall now relate the Vākāṭaka history. It is really the history of India for over half a century which we have to call the Vākāṭaka Period. Its importance is very great, both for the period and as explaining the rise and course of the next imperial period, i.e. of the Gupta Empire. The Guptas merely took over the empire already established by Pravarasena I, both territorially and culturally. If there had been no Vākāṭaka Empire, there would have been no Gupta Empire.
- 54. Pravarasena I was the first king who superseded the old orthodox imperial title of *Dviraśvamedha-Yājin*,

Performer of Two Aśvamedhas,' which had been revived some five centuries before, after a lapse of several centuries, by Pushyamitra Śuṅga, Emperor of Āryāvarta, and by

Śrī Sātakarņi I, Emperor of Dakshināpatha. The Emperor Pravarasena performed Four Aśvamedhas, and also Brihaspati-sava—a ritual open only to Brahmins. Along with them he performed Vājapeyas and several other Vedic sacrifices. Unlike the Bhāraśivas, he assumed the title of Samrāt, to which he was fully entitled as he seems to have brought the South also under his control (§§ 82, 176), and achieved a result which had been unachieved after the imperial Mauryas. A great portion of northern Dakshināpatha, we find, becoming integral part of his dominions.

The Purāṇas and Vākāṭakas.

Vākāṭakas should not receive up to this time even a line in modern text-books on Indian history, but it is not possible

for the Purāṇas not to include the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena in their chronicles. It was not a small thing to perform Four Aśvamedhas, and assume the title of Samrāt bringing oneself in line with Māndhātā and Vasu. The Purāṇas, which register even the foreign dynasties in India, could not have missed Pravarasena and his family. And, as a matter of fact, they have not missed them. After registering the fall of the Tukhāra, i.e. the Kushan dynasty they immediately give the dynasty of the Vindhyakas, of which they give the founder's name as Vindhyakas, of which they give the founder's name as Vindhyakas, whose son is called Pravīra. That name is described as a 'popular name' and it literally means 'the great hero'. His Vājapeya sacrifices are recorded by them and one edition of the Vāyu Purāṇa which is really the original Brahmāṇḍa,¹ instead of reading Vājapeya reads Vājimedha, i.e. 'Horse-Sacrifice', and the

¹ e Vāyu of Pargiter agrees fully with the Brahmāṇḍa of Dr. Hall. The present printed text of the Brahmāṇḍa is an amended edition. Brahmāṇḍa MSS. are so rare that neither Mr. Pargiter nor I could find any.

word is put in the plural [Vājimedhaiś cha] which means, according to Sanskrit grammar, that he performed three or more Horse-Sacrifices. His reign is given as one of 60 years, which as being long, stands corroborated by the Vākāṭaka inscriptions and by the fact of his four asvamedhas which must cover, on account of the protracted nature of the sacrifice and the intervals necessary, 40 to 50 years. Three facts completely establish the identity, viz. (1) the period of the rise of Vindhyasakti and Pravira which comes in the Puranas before the Guptas and after the Tukhāras, (2) the name of the founder of the dynasty being identical, (3) the vājimedhas (Horse-Sacrifices) and the long reign of Pravīra. Add to this, the inter-connection which the Purānas establish between the Nāga dynasty and Pravarasena through the grandson which I have already discussed above. In the light of this identification we gain the whole history of the Vākāṭakas from the Purāṇas which the inscriptions by themselves fail to impart.

56. That the Vākātakas were Brahmins admits of no doubt. They did Brihaspati-sava sacrifices, which are intended for and open to Brahmins only. About the exclusive

character of Brihaspati-sava the tradition never changed. Their gotra, Vishņu Vriddha, is a Brahmin gotra, still surviving in the Maratha country.² Then, Vindhyaśakti is expressly called dvija or Brahmin [dvijah prakāśo bhuvi Vindhyaśaktih].³ As to the place of their origin, the Purāṇic description—the 'Vindhyaka' or 'the Vindhyan' dynasty—limits the problem to the Vindhyan country, and their further localization fixes the exact spot. The Vindhyakas, i.e. the Vākāṭakas, arose on the river or in the country called Kilakilā (Kilakilāyām). One might have thought of identifying this river with the Kiyān, the Ken of the maps, but no room for speculation is left, as my friend Rai Bahadur Hiralal has himself seen the Kilakilā—a small river near Panna—having a bad reputation for its unhealthy water.⁴ We are thus brought to the very

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 50, n. 35.

² I am thankful to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for this information.

³ A.W.S.R., Vol. IV, pp. 125 and 128 fn.—Plate LVII.

⁴ A full description of the river is now supplied to me by Mr. Śaradā

area, Ajaygarh-Pannā where the earliest Vākāṭaka inscriptions are found, that is the district of Ganj-Nachnā. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in describing the Vidiśā Nāgas and Pravīraka, calls the whole group 'the Kilakilā kings'—that is, it treats Eastern Malwā [Vidiśā] and Kilakilā as one tract, or Eastern Malwā as included in Kilakilā. The location of the dynasty in Bundelkhand is thus unanimous.

57. Let us now take up the history of the word Vākātaka. The phrase 'Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja Śrī—so-and-so,' does not mean that the king so-and-so is the king of a people called Vākātakas, but only means the Mahārāja so-and-so 'of the Vākātaka Dynasty'. The plural form Vākātakānām simply means 'of the Vākāṭaka dynasty',1 as in the case of the Kadambas the expression Kadambānām and in the case of the contemporary Pallavas, Pallavana² (Pkt. 'of the Pallavas')-'Bhāraddāyo Pallāvaņa Sivakhanda-vamo'—where 'of the Pallavas' stands quite independently.3 This is, therefore, not a tribal but a personal dynastic name. The form Vākātaka means 'of the place "Vākāṭa" or "Vakāṭa",' as in Samudra Gupta's inscription, Māhā-Kāntāraka, Kausalaka, Paishṭhāpuraka, etc. signify ('of Mahakāntāra', 'of Kosala', 'of Pishthapura').4 The dynastic name Traikūṭaka is an exact parallel. I found an ancient village called Bagat, in the northernmost part of the Orchhā State, 6 miles E. of Chirgaon of the British district of Jhansi. Its neighbouring village—a village called Bijaur—is often mentioned with Bāgāt, as Bījaur-Bāgāt. It is situated in the Tahrauli tahsil of Orchhā. It is between two rivulets, Kaynā and Dugrai, which fall into the Betwā. It is a large and ancient Brahmin village, mainly peopled by Bhāgaur Brahmins. The village is believed to be of Dronacharya, the famous military Brahmin mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata.

Prasad of Satna, Rewah, from which I find that I crossed the river twice in its search without knowing its name. It runs through Pannā. One crosses it on the way from Nāgaudh to Pannā. It is a thin stream. [See p. 8, n.]

¹ I.A., Vol. VI, p. 26. ² E.I., Vol. I, p. 5.

³ In editing the Balaghat plates of Prithivishena II, Kielhorn emphasized this point. E.I., Vol. IX, p. 269.

⁴ G.I., p. 234.

There are two large caves there which were described to me to be about 25 yds. × 30 yds., and I was told that there were also sculptures there, which from the description given to me would appear to belong to what we call the Gupta age. The place has never been visited by any archæologist. A thorough exploration may result in the find of inscriptions and other valuable relics.

57A. It seems that the Brahmin who according to the Purāṇas was the first anointed king and the founder of the dynasty and who assumed the appropriate appellation of Vindhyaśakti, adopted the name of his town as his dynastic title. That the town of Vākāṭa is of ancient origin is proved by a pilgrim's inscription at Amarāvatī where a common citizen, about 150 B.C., describes himself as a $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}taka$, i.e. as an original inhabitant of Vākāṭa.¹ The town might have borne even in those days the proud military tradition claiming association with Droṇāchārya, who, like the Vākāṭakas, was a Bhāradvāja Brahmin.

58. The older Purānas do not mention the caste of the Vindhyakas, but the Vishnu Purāņa has 'Kilakilā Yavanāh' fallen into a confusion by a misreading a wrong reading. of the Matsya text. The Matsya Purāna after closing the Andhra list and giving the dynasties contemporary with the Andhras, says in Chapter 272, verse 24,teshûtsanneshu Kālena tatah Kilakilâ nripāh. With this line the Matsya closes its chronicles and then enters from verse 25 onwards on a description of the 'Yavana' rule, which means here the Kushan rule (Yauna, Yauvan²). The Vishnu reads the first line of that description along with the Kilakilā kings, the next line of the Matsya being bhavishyantīha Yavanā dharmato kāmato'rthatah. The author of the Vishnu paraphrases these two lines in these words—'teshûchhanneshu Kailakilā Yavanā bhūpatayo bhavishyanti mūrdhābhishiktas teshām Vindhyaśaktih'. In this the Vishnu is not followed by the Bhagavata, and the commentator of the Vishnu gives another reading and explains it correctly that Vindhyaśakti, according to that

¹ E.I., Vol. XV, p. 267 (Inscription No. 27).

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 201.

reading, was a Kshatriya (i.e., Hindu) chief. The other reading is thus given by the commentator—'Vindhyaśaktir-mūrdhābhi-shikta iti pāṭhe Kshatriya-mukhya ityarthah'. This variant reading did not make Vindhyaśakti a member of 'the Kailakilā Yavanas'. The mistake is obvious, being caused by reading the word <math>Yavanāh of the next line of the Matsya along with the Kailakilāh. It should be noted that it is not a consistent, but only an occasional, reading. The commentator did not find the statement that the Kailakilas were Yavanas in all the manuscripts of the Vishņu Purāṇa. He found it omitted in some, as Mr. Pargiter has found it omitted in his h. $Vṣ.^1$ It seems that making the Kailakilas into Yavanas was a later emendation by some reviser of the text of Vishņu who consulted the Matsya text. Evidently the original edition did not have Yavanas here, and it is a later addition.

59. The Purāṇas in detailing the rise of Vindhyaśakti state that Vindhyaśakti arose from the Kilakilā kings. Here it is clear that the Purāṇas mean the Nāgas who at that time were prominently connected with Kilakilā, as their name changes from 'Vidiśā Vṛishas' to 'Kilakilā Vṛishas', e.g. Vāyu:

tach-chhanena cha Kālena tataḥ Ķilakilā-Vṛishāḥ tataḥ K(a)ilakilebhyaś cha Vindhyaśaktir bhavishyati

Vṛishān Vaideśakāms chāpi bhavishyāms cha nibodhata 2

The Bhāgavata similarly describes the later Nāgas, commencing with Bhūta Nandi, as the kings of Kilakilā:

Kilakilāyām nripatayo Bhūta-Nando'tha Vangiriḥ Śiśunandiś cha tad-bhrātā Yaśo-Nandiḥ Pravīrakaḥ³

The Purāṇas treat Pravīra as coming in the line of the Kilakilā Vṛishas, i.e. the Bhāraśivas of Eastern Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

¹ P.T., page 48, f.n. 82.

² Vāyu, verses 358–360; cf. Brahmāṇḍa, verses 178-179.

³ Verses 32-33. The Bhāgavata omits the statement of there having been kings between Yasah Nandi and Pravîra.

The meaning of the statement that Vindhyaśakti arose from the Kilakilā kings is that he arose first as their recognized feudatory or a full-fledged member of their confederacy. That he was constitutionally in a subordinate position is proved by the fact that the official deeds of the Vākātakas omit him and begin the line of their independent kings with Pravarasena. It is only in the family history [kshitipānupūrvī] given in the Ajantā cave inscription [Cave no. XVI], that Vindhvaśakti is described as the founder of the Vākātaka vamsa (Vākātaka-vamsa-ketuḥ). From the description it appears that Vindhyaśakti, whose strength grew in great battles and who by the valour of his arms gained (a kingdom) and became the banner of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and who remained a strict Brahmin throughout his career (chakāra puņyeshu param prayatnam), was primarily a general of the Kilakilā Vrishas. His adoption of the name of his native town as his dynastic title shows that he had been an ordinary citizen and had no royal pedigree behind him. He takes patriotic pleasure in connecting himself with the Vindhyas and with Vākāṭa, his home. 'Vindhyaśakti' itself is obviously an assumed regnal name. He seems to have made large conquests in Andhra and Naishadha-Vidūra countries (§§75, 76A).

Capital. Chanakā (§24), and the Purāṇas imply that it had been in existence already; he is not called its founder. It seems that it was founded by Vindhyaśakti, if not by the Nāgas [§ 24, n.]. I am inclined to identify the connected site of the ancient fortified town now known as Ganj-Nachnā with the Chanakā or Kāñchanakā of the Vākāṭakas. Its strategic position implies that it was built by a newly-founded power, and may justify the assertion conveyed by the name Vindhyaśakti that the Vindhya was really his strength. The position of Ganj-Nachnā as described by General Cunningham is as follows:

'The small village of Nāchna is situated 2 miles to the west of the town of Ganj, which is 25 miles to the S.-E. of Panna, and 15 miles to the S.-W. of Nāgodh

The spot [Nachnā] is covered with bricks, and there are

The site is distinguished by the two temples, described already, of Pārvatī and Chaturmukha, which have the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their doorways. Gaṅgā and Yamunā come to be peculiarly Vākāṭaka motifs inherited from the Bhāraśivas. The site is also known for three inscriptions of the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa I. The temples are unique in the history of Indian architecture and sculpture, marking the beginning of what we call the Gupta Art. All these inscriptions are in Sanskrit.

VIII. VĀKĀŢAKA RECORDS AND CHRONOLOGY.

61. From coins we get the names of the two Vākātaka emperors—Pravarasena I and Rud-Vākātaka Coins. rasena I, grandson and successor of Pravarasena I (§§ 52 ff.). We do not find any coin of Vindhyaśakti, father of Pravarasena I. Vindhyaśakti was a subordinate king under the Bhāraśiva Nāga emperors, and probably no coins were struck by him. The coins of the two imperial Vākātakas, which have been identified here, had been missed before owing to their not having been read properly or not read at all. I have already discussed the coin of Pravarasena I (§ 30) which probably belongs to the Ahichhatrā mint. The successors of Rudrasena I came under the suzerainty of the Guptas, who, as a rule, did not allow any subordinate coinage.

¹ Cunningham, A.S.R., vol. XXI, p. 95. The correct spelling is Nāchanā, not Nāchnā.

But evidently there was an exception made in the case of Prithivishena I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, who got his son Rudrasena II married to the daughter of Chandra Gupta II. It seems that we have his coin—in the small, neat coin with a well-executed bull figure on the reverse, reproduced by Dr. V. Smith on plate No. XX, as fig. no. 4, in 'his Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum'1. The obverse which bears the well-known tree of the Bhāraśiva coins (Kosam mint) and the representation of a mountain, has a Brāhmī legend. It was read by Dr. Smith (p. 155) as Pavatasa, 'of Pavata'. The first letter, however, is Pri, not Pa; the ri is at the bottom of The second letter is a conjunct with a [v] below a Guptan th (which has a clear dot in the middle); there are traces of i-mark on the top; it is to be read as th[v] i. The letter read by Dr. Smith as ta is s with an e-matrā on the top The next letter is na. The whole name seems to be:

$Prith[v]i\acute{s}ena = Prithv\bar{s}hena.$

There is a figure at the right-hand bottom corner of the railing which reads as the figure 9, i.e. the coin is dated in the 9th regnal year. The n is the hooked, i.e. the Gupta variety, which as well as the other letters all agree with the early Gupta forms.

In the same classification ('Coins of Kosam') Dr. Smith has illustrated another coin on the same plate (XX) as fig. no. 5. This has not been read by him. It has the same five-branched tree but in an idealized and conventionalized form, and has the same mountain representation as on the coin of Prithivīshena I (fig. no. 4).² The mountain is evidently the Vindhya Hill. It has the same Vākāṭaka wheel which is inscribed on the Durehā pillar and on the Vākāṭaka inscriptions at Ganj and Nachnā and also on the coin of Pravarasena I of the year 76 (§ 30). The reverse has a lean bull facing a dhvaja or standard as on the Pallava seals (S.I.I., II, p. 521).³

¹ See also Plate III herein.

² This coin being larger, the mountain is larger but the shape is exactly the same as on fig. no. 4. [My reproductions of these coins are smaller than their original size.] I have used casts in reading them.

⁸ The bull is walking to the standard, while the bull on the Pallava seal is recumbent; on the earlier Pallava seal in E.I. VIII, 144, the bull is standing and there is the *makara*-head standard.

Vākāṭaka Coins.

Coin of Pravarasena.



[C. I. M., Pl. XXII.]

Coin of Rudra [Sena I.]

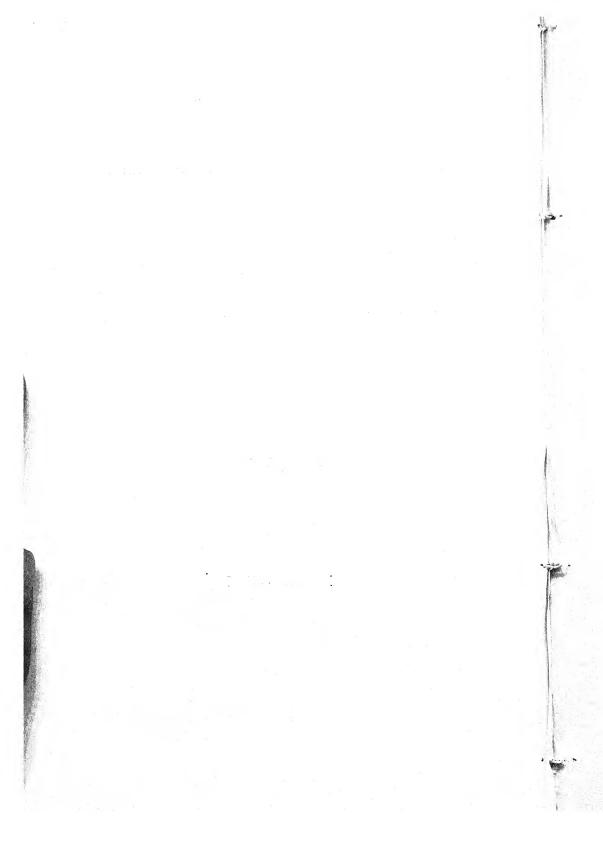


[C. I. M. XX. 5]

Coin of 'Prithv[i]shena'



[C. I. M., Pl. XX. 4]



On the top of it, there is probably the bracket of a makarahead—the standard of the Ganges. Above the bull, there is a figure with a halo on a pedestal, probably a representation of Siva as in the Pallava seal. The obverse has a legend on the margin above the wheel It reads Rudra; the top of the r has a box-head and the head of d is thickened. To the right of the mountain there is the figure of 100. It take it to be the coin of Rudrasena dated in the year 100. It is allied to the coins of Pravarasena I and Prithivishena I by its dare, the Gangetic symbols, the mountain, the tree, the bull, and the wheel (§ 30).

The other Vākātakas have no coins.

§ 61A. For convenience of reference I note below all the Vākāṭaka inscriptions published up to this time, arranging them in their chronological order:—

Prithivīsheṇa I.—(a, b, c) Three short dedicatory inscriptions [same text] on stone pieces, to mark the erection of pious buildings at Nachnā and Ganj, by the donor Vyāghra-deva, under the reign of Prithivīsheṇa I. The donor was either a member of the family of Prithivīsheṇa or an officer or a feudatory of Prithivīsheṇa. The inscriptions bear the royal wheel-mark.—G.I., p. 233, nos. 53 and 54 at Nachnā, E.I., XVII, 12 (Ganj).

Regent Prabhāvatī Guptā.—(d) Poona Plates of the Regent Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā [daughter of Chandra Guptā II and of the Mahādevī Kubera-Nāgā], mother of Yuvarāja Divākara-sena, dated in the year 13th. The gift was made from Nandi-Vardhana, in the Nagpur District, C.P.—E.I., XV, 39.

Pravarasena II.—(e) CHAMAK Plates of Pravarasena II, son of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatī Guptā, daughter

¹ I think, the bracket-shaped makara standard acquired the name makara-torana. The 'bracket' is still called tod' or tori (तोड़ी) in the United Provinces. The Patna Museum possesses an ancient miniature standard of makara-torana in bronze, upholding a chakra. It was found near Buxar.

of Deva Gupta, dated in the 18th year, issued from Pravarapura. The plates were found at Chamak, in the district of Illichpur, Berar, and relate to Chamak (Charmānka) in the Bhojakaṭa kingdom.—G.I., p. 235.

- (f) SEONI Plates, found at Seoni, C.P., of Pravarasena II, dated in the 18th year of his reign. It relates to a property in the Illichpur District—G.I., p. 243.
- (g) (Second) Poona 1 Plates of the reign of Dāmodarasena Pravarasena (=Pravarasena II) of the year 19th, by Queen-Mother Prabhāvatī Guptā, Mahādevī, wife of Rudrasena II, mother of Mahārāja Śrî Damodarasena Pravarasena. The gift was made at Rāmagiri (Rāmṭek, near Nagpur, C.P.)—I.A., vol. 53, 48.
- (h) Dudia Plates of Pravarasena II, dated in the 23rd year, issued from Pravarapura, found in the Chhindwara District, C.P.—E.I., vol. III, 258.
- (i) PATNA MUSEUM Plates of Pravarasena II; fragmentary; no date; the plates came from Jabalpur, C.P., to Patna.—J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 465.
- Prithivīsheņa II.—(j) Bālāghāṭ Plates of Prithivīsheņa II, son of Mahārāja Śrī Narendrasena, who was the son of Pravarasena II. Prithivīseņa II's mother was the Mahādevī Ajjhitā Bhaṭṭārikā, daughter of the King of Kuntala (Kuntalādhipati). The plates are a draft ready for engraving a gift on the blank portion; no gift is recorded. They were found in the District of Bālāghāṭ, C.P.—E.I., IX, 269.
- Devasena.—(k) Inscription in AJANTA CAVE TEMPLE, No. XIII (Ghatotkacha Cave) by Hastibhoja, minister of King Devasena, [inscribed] in the reign of Devasena Vākāṭaka² (Vākāṭake rājati Devasene). The minister was a southern Brahmin whose genealogy is given; he dedicated the cave-temple to Buddhist faith.—A.S.W.I., IV, 138.

¹ It should be called Riddhapur plates—see Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, 1932, p. 139. Riddhapur is 26 miles from Amaraoti.

² Bühler has wrongly ascribed a later date to this.

Harishena.—(1) AJANTA inscription (No. 3 of Bühler) in CAVE TEMPLE no. XVI, of the reign of King Harishena, son of Devasena who abdicated in favour of his son Harishena. Devasena was the son of the son (name lost) of Pravarasena II. The first part of the inscription (verses 1 to 18) is the family history (kshitipānupūrvī), the 'ānupūrvī (order of succession) of the Kings' of the Vākātaka dynasty, beginning with Vindhyasakti. The second part (verses 19 to 32) is devoted to the pious foundation itself, the construction and gift of the Cave-Temple, a Chaitya, to Buddhist worship, by the minister (Varāhadeva), son of Hastibhoja who had been the minister of Devasena.—A.S.W.I., IV, 124.

(m) AJANTA CAVE TEMPLE inscription, no. 4 of Bühler, by a family of feudatory kings subordinate to King Harishena. It gives their genealogy for 10 generations and records the construction of the Cave Temple (no. XVII) and its dedication to Lord Buddha. It is dated in the reign of Harishena 'who did what was good for his subjects' ['paripālayati kshitīndra-chandre Harishene hitakārini prajānām'].—A.S.W.I., IV, 130, l. 21.—A.S.W.I., IV, 128.

There are two more records—stone inscriptions—which I regard to be Vākāṭakan and which I shall discuss here later ¹.

62. The Vākāṭaka genealogy, as constructed from inserip-Vākāṭaka Genealogy. tions and the Purāṇas, stands thus [the members enclosed (in round brackets) did not succeed as Vākāṭaka kings]:—

1 One of them is the Durehā (Jāso) pillar; see the App. A (end). This expressly mentions the dynastic name, and is the earliest in script.

VINDHYASAKTI, king [mūrdhābhishikta].

PRAVARASENA I, the Pravira, Emperor: ruled for 60 years.

(GAUTAMĪPUTRA) (2nd son) (3rd son) (4th son) (ruled as a sub- (ruled as a sub- (ruled as a sub-

king) king) king)
RUDRASENA I, the Infant, succeeding as a Bhārasiva grandson and a Bhāraśiva king and ruling at Purikā under the guardianship of his paternal grandfather Pravarasena, and later on succeeding Pravarasena, at Chanaka, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta.

PRITHIVISHENA I -- contemporary of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II, conquered the king of Kuntala.

RUDRASENA II=(m.) Prabhāvatī Guptā, daughter of Chandra Gupta II and Mahādevī Kubera-Nāgā.

(DIVĀKARASENA, died as Yuvarāja in or after his thirteenth year)

Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena [PRAVARASENA II], known to have ruled, from inscriptions, for at least 23 years at Pravarapura in the Central Provinces, evidently a new capital founded after his name.

NARENDRASENA [name lost at Ajantā—succeeded at the age of S], name given in Bālāghāt plates as NARENDRASENA=m. Ajjhitā Bhaṭṭārikā, Mahādevī, daughter of the king of Kuntala; he was obeyed by the feudatory lords of Kosalā, Mekalā, and Mālava.

rescued his 'sunken family']

PRITHIVISHENA II DEVASENA, the ease-loving (bhogeshu yatheshta-cheshtah), handsome king, who abdicated in favour of his son Harishena.

> Harishena, conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūta, Lāta, Andhra.....whose minister Hastibhoja excavated the Cave Temple XVI at Ajanta and presented it to Buddhist monks.

The confusion respecting the succession of Devasena and his son Prithivishena II, caused by two records—the Ajanta inscription of cave XVI of the reign of Harishena and the draft copper-plates of Prithivishena II, disappears on a proper construction of the words used in the plates which I have discussed under the history of the Later Vākātakas.

Devasena's description in the inscription, incised during the reign of his son, marks the Veracity of the inscripinscription with the stamp of truthful tions. recording of fact by contemporary officers and composers. The handsome king, 'who was accessible to all his subjects like a good friend' was given to a life of ease and pleasure, he resigned kingship in favour of his son Harishena, saw him anointed king, and dedicated his life completely to pleasure.

64. In the Vākāṭaka chronology the one fixed point ac-Fixed Point in Vākāṭaka Chronology. cording to the inscriptions is the contemporaneity of Chandra Gupta II with Pṛithivīsheṇa I and Rudrasena II. Another

point, which we infer from the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, is that Pravarasena, the Emperor, had been dead and gone before Samudra Gupta launched on his imperial career, as we do not find his name there. Samudra Gupta made the kings of 'the Forest Country' adjoining the Gangā-Yamunā Doāb, his own governors and servants, which undoubtedly means that Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand passed under him. Who was, then, the Vākātaka king at the time whose feudatories in the Vindhya country were snatched away by Samudra Gupta? As his conquests are to be taken to have come after Pravarasena, and as the fourth Vākāṭaka king (Prithivishena I) ruled over the whole of the Vākātaka territory and his son was married to Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya's daughter, the Vākāṭaka contemporary of Samudra Gupta must have been the king succeeding Pravarasena and preceding Prithivishena, i.e., Rudrasena I, whom we may identify confidently with Rudradeva, the leading king of Aryavarta in the list of Samudra Gupta (§ 139).

Purāṇic Data on Vākāṭaka Chronology.

The Purāṇas give only 96 years to the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti, out of which they assign 60 years to the Infant and Pravarasena [Pravîra] together, and consequently 36 years would belong to Vindhyaśakti. In other words, with Rudrasena I they close the dynasty. We can, therefore, say with confidence, that Rudrasena came in conflict with Samudra Gupta and disappeared from the

scene. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give 96 years for the passing away of the empire (bhūmi).¹ The Vāyu uses the verb in the plural when it mentions the 60 years and thereby seems to refer the 60 years to both; its verb ['bhokshyanti'] instead of being in the dual, is in the plural, which is a Prakritism, as pointed out by Mr. Pargiter (P.T., p. 50, n. 31). The Bhāgavata does not mention and count the Infant at all. Samudra Gupta seems to have immediately on the death of Pravarasena started this campaign, and the imperial power of Rudrasena I was broken on the battlefield of Allahabad or Kauśāmbī which resulted in the death of the important members of his confederacy, viz. Achyuta, Nāgasena and also probably Gaṇapati Nāga.²

- 66. The Purāṇas thus close the Vindhyaka dynasty, while they regard the Guptas as still running by leaving them unnumbered and by not giving the total of their reign-period. Thus, by summing up the imperial Vākāṭaka rule, they place it before the rise of the Gupta Empire. The 96 years of the Purāṇas as the total of the Vindhyaka (Vākāṭaka) imperial period is confirmed by the Vākāṭaka inscriptions which mark off the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa I by the statement 'who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' son, and whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for one hundred years' (Fleet, G.I., p. 24). The coin of 'Rudra' of the Kosam series, with the characteristic Vākāṭaka wheel, bears the year 100 [§ 61]. Rudrasena thus completed the 100th year of his dynasty, and had a reign of 4 years.
- 67. The Vishnu and Bhāgavata give two totals, one of 100 years and another of an uncertain figure: 56, 6 or 60 (?), the reading being corrupt. The manuscripts of the Vishnu read 'varsha-satam shat varshāṇi' and 'varsha-śatam shaś pañcha varshāṇi', and the Bhāgavata reads 'varsha-śatam bhavisyanti adhikāni shaṭ'. It seems that after writing varsha-śatam something else was written which has become unintelligible. There was no reason to repeat the word varshāṇi

¹ Cf Allahabad inscription where $prithiv\bar{\imath}$ (l. 24) and $dharan\bar{\imath}$ mean 'India' and 'Empire'.

² See part III below (§ 132 ff.).

³ P.T. 50, n. 30.

in the Vishņu after varsha-śatam. The editors or copyists of the Vishņu had two figures before them, one of sixty for Śiśuka-and-Pravīra, and another for the family of Vindhyaśakti, 100 years or 96 years. Ninety-six plus sixty, they made into 'varsha-śatāni shaś pañcha' or "shaṭ", evidently, 100 and 56 or 100 and 60 were contracted into 106. It should be noted that they neither give the 60 of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, nor the 96 of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, and in place of these two they read 106 or 156. We, therefore, take 100 or 96 as the figure for the duration of the independent Vākāṭaka rule and 60 years for Pravarasena and Rudrasena. Rudrasena I by himself, as a king and not an emperor, seems to have had a reign of 4 years (100, 'varsha-śatan', against the 96 years, i.e. the difference between the different data of the two sets of the Purāṇas).¹

68. The Purāṇas give another important chronological datum. They, after closing the rule of the Sātavāhanas about 238 or 243 A.D.² and their contemporaries the Muruṇḍa-Tukhāras (closing about 243 or 247 A.D.³) mention the rise of Vindhya-śakti. Taking, therefore, the start of Vindhya-śakti at 248 A.D., we get the following results from our combined data of the Purāṇas and the inscriptions:

	T.				
1.	Vindhyaśakti			248-284	A.D
2.	Pravarasena I			284-344	A.D.
3.	Rudrasena I			344-348	A.D.
4.	Prithivīsheņa I		••	348-375	A.D.
5.	Rudrasena II			375-395	A.D.
6.	Prabhāvatī Guptā as r	egent for			
	(a) Divākarasena			395 - 405	A.D.
and (b) Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena II				405-415	A.D.
7.	Pravarasena II (on ma	jority)		415-435	A.D.
8.	Narendrasena (succeed	led at tl	he age		
	of 8)	••		435-470	A.D.
9.	Prithivīsheņa II	••	0.8	470-485	A.D.
10.	Devasena (abdicated)			485-490	A.D.
11.	Harishena			490-520	A.D.

¹ Legally from one point of view the Vākātaka dynasty ended with Pravarasena I [§ 28, n.⁵].

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, p. 280.

⁸ Ibid., p. 289.

69. The above chronology which is primarily based upon

Corroboration from the early Gupta history. the Purāṇas, verifies itself with the known historical data we possess, namely, the reign of Chandra Gupta I and the reign of Samudra Gupta. Chandra Gupta cap-

tures Pāṭaliputra with the help of the Lichchhavis, both according to his coins and the Kaumudī-mahotsava. The reigning dynasty of Magadha which must have been a member of the empire of the Bhārasivas, coming into existence about 250 A.D., is dispossessed by Chandra Gupta I. Chandra Gupta I strikes his coins in the name of the Lichchhavis from 320 A.D..1 that is, he defies the overlordship of the Bhāraśivas and their successor Pravarasena I. His coins have about 9 issues [in his two provinces-Kosala and Magadha] which will cover a rule of about 20 years. This again supports the statement of the Kaumudī-mahotsava that the child of Sundaravarman had escaped with his nurse to the Vindhyas and was recalled to Pāṭaliputra by the City Council of that Capital and was crowned king. which according to Hindu constitutional law, would take place after completing the twenty-fourth year. The Kaumudī-mahotsava and Samudra Gupta's inscription both prove that before the time of Samudra Gupta, the Gupta dynasty had been dispossessed of Pāṭaliputra. That there was a breach between the imperial coinage of Samudra Gupta and that of Chandra Gupta I is indicated by the fact that Chandra Gupta I's coins have never been found in association with the imperial Gupta coins. The period which Samudra Gupta occupied as a small rājā, living in Sāketa or between Benares and Sāketa, is determined by his coins of the Tiger type. On these coins he is described merely as 'Rājā Samudra Gupta'. He had not yet adopted the Garuda standard or any of the figures which appear on his imperial coins. The reverse bears the figure of Gangā standing

¹ His previous coins, it seems to me, are found amongst the so-called Pańchāla coins illustrated by Cunningham in his CAI., Pl. VII, figures 1 and 2. These coins really belong to the Kosala series, as *Dhanadeva*, one of the kings of the series I have proved from the Ayodhyā inscription (J.B.O.R.S., X, p. 202 [204]) to be a Kosala king. The legend on the above coins [no. 1] reads *Chandra-guptasya*, and not *Rudraguptasa* as Cunningham read it. The style is purely Hindu, unlike his Lichchhavi coins.

on a Gangetic dolphin (śiśumāra). Gangā and Yamunā were the imperial marks under the Vākāṭakas. Gangā is found on the Bhāraśiva coins and also on the coin of Pravarasena. It seems to have been adopted by Samudra Gupta in his feudatory capacity as an imperial Vākāṭaka mark, which is not repeated in his own imperial coinage. There are very few coins of the Tiger type, yet from the examples found, we are sure that there were at least two issues of this coin. In the Tiger type coins, Samudra Gupta has not assumed the imperial armour-robes like his father, which also shows that Samudra Gupta assumed the humbler rôle of an orthodox Hindu rājā of the United Provinces, quite in line with the other feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. Dating Chandra Gupta I cir. 320 to 340 A.D. and assigning 4 years to the two issues of the Tiger type coinage of Rājā Samudra Gupta, we arrive at 344 A.D., which was a critical date for Samudra Gupta. The death of the great Vākāṭaka Emperor, Pravarasena, who had evidently had a hand in curbing the ambition of Chandra Gupta I and in reinstating the Kota family whose prince had taken refuge at Pampā in the Vākāṭaka dominions, was the most appropriate opportunity in Samudra Gupta's calculation to make a bid for the recovery of Magadha and for an independent position, which had been the unrealized dream of the so-called Mahārājādhirāja Chandra Gupta I. We should recall here that the Tiger coins of Samudra Gupta are not struck with any affinity claimed with the Lichchhavis. The coins do not bear the Lichchhavi symbol of the goddess on the lion, nor the name of the Lichchhavis. At the same time, Samudra Gupta repeats in his inscriptions the fact of his being a Lichchhavi grandson. The constitutional significance of this is that Samudra Gupta lays claim to the independent position once established by the Lichchhavis and to the Lichchhavi dominions. Under his son Chandra Gupta II, the Lichchhavi capital became a provincial seat of a Gupta governor with the title of Mahārāja. The Lichchhavi Re-Date of the disperpublic, therefore, had been suppressed sion of the Lichchhavis. and had gone before the grandson of the Lichchhavi became Emperor of India. And we do find that the Lichchhavi rulers migrated to Nepal where they founded a

monarchy about 330–350 A.D.¹ The inference is irresistible that the Lichchhavis under whose protection the coins of Chandra Gupta I were struck, were defeated and dispersed by the Vākāṭaka emperor about 340 A.D. Samudra Gupta thus had a big legacy of political vendetta against the Vākāṭaka House and he missed no chance. The date 344 A.D. or thereabouts for the death of Pravarasena and the rise of Samudra Gupta thus fully agrees with the known facts.

IX. VĀKĀŢAKA EMPIRE.

70. The Vākāṭaka chronology as proposed above, answers

Chandra Gupta II and the Later Vākātakas. to the known dates of Chandra Gupta II. Chandra Gupta II initiated a policy of political marriages with the once enemy states, as a result of which he mar-

ried his daughters to the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena II and took a daughter of the Kadamba monarch to his own family.2 He himself married a Nāga princess K u b e r a-N ā g ā who was the mother of PrabhāvatīGuptā. Both Dhruva-Devī and Kubera-Nāgā are described as Mahādevī respectively in Gupta and Vākātaka documents; if Dhruvā Devī whose ancestry is not known, is not identical with Kubera Nāgā, he must have married her soon after coming to the throne, and she on the death of Dhruvā Devī would have succeeded to the position of the Mahādevī. An offspring of the Nāga princess going to the Vākāṭaka House, the successors of the Nāgas, put an end to the old Gupta-Vākāṭaka hostility. The Vākāṭakas again begin to rise and are given a measure of independence which no other state enjoyed under the Guptas. Soon after Prabhavati and on the fall of the Gupta Empire, under Narendrasena, they once more become a sovereign power in the Berar-Maratha country including Konkana and up to Kuntala, in Western Malwā and Gujarat, and in Kosalā and Mekalā including Andhra. And under Harishena the same limits are maintained. Narendrasena and Harishena virtually succeed to the Gupta

¹ Fleet, G.I., Introduction, p. 135.

² The Kadamba Kula, pp. 21-22.

overlordship in the West and in the South up to the Kuntala country of the Kadamba kingdom. The significance of this large overlordship will become clear when we deal in detail with the Vākāṭaka government, fully described in the Purāṇas, and the Gupta conquest of the South and the reorganization thereof under Samudra Gupta which is also fully treated in the Purāṇas.

71. There are three main divisions of the Vākātaka Period:

Vākāṭaka Imperial Period.

- (i) the Imperial, (ii) the Guptan, and (iii) post-Guptan (from Narendrasena to Harishena and probably later).
- 72. The Vākāṭaka Empire begins from the reign of Pravarasena I and ends with the reign of Rudrasena I who had no time, on account of Samudra Gupta's first war (§ 132), to assume the imperial position of his Vākāṭaka grandfather. Emperor Pravarasena, whose coin bears the date 76, evidently counted the foundation of his state from the time of his father as he himself ruled for only 60 years. Samudra Gupta similarly in reckoning the 'Gupta-rājya' years¹ counted from the coronation of his father, and followed the example of Pravarasena I.
 - 73. The system of the Vākāṭaka imperial organization was to have sons and other relations as rulers over different provinces, a system borrowed from the Nāga Empire. The

Purāṇas here are specially full. They say that four sons of Pravarasena became rulers and that there were three dynasties of relations by marriages and one dynasty of their descendants, over four centres—Māhishī, Mekalā, Kosalā and Vidūra.² Māhishī here is the Māhishmatī on the Narbada between the British district of Nimar and the Nimar zilla of the Indore State.³ It was the capital of the province of Western

¹ Cf. G.I., p. 95, abda-sate Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau.

² Vindhyakānām kulānām te nripā vaivāhikās trayah (Br.). Vaivahikāh here has been misread in the text of the other Purāṇas as vai vāhikāh and vai vāhikāh. The mistake is curious, but easily understandable. Vaivahikāh was read as two words, vai and vāhikā, and vāhikāh was sanskritized into Vālhikāh and Bālhikāh!

³ See J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 444 for its location.

Malwā. This division of the territories adjoining Berar is found to reappear in the Third Vākāṭaka Period as $Kosal\bar{a}$, $Mekal\bar{a}$, and $M\bar{a}lava$.¹ For all these provinces the Purāṇas give the rulers and their totals, implying their end with the end of the Imperial Vākāṭaka period, i.e., by the conquest of Samudra Gupta.

73 A. Out of the four provincial dynasties, the dynasty of Mekalā is expressly called in the Vāyu 'a dynasty of the descendants' of the Vindhyakas:

Mekalāyām nṛipāḥ sapta bhavishyantīha santatiḥ.2

These subordinate kings of Mekalā, who were seven in number, are described by the Bhagavata and several copies of the Vishnu as the Seven Andhras, i.e., the seven kings of the Andhra Country.3 The Province of Mekalā evidently extended from the south of the present Maikal Range,4 in a straight line, covering the modern State of Bastar wherein begins the Andhra country. To the east of it lay the Province of Kosalā, i.e., the area of the feudatory states of Orissa, and Kalinga. It should be noted here that the region from Raipur to Bastar is marked with the remains of Naga settlements where inscriptions of later Naga families from the tenth century onwards have been found in abundance. The tract formed a part of the Naga Empire with the rest of the Central Provinces. The dynastic identity of this branch of the Vindhyakas or of Vindhyaśakti, I shall discuss under the Southern History when I deal with the Pallavas (§ 173 ff.). It is sufficient to notice here that the Vindhyakas were rulers of Andhradeśa, that their province of Mekalā included Andhra, and that a branch line of the family was established there as a feudatory family who ruled for seven successions.

¹ Bālāghāt plates, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 271. Prof. Kielhorn who thought that the spellings 'Kosalā', and 'Mekalā' were wrong, substituted 'Kosala', 'Mekala'. But the Purāṇa text shows that the inscriptional forms are correct and represent the Vākāṭaka nomenclature.

² P.T., p.51, n. 17. This is the reading in the majority of the MSS. [ibid.], and in all the copies consulted by Wilson and Hall [V.P., 4, pp. 214-215]. The variant sattamāh is a corruption and is meaningless.

⁸ P.T., p. 51, n. 16. ⁴ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 98.

ruling families of the other three dynasties came under the description 'the dynasties of relations by marriage (vaivāhikāh)'. The Naishadha province was under a dynasty who claimed to have descended from Nala. Their capital was at Vidūra, which seems to be represented by Bidar, an ancient capital in the Nizam's Dominions; $Vaid\bar{u}rya$ is the Satpura. The Mahīshin rulers consisted of two sets, one of $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}s$ as the lord of the Mahīshins, and the Pushyamitras with two more communities who are not called kings. These are included amongst the Mahīshins, that is, the people of Western Malwā which is called $M\bar{a}lava$ in the later Vākātaka inscriptions. These republican Mahīshīs were evidently under this rājā, feudatory of the Vākātakas.

74. To take up the centres separately. One ruler of Mahīshī is named, 'Supratīka-nabhāra' son of Śakyamāna.² He was king of the Mahīshins and lord of the land.³ We have

¹ The Vishnu misread the text of the Vāyu and made the groups from the Mahīshī rulers to the Mekalā kings, including the 'Vaivāhikāḥ' (misreading it as 'Vālhikāḥ') sons of Vindhyaśakti [cf. the commentator, 'tat-putrāḥ, Vindhyaśaktyādīnām putrāḥ']. The text of the Vishnu is tat-putrāḥ trayodaśaiva Vālhīkāḥ trayaḥ tataḥ Pushpamitra-Padhumitra-Padhumitrās trayo daśa | Mekalāś cha | (Wilson, V.P., 4, 213). It applied the santatiḥ originally referring to the Mekalas and the figure daśa of the Traya-Pushyamitra group [§74] to the kings following Vindhyaśakti and coming before the Mekalās in the text of the Vāyu, i.e., the 'three' Vālhīkas (i.e., the Vaivāhikas) and the ten Pushyamitras-Padhumitras-Padmamitras. As the number 13 was thus completed, about the Mekalas [the real descendants] it said 'and also the Mekalas'. The Bhāgavata following the Vishnu was content with 13 sons. It is evident that the Vishnu found santati after and with the Mekalas.

The number sapta, seven, the Vishnu reads with Kosalā—'sapta, Kosalāyām' (a reading attested by the commentator and supported by Wilson's MSS. See J. Vidyasagara's ed., p. 584; Wilson, IV, 213, 214). In the preface the [e] Vāyu Purāṇa designates it 'paṇcha-Kosalāḥ' 'the Five-Kosalas' [Vaidisāḥ paṇcha-Kosalāḥ, while it mentions 'Meka-lāḥ Kosalāḥ' separately [Pargiter, PT., p. 3). With these two the seven provinces of the 'Sapta-Kosalā' would be complete. In the M-Bh. also, there are two units in this region with the name Kosala; Sabhā, XXXI, 13 ['the King of Kosala, the King of Veṇa-taṭa, the Kāntārakas, the King of the Eastern Kosalas'].

2.3 Supratīko nabhāras tu samā bhokshyati trimsatim | Šakya-māna-bhavo rājā Mahīshīnām mahîpatih|| [PT., 50-51 ns. 6-10].

coins of this ruler. The coins read:—Mahārāja Śrī Prat (î) kara. Prof. Rapson who published his coins 1 pointed out that they belong to the series of the Nāga coinage.2 The Purāṇic name seems to be Su-Pratikana Bhāra (=Bhāraśiva), as spelt in the present manuscripts. The letter na here is a misreading for ra, like the misreading of paurā for maunā which is pointed out by the commentator of the Vishņu Purāṇa.3 The correct reading was Su-Pratīkara-bhāra. To him 30 years are given. area, i.e. under the centre Mahīshī, there were three communities whose names ended in Mitra. The Vishņu gives them as Pushpa-mitra-Padhumitra-Padmamitrās trayah. The Vāyu and the Brahmanda name only two, Pushpamitrah and Patumitrāh. But the Brahmanda adds trimitrāh. The Bhagavata calls 'Pushyamitra' [i.e., the President] a 'rājanya', which is the technical term for a type of republican president.4 In view of the datum of the Vishnu Purana, naming the three communities and that of the Brahmanda mentioning tri-mitras.5 we have to take that their state was divided into three sections, and that they had ten successions, and the expression travo daśa of the Vāyu is to be taken as meaning that the three states had ten rulers or ten successions of presidents. The other reading in the manuscripts [in place of trayo daśa] tathaiva cha 6 would indicate that they were also given 30 years as given to the main rulers of Mahīshī. They are assigned no separate location, and consequently I take that they were in Western Malwā. They, in the next period, i.e., the Guptan, are described as 'Avantyas' who were under or in the confederacy of the Abhīras (§§ 145 ff.). It is well-known that the Pushyamitras rose to such a height of power in the reign of Kumāra

¹ J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 116, Pl. figs. XVI and XVII.

² He read it as $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$ $Sr\bar{i}$ $Prabh\bar{a}kara$. I read as 't' the letter which he read as 'bh'. In coin legends 'i'-strokes are generally omitted. The difference between 'bh' and 't' of that period is slight and confusing.

³ Vidyāsagara's ed., p. 584.

⁴ See, Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, vol. I, pt. 1, page 40.

⁵ षट्स्तिमित्राः Shaṭs trimitrāḥ of the Brahmāṇḍa is to be taken as a misreading for पट-चिमित्राः, Paṭu-trimitrāḥ (Paṭu, 'the Tri-Mitras', the Three Mitras).

⁶ Wilson, V.P., 4. 214; Pargiter, P.T., 51, n. 14.

Gupta that they attacked the Emperor with great severity. As the successions here are of republican presidents, their number ten means that each president's office lasted for three years. This province of Malwā seems to have been an acquisition of the Vākātakas about 300-310 A.D.

75. In Mekalā, there flourished seven rulers in seventy years, i.e., from about 275 A.D. to 345 A.D. It seems that this portion was acquired in the time of Vindhyaśakti. The rulers of Mekalā who were a branch of the Vindhyaśakti. The rulers of Andhradeśa. The history of Andhra, which is discussed below under Southern India, fully corroborates the period we get from the Purāṇas for these rulers.

nine successions [according to the Bhāga-vata, seven]. They were called Meghas.

They might have been the descendants of the Chedis of Orissa and Kalinga, i.e. the Chedis of the family of Khāravela who were called Mahāmeghas in their imperial days. Their nine or seven successions would carry them back to the time of Vindhyaśakti, the time of the conquest of Andhra, or earlier, to the Bhāraśiva times. According to the Vishņu there were seven territorial units of Kosalā [Sapta-Kosalā]. These rulers are described in the Purāṇas as 'very powerful' and 'very wise'. The Meghas reappear under the Guptas as governors of Kau-śāmbī where two of their inscriptions have been found. 3

76A. The Province of Berar (Naishadha) with its capital at Vidūra (Bidar, Northern Hyderabad) was under the Nala dynasty, who were 'brave' and 'very strong'.

Their number is not noted by any authority except probably the Vishnu, of which the majority of manuscripts would give them also nine successions. Their beginning or end is described in this way—bhavishyanti ā-Manukshayāt: 'they will be until

¹ Taking the reading saptatih of the Brahmanda.

² P.T., 51, n. 16. ⁸ E.I., 1925, p. 158.

⁴ The reading tāvanta eva ('that much') alternates with tata eva ('after').

their destruction by the (dynasty of) Manu', the alternative meaning being 'they will be since the destruction of the Manus'. In the latter case, their rise is dated with the end of the Manus, i.e., the Hārītīputra $M\bar{a}navyas$, i.e., the dynasty called in modern text-books the Chutu Dynasty (see Part IV, § 157 ff.), in other words, since about 275 A.D. In the former case, the meaning would be that the Berar family was destroyed by the Mānavya Kadambas, which would be about 345 A.D. Both interpretations equally suit the known chronology of the Chutus (see Part IV, below) and that of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. Taking the reading of the e Vāyu1 we have to prefer the first interpretation—that the Nalas arose on the destruction of the Chutu Manavyas. This will coincide with the conquest of Andhra in Vindhyaśakti's time. Vindhyaśakti as a general of the Bhāraśivas seems to have put an end to the kingdoms which had arisen on the fall of the Sātavāhanas. end of the Naishadha family came with the conquest of Samudra Whether they had lasted for nine successions or less Gupta. is not certain.

77. Probably under Purikā was comprised the government of Nagpur, Amaraoti and Khan-Purikā and Vākātaka desh. Pravira was the ruler of both Dominions. Purikā and [Kāñ]Chanakā, i.e., both Western C.P. and Bundelkhand were under the direct Home Government. The province of Malwa was under the Naga family stationed at Māhishmatī; Eastern and Southern Baghelkhand, Sirguja, Balaghat and Chanda were under the Mekalā rulers, and the territory to the West of Orissa and Kalinga was under the rulers of Kosalā. If the above map of provincial governorships is compared with Harishena's list (Kuntala-Avanti-Kalinga-Kosala-Trikūţa-Lāţa-Andhra.2..) it would become evident that Kuntala was a later addition, the overlordship of which had been asserted and reasserted from the time of Prithivishena I onwards. might have been included under Māhishmatī in the early Vākātaka period; at about 500 A.D. it was certainly under them.

¹ Pargiter, P.T., 51, n. 24, bhavishyanti Manu-(k)shayāt. ² § 61A (l).

In the Eastern Punjab there was the feudatory 'Dynasty of Singhapura' (Simhapura) The Yādava dynasty who were the 'kings' of Jālanof Simhapura. dhara'. This Simhapura was an ancient fortified city which is known to the Mahā-Bhārata.1 inscription 2 of their family recorded at Lakkhāmandal, on the Upper Jumna, in the district of Dehra Dun, proves that their jurisdiction in the Gupta times extended up to the Siwaliks. The family, as feudatory rulers of the 'Singhapura rājya', seems to have been founded about 250 A.D., as 12 generations of theirs are given in the inscription.3 Their date shows that they must have come into existence in the latter part of the Bhārasiva time or in the beginning of that of the Vākāṭakas. They were $Y \bar{a} d a v a s$, and the inscription says that they had been in that part of the country since the beginning of the This receives corroboration from the Yuga (Kali Yuga). history of the migration of the $Y \bar{a} d a v a$ s from $M a t h u r \bar{a}$ as recorded in the Sabhā Parvan, Chapter XIV, verse 25 ff. The $\dot{S}\bar{a}lva$ s and Kunindas had migrated along with and at the same time as the Yādavas from Mathurā [Sūrasena] and its neighbourhood, and settled in the Punjab. The T a k k a s, who later migrated into Malwa from the Salva country, the Simhapura Yādavas and the Mathurā Yādava-Nāgas thus seem to have all belonged to the great Yādava stock, which explains their special patriotism for Mathurā. Simhapura family was thus a family allied to the Bhāraśivas. It was kept on by the $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}takas$. The 'Simhapura-rājya' seems to have been a bulwark erected by the Naga emperors to

 $^{^1}$ It is placed among the Trigartas, Abhisāra, etc. $Sabh\bar{a},$ Ch. XXVI, 20.

² E.I., i, 10. I endorse the date of the inscription as given by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, viz., the Sixth Century A.D. (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 125) as against the Seventh Century proposed by Bühler (E.I. Vol., i. 11).

³ Their genealogy stands thus:—(1) Senavarman, (2) Āryavarman, (3) Dattavarman, (4) Pradīptavarman, (5) Išvaravarman, (6) Vriddhivarman, (7) Singhavarman, (8) Jala, (9) Yajñavarman, (10) Achalavarman Samaraghangala, (11) Divākaravarman Mahīghanghala, (12) Bhāskara Ripughanghala (E.I., i, 11). Nos. 1 to 11 are related as father to son; No. 12 is brother to No. 11.

throw back the Kushans. The early Simhapura kings are noted in the inscription for their Hindu orthodoxy (\$\bar{A}rya\text{-vratata}\$) and bravery. They were, like the Bhārasivas, Saivaites. Their kingdom lasted, at least, down to the time of Yuan Chwang (631 A.D.) who has noticed it. The Guptas evidently allowed them to continue, probably in view of the importance of their family and the part which they must have played in pushing back the Kushans from northern Āryāvarta during the Bhārasiva time. They are not registered in the Purāṇas as they formed part of the Āryāvarta dominions of the Vākāṭakas which they inherited from the Bhārasivas. The kings of Simhapura, i.e., of Jālandhara, never struck coins of their own. The Madras were to the west of the kingdom of Simhapura.

The Kushans about 280 A.D. were placed between two fires. Varahrān II, who reigned on Kushans in Vākātaka the Sassanian throne from 275 to 292 A.D., Period. subjugated Seistan. It may be assumed that Pravarasena I, who undertook four asvamedhas and must have launched at least four campaigns, carried on the Bhāraśiva policy of weakening and destroying the Kushan Between 301 and 309 A.D. the Kushans seek the protection of Hormazd II, who marries the daughter of the king of Kabul, that is, the Kushan king. This is just the time of the vigour of Pravarasena I, and at this juncture the Kushan king gives up India, which no more remains his 'imperial' seat. He withdraws himself into Afghanistan, outside India proper, for his safety, and throws himself completely into the arms of the Sassanian king. Whatever territory still lingered in the Western Punjab was due to that protection. And the protection required could be only against Pravarasena I, the Hindu Samrāt.

80. When Samudra Gupta comes on the stage and defeats Rudrasena, the whole Empire Vākāṭakas and Eastern Punjab.

The ready submission of the Mādrakas without a fight is an indication of the fact that the Mādrakas had been within the empire and a part of the empire of the Vākāṭakas. That the

Vākā taka Empire covered the Eastern Punjab explains the rise of the new house of the Yādavas in Jālandhara. It also explains the intercourse between the Madraka country and Eastern India in the later Bhāraśiva and the Vākāṭaka period. The Guptas who reach Bihar about 250-275 A.D. were, as we shall see (§ 112), from the Madra country. And this connection with the Madra country is responsible for the Kushan type of coinage at the distant Pātaliputra under Chandra Gupta I, which has caused so much puzzle to a numismatist (Mr. Allan) that he refuses to believe that Chandra-Gupta I's coins could have been struck by him and comes to the conclusion that they were posthumously struck by his son after the conquest of the Punjab. Considering the revival of the Mādraka coinage in the Bhārasiva period and the facts noted above bearing on the history of the Kushan and the foundation of the kingdom of Jālandhara, there can be little doubt that the Vākāṭaka Empire included the Mādraka country.

81. The same has to be said about Rajputana and the States in Gujarat. The inscription of Samudra Gupta places the Ābhīras at the head of the group of the republican communities of Western and Eastern Malwā, and the Mālavas at the head of the group of the Mālavas -Ārjunāyanas - Yaudheyas - Mādrakas. The Mālava-to-Mādraka group extends from S. to N., i.e., from southern Rajputana, one above the other, reaching the Punjab; while the Ābhīra group, beginning in Surāshtra and coming to Gujarat includes the region next to the south of the Mālavas, in a straight line from west to east (§145). This is exactly

Chandra-Gupta I's pre-Pātaliputran coins, as pointed out above, are those illustrated in Cunningham, C.A.I., pl. VII, figs. 1-2. They were struck when he was subordinate to the Bhāra-Śiva-Vākātaka Empire. The coins bear *Triśūla*, which was a Bhāraśiva emblem. Cunningham read the legend as *Rudra-Guptasa* (p. 81). But the first letter is cha which is confirmed by the anusvāra dot on cha. The last letter is sya, not sa.

¹ Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. lxiv ff. It should be noted, in connexion with the theory of Mr. Allan, that no Hindu would ever think of celebrating the marriage of his father and mother. The coins, whereon Chandra Gupta I is caressing his wife, could only have been struck by Chandra Gupta I himself.

the position which the Purāṇas assign to the Ābhīras of Surāshtra-Avanti in the beginning of the next period (the Gupta Empire), which we shall see in the next part of this book. There were no Śaka-Satraps left in Kathiawar or Gujarat in the Vākātaka period. They had been ousted from there, and according to the Purāṇas they remained in Cutch and Sindh only [Part III, § 148]. The Republican India, which re-struck coins in the Bhārasiva period, accepted, without any war, Samudra Gupta as emperor. It was the case of recognizing a settled fact; when the Gupta Emperor succeeded to the position of the Vākāṭaka Emperor, the Republican India naturally accepted the Gupta, as it had accepted the Vākāṭaka, as their Samrāṭ.

The history of Southern India of the time is treated separately in this book (Pt. IV), South. but it is necessary to anticipate a few facts at this point to understand the Vākāṭaka and the Gupta history and its relation with the South. The Vākāṭaka Empire under their direct rule bordered on the frontiers of Kuntala. This is evident from the frequent clashes which occur on the subsequent rise of the strong K a d a m b a kingdom of Kuntala-Karnāta. To be a neighbour of Kuntala, the direct Vākātaka government must cover Konkana and the area of the Southern Maratha States, i.e., their sway must have penetrated to the other side of the Bālāghāt Range. The territory to the east was occupied by 'the Andhras' who were within the Vākātaka zone: Kalinga and Kosalā also being under the Vākāṭaka overlordship. Before the time of Pravarasena I, almost contemporaneous with Vindhyaśakti, the Pallavas established in Andhra-deśa a seat for themselves. Pallavas, like Vindhyaśakti, were Brahmins of the Bhāradvāja gotra. They, about the time of Pravarasena I, like him, perform Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other Vedic sacrifices and try to succeed to the imperial throne of the Sātavāhanas, the Emperors of Dakshināpatha. Here history was being repeated as in the time of Pushyamitra Sunga and Sātakarņi [I] Sātavāhana. The Pallavas are described in the Purānas under designation 'the Andhra Kings'-'the kings of Andhradeśa', as ruling over Mekalā with Andhra, and are specified as 'the descendants (santati) of the Vindhyakas, i.e., Vindyaśakti (§ 176). A dynasty which lasted for about three generations preceded the Pallavas. They were the Ikshvākus who, on the heel of the extinction of the Sātavāhana line, try to succeed the Sātavāhanas, announcing their intention by an asvamedha. Their capital was at Śrī Parvata which is now called Nāgārjuni konda in the Guntur district. They are known from the inscriptions of their relations at the newly discovered stupa at Nagarjuni konda and from inscriptions at Jaggayya-peta. The Ikshvākus disappear at the rise of Vindhyaśakti and the Pallavas. The Pallavas were Brahmins and the Sātavāhanas had been Brahmins. There was a great Brahmin tradition of imperialism in the South, and it was so strong that the moment the Pallavas were defeated by Samudra Gupta, the Kadamba feudatory of the Pallavas, Mayūra-śarman, and his son Kanga, who were Brahmins, not accepting the abolition of the Southern Empire, declared the re-establishment of the Southern Empire. This was not. of course, suffered by Samudra Gupta and Prithivishena Vākātaka.

83. The main feature of the history of the time as between the North and the South is that Need for an All-India the North is trying to establish an Empire.

Empire for All-India. This was the result of the experience which the Hindus had gained during the last empire of the Sātavāhanas. They found that a Southern power could not cope with the invaders against India who always came from the north. To have two emperors in one India appeared to them as a source of great weakness. This seems to be the moral motive for Pravarasena I's becoming the universal Indian Emperor or Samrāt¹ and

¹ The Pallava [Śiva] Skandavarman I, though a Dharma-mahārājādhirāja of the South, never struck any independent coin, and his son and descendants remained 'Mahārājas', i.e., Mahārājas to the Vākātaka Samrāt. 'Mahārāja' denoted a feudatory position at the time. Sivaskandavarman's descendants describe him only as a 'Mahārāja' in their copperplates. The title of [Dharma] Mahārājādhirāja, was short-lived and was intended as against the Cholas, etc., i.e., the South.

for his successor Samudra Gupta expressing satisfaction at uniting the whole of India between his two arms. The need for this was apparent, both from the past experience of the Kushan Empire and the new necessity from the rise of the powerful Sassanian Empire next-door to India, born in the time of Vindhyaśakti. That need stood specially punctuated in the time of Pravarasena I, when by about 300 A.D., the Kushan Empire was practically merged into the Sassanian Empire. The Vākāṭaka king performed four aśvamedhas. On the analogy of the Mahā-Bhārata digvijay a in four sections. we may infer that Pravarasena I had his digvija ya divided into four sections, one of which would have been in the South. Although we have not yet discovered any contemporary account of the digvijaya of the Samrāt Pravarasena, and that the chronology of the Tamil literature mentioning the Aryas and the Vādukas, i.e., their invaders from the North, is extremely uncertain, yet it seems certain that the early Vākātakas having reached and occupied the territory on the other side of the Bālāghāt and the Andhra country, had become the next-door neighbours of the states of the Tamil-land, and a digvijaya over them was made easy by the success of the Pallavas who could and did occupy Kānchī, the capital of the Cholas, the leading state of Tamilagam. The issue having been already settled with the Ikshvāku successors of the Sātavāhanas who had transmitted only a lost prestige and a discredited name as the imperial defenders of India, Pravarasena I could rightfully declare himself to be the Samrāt of the whole of India.

84. The Bhāraśivas had made the Gangā and the Yamunā free, but it was left to the vigorous Pravarasena I, son of a soldier and himself a great soldier, to push the Kushans out of India. In his time, the Kushan king became the king of Kabul, while up to 240 or 245 A.D., according to Chinese authorities, the king who sent Yüeh chī horses to a Hindu king in Indo-China was the Murunda 'King of India', 'that is, he was still regarded as the Emperor of India

¹ Jayaswal, 'The Murunda Dynasty', the Mālavīya Commemoration Volume, p. 185. Murunda was the royal title of the Kushans [J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 203].

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and was reigning in India, although he had left the Antarveda of the Yamunā-and-Gaṅgā.

85. There were three great contributions of the $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}taka$

Three great contributions: All-India Imperial Idea; Revival of Sanskrit; Social Revival. Emperor. His father Vindhyaśakti for about forty years of the last portion of the Bhāraśiva imperial rule was the real fighter and empire-builder of the Bhāraśivas. Inheriting his energy and ideal, Pravarasena I evolved a clear political

thesis. (1) His thesis was a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and enthronement of the śāstras. (2) A great literary movement in favour of S a n s k r i t begins about 250 A.D. and in fifty years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up. We have the drama Kaumudimahotsava, written about 340 A.D., where the whole literary movement is cinematographed. It was written at the Court of a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor by a woman, at practically one sitting, to whom Sanskrit Kāvya was as facile a subject as to Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Classical Sanskrit had become her vernacular. It had become the Court language. Expressions and forms had become set, and everyone in the official circle talked and wrote in Sanskrit. The earliest Vākāṭaka inscriptions found near or at their capital are in Sanskrit. In the South at that time,—a generation after Sivaskandavarman—Sanskrit begins ruling in royal docu-The set genealogical form in the Vākāṭaka documents, repeated generation after generation, shows that in the time of Pravarasena I, Sanskrit drafting must have come Samudra Gupta and his successors follow into vogue. exactly the system of Vākāṭaka drafting. At the Court of another feudatory, Ganapati Nāga, vernacular literary tradition is converted into Sanskrit classical poetry where the verses written for the Naga-raja in the Bhava-śataka remind one of the [Prakrit] Gāthā-śaptaśatī. (3) The Kaumudīmahotsava gives us an insight into the Social Revival. Revival of Varnāśrama dharma and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasized very pointedly; it was the cry of the time. The society under the Vākāṭaka imperialism was seeking to purge

the abuses crept in under the Kushan rule. It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered, and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasena I.¹

86. We find the figures of Gangā and Yamunā become royal and national symbols in architecture. The Matsya Purāṇa which Revival of Art. embodies the text on architecture up to the Sātavāhana period, as observed above, knows nothing of the figures of Gangā and Yamunā as essential or otherwise, to be associated with the temple of Śiva or Vishņu or of any other god. Their adoption is essentially a political motif. The association of the Bhāraśivas with the Ganges was a vital moral force in the Bhāraśiva period. The Bhārasivas liberated the Gangā and brought her in the sphere of art as on their coins. They also brought the Yamunā within the compass of their art, as Bhūmarā and the Nāga-canopied figures of the two river-goddesses at Deogarh would indicate. But the Vākāṭakas made them their 'imperial symbols', from whom they were transmitted to the Chālukyas and became their 'Imperial Symbols' 2 (§ 101 A). The Pallavas —the branch line of the Vākāṭakas—used them.3 And the people were always conscious of the political meaning of this symbolism -'the Empire' ('the Empire of Āryāvarta').4 In the Nāga-

² See S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 54, where *Gangā* and *Yamunā*, *Makara-Toraṇa*, *Kanaka-Daṇḍa*, etc. are called the dynastic imperial insignia (*Sāmrājya-chinhāni*) of the Chālukyas. See also I.A., VIII, 26.

3 See the seal of the Velurapalaiyam plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 521, where in the second row the figure of Yamunā is in relief with a tortoise below, and the figure of Gangā with two pitchers at her feet is in the middle. There is a serpent-hood canopy on the head.

4 I.A., XII, 156, 163. The Rāshtrakūta copperplate of Wani (Baroda) described the triumph of Govind-Rāja II in capturing the banners bearing the figures of Gangā and Yamunā in these words: 'Govinda-Rāja, the personification of fame, taking from his enemies the Gangā and the Yamunā, charming with their waves, acquired at the same time that supreme position of lordship (which was indicated) by (those rivers in) the form of a visible sign'—cf. Fleet, I.A., XX, 275, who attributed them to have been

¹ Long and repeated Vedic sacrifices [agnishtoma, aptoryāma, ukthya, shodaśin, ātirātra, vājapeya, Bṛihaspatisava, sādyaskra and Aśvamedhas] [G.I., 236] must have been occasions for big gatherings and missionary propaganda.

Vākātaka idolisation of Gangā and Yamunā, there is the idolisation and idealisation of the land of the Ganga-and-Yamuna where they re-established orthodoxy. The elegant moulding of the river-goddesses at Bhūmarā and Nachnā are a mirror of the Nāga-Vākātaka culture. The Vākātakas themselves were a line of handsome men. The (e) Vayu manuscript notes that the four sons of Pravira were sumurtayah, handsome, statue-like.1 The Ajantā inscription especially notes the handsomeness of Devasena and Harishena. Under the Vākāṭakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajanta which lay under their direct government, were vivified. The tradition was kept up in the later Vākāṭaka period. The credit of this revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vākāṭakas. The seed of all architectural modes which reach their full development at Eran, Udaygiri, Deogarh and Ajantā and even later, are all to be found in the Vākāṭaka temples at Nachnā—the perforated window, the gavāksha balcony, the sikhara, the entwined serpent, the sculptured and ornamented door-frame, the bulging shape of the sikhara, the square temple in the residential style, etc. [On the age of the Nachnā temples, see App. A at the end.]

of Chandra Gupta I is not due to any want of artistic capacity², but is due to their conservatism and partiality for the past. They would not imitate the coinage of the Kushans whom they regarded as the enemy of the nation and as low Mlechchhas. Its adoption by Chandra Gupta I would have been looked down upon by them as an act of denationalization. Under the Vākāṭaka influence Samudra Gupta himself had to revert, in his feudatory stage, to a type of coinage which was national³.

derived by 'some means or another from the Early Guptas.' [The Nāga-Vākāṭaka symbolism had not been discovered in his time.]

¹ P.T., p. 50, n. 38.

² See the bull on the coin of Prithivishena I, § 61 above; C.I.M., Pl. XX, fig. 4.

³ His tiger-type (which is in gold), bearing the Imperial Vākāṭaka symbol of Gangā.

88. The system of the Vākāṭaka administration was borrowed from the Bhāraśivas and in its

Vākātaka administration. borrowed from the Bhāraśivas and in its turn it was borrowed by Samudra Gupta. But both had introduced certain modifica-

tions of their own. The Vākātaka system consisted of a large central state under their direct rule with two capitals and a number of hereditary sub-rulers, and an imperial confederacy of free states. In the Bhārasiva system the imperial keystone existed almost as an equal brick of the state-arch, while in the Vākātaka one it became a prominent piece.

89. The Vākāṭakas established subsidiary dynasties of their relations. According to the Purāṇas, Pravarasena I's four sons were rulers. Mahārāja Śrī Bhīmasena who has left

a painted inscription in a cave-temple on the Ginjā hill, about 40 miles to the south-west of Allahabad, dated in the 52nd year, was evidently the governor of Kauśāmbī and probably a son of Pravarasena.¹ Important subordinate families (e.g. of Gaṇapati Nāga, Su-Pratīkara), as well as the members of the Empire (the Republics), were allowed to mint their own money. In the Gupta system, in Āryāvarta, the only ruling relation was the Vākāṭaka who was practically independent. The Guptas preferred to have servants as governors and practically stopped the coinage of all subordinates. Both allowed their subordinate rulers to employ the title of Mahārāja, after the fashion of Mahākshatrapa, avoiding of course, that term. The Vākāṭaka emperor, however, did not translate the Shāhānushāhi as Mahārājādhirāja, as the Guptas did, but went back to the time-honoured Vedic imperial title Samrāṭ.

90. The faith of the Vākāṭakas was strict Śaivaism.² It changed only for one generation in the time of Rudrasena II, under the influence of his wife Prabhāvatī and father-in-law,

¹ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, p. 119, Plate XXX; E.I., Vol. III, page 306. See here below § 103.

² The Vākāṭaka inscriptions record it; their coins have Nandi. Up to the time of Rudrasena I, *Mahā-Bhairava* was the royal deity; Prithivishena adopted *Maheévara* [which form is a compromise between Vishnu and Šiva]. G. 1. 236. Nachnā has Mahā-Bhairava [See App. A].

Chandra Gupta II, who were both ardent Vaishnavas. when Chandra Gupta's influence was gone, the family atonce reverted to their Saivaism. Temples and remains of the Vākātaka period are prominently of the martial Siva-the temples at Nachnā, and the Bhairava lingams at Jāso 1, which differ from the [Bhāraśiva] Ekamukha lingams at Bhūmarā and Nakți [illustrated by Mr. Banerji; Arch. Memoirs, No. 16, Pl. XV; ASWC., 1919-20, Pl. XXIX].2 All these lingams artistically belong to one school, though the deity-aspects differ. Although there is no great fundamental difference between these and the Guptan art, yet in aim and spirit they belong to a distinctive school. The great guide to distinguish the Vākātaka from the Gupta remains—which all have been described as Guptan, though Cunningham has put in the caution- 'Although it is probable that the earliest specimen of this kind of temple belongs to a period shortly preceding the Gupta rule' (A.S.R., Vol. IX, p. 42),—is the distinguishing faith. Saivaism is peculiar to the Nāga-Vākātakas and Vaishnavism to the Guptas. Eran and the existing Vaishnava remains at Deogarh should therefore be taken as Guptan, while those at Nachnā, Jāso and mostly (if not wholly) the remains at Tigowa are undoubtedly Vākātakan.

X. Appendix on the Later Vākāṭaka Period [348 A.D.-550 A.D.]

AND THE VAKATAKA ERA [248-249 A.D.].

91. The period of Prithivishena I [348 A.D.-c. 375 A.D.], with his conquest of Kuntala [c. 360 A.D.³], is more allied to the former period. The later Vākāṭaka period begins with Rudrasena II [c. 375-395 A.D.] which is uneventful, except for his change of faith to Vaishṇavism, under the influence of his father-

¹ See Appendix A at the end.

² The Ekamukha lingam at Nakti near Khoh. It is a youthful face as prescribed in Matsya, 258. 4.

³ Prithivishena I defeated Kangavarman Kadamba about 360 A.D. See Part III, below.

in-law, Chandra Gupta II. After him the rule of his widow Prabhāvatī Guptā as Regent to her minor sons extends for about 20 years, probably a year or two beyond that of Chandra Gupta II. Her son Pravarasena II was a contemporary of Kumāra Gupta and seems to have died not at a very ripe age, as the son of Pravarasena II succeeded at the age of eight. According to the Ajanta inscription, the son of Pravarasena II 'ruled well' which is rendered in the Bālāghāt plates 1 as 'he who took upon himself (the responsibility of) the dynastic majesty, on account of the special qualities he had acquired by his previous training [pūrvvādhigata-guna višeshād 2-apahrita-vamsa-śriyah]. Having succeeded at the age of 8, in his Yauvarājya he 'acquired' (adhigata) the necessary qualification and he shouldered the burden of government himself (taking it over from the regency). In this sense apahrita is well-known in the Gupta literature, e.g. paśchātputrairapahritabhārah (Vikramorvasî, Act 3) where apahrita does not denote taking by force.3 The Ajanta inscription which makes the son and heir of Pravarasena II come on the throne at the age of 8, leaves no room for a rebellion by a younger prince. His name is lost in the Ajanta inscription but is preserved in the Balaghat plates as Narendrasena. That the prince ruled well is corroborated by the Bālāghāţ inscription where

¹ The Bālāghāt plates are merely a draft kept ready to engrave on the blank plates an order of a land-grant when made. It therefore has no gift, no donee, no date, no endorsement of registration (like 'drishṭam') and no seal cut. Kielhorn under a mistaken notion of the date of the Deva Gupta of the Vākātaka plates, who was taken to be a later Gupta as proposed by Fleet, dated this as well as the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II wrongly in the 8th century (E.I., IX, 270, 269; E.I., III, 260). Bühler's dating proved to be correct.

² Kielhorn read with doubts viśvāsāt. I think, what was intended was viśeshāt. An expression like guṇa-viśvāsāt will be meaningless in Sanskrit, guṇa must be present, and here it had already come from culture. No question of 'confidence' arises. This adhigata-guṇa-viś (esha) corresponds to guṇaviśesa-kusalo in the Hathigumpha Insc., line 17 (E.I., XX, 80).

³ apahrita having been wrongly interpreted by Kielhorn as 'took away the family's fortune', it was supposed that there was a disputed succession.

Narendrasena is described to have kept his feudatories of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava obedient to him. The overlordship on Kuntala or a strong political alliance therewith is inferable from the fact of the marriage of Narendrasena with Lady Ajjhitā, daughter of the King of Kuntala. Narendrasena, according to the chronology proposed above, flourished about 435-470 A.D. The king of Kuntala with whom he had his political alliance through his marriage with the Princess Ajjhitā at that time was Kākustha, the Kadamba, who according to the Kadamba inscription on the Talagunda pillar (E.I., VIII, p. 33; cf. Moraes, Kadamba Kula, pp. 26-27) contracted political marriages with several great families including the Guptas. This monarch reached the zenith of the Kadamba power (c. 430 A.D.). Kākustha, as the Yuvarāja, in the reign of his brother used the Gupta era (§ 128 n.). On account of the marriage alliance his position improved. The Gupta marriages put the Kadambas and the Vākāṭakas on more or less an independent status. By or in the reign of Kumāra Gupta I Narendrasena's position must have been greatly strengthened as against his own feudatories and neighbours by his putting an end to the family feud with the Kadambas.

92. Narendrasena, about 455 A.D., passed through most troublesome days, which were troublesome both for the Gupta Emperor Kumāra Gupta, his maternal uncle, and for himself. The powerful Pushyamitra Republic, to whom were allied the Republics of the Patumitras and Padmamitras, rose and attacked the Imperial power. They had been subordinate to the Vākāṭakas and were somewhere in Western Malwā, near Māndhātā. Just about that time, evidently connected with that movement of rebellion or attempt at freedom, was the attempt of the Traikūṭakas, a dynasty which had been newly founded under that designation about that time by Dahrasena.¹ Dahrasena Traikūṭaka was in Aparānta² between the Tapti-

¹ E.I., X, 51.

² Raghuvamáa, iv, 58, 59; Rapson, C.A.D., p. elix. See also the inscription of Vyāghrasena, son of Dahrasena, of 490 A.D., E.I., XI, 219, where they are described as the rulers of Aparānta.

western Khandesh-Kanheri and the sea (above Bombay). Like his sovereigns or overlords the Vākāṭakas, Dahrasena adopts a dynastic designation ('Traikūṭaka') after a place-name and a name-ending -sena, although his father who was a commoner was Indra-datta. Without any conquests he performed an aśvamedha in advance and struck his coins. But he was soon brought back under Narendrasena's control, as he is found using the Vākāṭaka Era in 456 A.D. (see §§ 102–106). The Pushyamitras before 456 A.D. were defeated by the Imperial power. Narendrasena had the support of his father-in-law's kingdom situated next to Konkaṇa [Aparānta] and at that time either under Kākustha or Kākustha's son Śāntivarman who too was a very strong monarch.¹

93. Narendrasena seems to have had two sons. The elder
Prithivīshena II succeeded him and
was followed by Devasena, who on
his abdication was followed by his own son

Harishena. Devasena preferred a life of ease and pleasure to the duties of kingship. Prithivishen a II found it necessary on the break-up of the Gupta Empire to make a heroic effort to raise his family from a 'sunken' condition, and he succeeded, for we find the next king in possession of all the Vākātaka Empire including Kuntala, Trikūta and Lāta. The trying period in the reign of Prithivishena II (470-485), on the chronology proposed above, coincides with the second Hun invasion, c. 470 A.D. His family must have 'sunk' along with the Guptas. Great credit is due therefore to Prithivishena II for its rehabilitation. Within twenty years or so, while the Huns were still powerful, we find the Vākāṭakas next-door to them and stronger than before, having under their sway Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosalā, Trikūţa, Lāţa and Andhra, that is, the whole of the Vākāṭaka dominions in the south, the Central Provinces and Western India up to Konkana and Gujarat. A new dynasty just then founded by a Maitraka general at Valabhī covered the next territory of Surāshtra.

¹ See Kadamba Kula, p. 28,

² Vyāghrasena was the king of Aparānta [Trikūta] at the time [E.I., XI, 219], whom we find using the Vākāṭaka era (§ 102 ff.).

The Maitrakas who had been evidently generals to the Guptas, as they used the Gupta era, probably arose from one of the Mitra Republics (Pushyamitras, etc.). They must have been feudatories to the Vākāṭakas, the next-door power. The Vākāṭakas thus acted as the bulwark in the Central Provinces and Western India against the Huns in 470-530 A.D.

94. Thus with the end of the Gupta overlordship the fortunes of the Vākāṭaka family took Harishena. a different turn. Prithivishena II rescued the family fortunes in the days of the disruption of the Gupta Empire. Harishena, son of Devasena, succeeded to the whole of the Vākāṭaka territory, both their home provinces and feudatory dominions. He showed great vigour and re-established the Vākāṭaka Empire. From the time of the death of Skanda Gupta, the Vākāṭakas become a wholly independent power. At this period they seem to exhibit great recuperating capacity and hold their own in a period of revolution and political changes in the Empire of India. All the three princes Narendrasena, Prithivishena II and Harishena were capable and successful rulers. Harishena's rule ended about 520 A.D. The later history of the Vākāṭakas is lost.

95. Harishena, about 500 A.D., had to subjugate some of the old feudatories of his house, Extent of the Second including the Traikūtas. This seems to Vākātaka Empire. be evident from the Ajanta inscription and the inscriptions of the Traikūţakas. Dahrasena, the Traikūtaka, had once declared his independence about 455 A.D., i.e. the year of the Pushyamitra War of Skanda Gupta, and was brought back by Narendrasena under his control (§ 92). But we find again his son Vyāghrasena [c. 490] A.D.] issuing coins, and then the family disappearing, which is to be dated in the reign of Harishena. After 494 A.D. no trace of their family is found. It should be noticed that the Traikūtakas use the era which, as we shall presently see, was the

¹ The Pardi plates of Vyāghrasena are dated in the year 241 [489-490 A.D.] and the Kanheri plates are dated in 245 (E.I., XI, 219; Cave Temples of W.I., p. 58).

era of the Vākāṭakas. It seems that this feudatory dynasty was finally abolished in or after the reign of Harishena.

96. A great proof of an effective sway of the Vākāṭakas over Konkana, wherein Trikūṭa was situated, is an inscription published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV. p. 282, where a fortress named after the political home of the Vākāṭakas, the Kilakilā, is mentioned as 'Kilagilā' which was the capital of Konkana at the date of the inscription (1058 A.D.). Trikūta was at the western end of the Vākātaka Province of Berar and Khandesh. Harishena made obedient to himself Kuntala and Lata with Avanti, which were at each end of Aparanta. Kalinga, Kosala and Andhra brought the Vākātaka Empire from Trikūţa and the western sea to the eastern seaboard. All these had been parts of the Vākāṭaka Empire be-Lāta was next-door to the Vākāṭaka kingdom and was the old seat of the Abhiras. Avantihad been under the Pushyamitra group. In the time of Narendrasena it is included in the term Mālava. In the time of Pravarasena II or Prabhāvatī Guptā, this was probably transferred back to the Vākāṭakas by the Guptas. The subjugation of Lāta by Harishena means the final extinction of the Abhīras and the Pushyamitras, if they had not already disappeared under Skanda Gupta who had established a governorship of Surāshţra immediately after the Pushyamitra War. The addition of Lata to the Vakataka Empire was a result of the fall of the Gupta Empire.

97. The Second Vākāṭaka Empire was so rich that even

Prosperity and Art under the Later Vākātakas. a minister of Harishena could excavate and decorate with paintings a beautiful chaitya-building at Ajantā, Cave No. XVI, adorned, as the donor himself with

a rightful pride says,

'with windows, spires, beautiful terraces, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, supported by lovely pillars and stairs'—'a lovely chaitya-building'.

A member of the same ministerial family cut the Cave No. XIII, which is called the Ghatotkacha Cave, wherein the

donor gives his family history. The family was of Malabar Brahmins who married both Brahmin and Kshatriya wives. Hastibhoja was the minister when the Vākātaka Devasen a ruled (' Vākāṭake rājati Devasene'). The wealth of the empire of the later Vākātakas is further illustrated by the inscription in Cave-temple No. XVII, which was cut as a Vihāra by a Vākātaka feudatory in the reign of King Harishena. His family had existed for nine generations, which evidently arose under the reign of Pravarasena I. They were probably a Gujarat family, which is suggested by their names. They proudly describe this piece of architecture 'the Chaitya of the King of Ascetics' 'as a piece of gem in monolith' (ekāśmakam maņdapa-ratnam-etat) where the donor placed a reservoir 'charming to the eyes'. These donors were fully alive to a keen sense of æsthetics and their art was highly conscious. The architectural motifs of the pillars are not repetitions; every piece is an individual conception. The 'Aśokan' polish is used on the walls of Cave No. XIII 1, but the artistic sense seems to have forbidden its employment on any art moulding of the Ajantā caves.

98. Some of the most famous Ajaṇṭā paintings, e.g., Buddha's return to his father's palace, the scene between Yaśodharā-Rāhula and the King of Ascetics, and the Ceylon Battle, are to be found in the two Vākāṭaka caves, Nos. XVI and XVII. The caves are pre-eminently of the Āryāvarta Nāgara variety.

¹ Dr. Vincent Smith took Cave No. XIII, to be a B.C. Century Cave (History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 275) on account of its polish. But the art of 'Maurya' polish was not forgotten. It was discredited in the Sunga and Sātavāhana period and was revived in the Vākātaka-Gupta period. In the sculptures of the Chandragupta Cave at Udaygiri and also on several sculptures at Khajurāho I have personally seen the polish. The method was not lost up to the eleventh century when some of the broken parts of sculptures at Khajurāho bear it as an act of repair. Some artistic reason was at the bottom of the discontinuance of the polish. At Khajurāho, the outer sculptures are never polished. It seems to me that the polish interfered with light and shade and tended to obliterate their natural lines. The chisel protested against the veneer. The history of the so-called Maurya polish before the Mauryas is carried back by polished prehistoric vajras, made in imitation of bones, found in Chota Nagpur, which are in the Patna Museum [the polish on these is artificial and not the result of constant handling].

- 99. The Vākātaka territory was the meeting ground of the North and the South. The Vākātaka minister Hastibhoja and his family were from the Southern country. And also, the Pallavas themselves were a branch of the Vākātakas; constant intercourse between the two kingdoms would have been a natural sequence. This explains the occasional introduction of the Pallava motifs in the Vākātaka cave-temples. The Dravidian features in some of the sculptures are also similarly explained.
- 100. It should be noticed that we possess the written history of three caves only. But we can safely say that the caves which are called Guptan, should be all attributed to the Vākātakas, as the direct Gupta rule never reached Ajantā, and Ajantā continued to remain throughout in Vākātaka possession.
- 100 A. The later Vākāṭakas, though not Buddhists themselves, allowed their subjects full liberty of conscience to follow Buddhism.
- vakātaka Horse. Which is noted in the Ajantā inscription dealing with the military greatness of Vindhyaśakti. Here seems to lie the key to the military strength of the Vākātakas. Only a power strong in cavalry can successfully operate in the Vindhyas. The horse of the Bundelās became famous in later history. The cavalry tradition of Bundelkhand is probably ancient.
- takas, c. 550 A.D.

 The end of the Vākātakas, c. 550 A.D.

 The end of the Vākātakas (Bijapur district).

 This should be taken as marking the close of the Vākātaka kingdom. The imperial symbols of Gangā and Yamunā would thus be taken over by the Chālukyas from the Vākātakas (§ 86) at this period, which in later times would naturally be regarded by the Chālukyas as their own hereditary symbols coming down from the very foundation of the family.

 Harishena Havasas (§ 86)

¹ E.I., VI, 1. ² E.I., VI, 352-353; S.I.I., i. 54 [Chellur grant].

Jayasimha or Raṇarāga [the grandfather and father of Pulakeśin I]. Harishena is recorded to have subjugated or made obedient to himself (.....svanirdeśa.....) the rulers which had been feudatories of the Vākāṭakas with the new addition of Andhra.

Evidently the new family of the Chālukyas arose in the Andhra country, in the immediate vicinity of Berar. Pulakeśin's son Kīrtivarman conquered the Kadambas and the small rulers of Aparanta, and Mangalesa conquered the Kāţachchuris, before which the Vākāţakas had evidently already disappeared. The Vākāṭakas, therefore, must have ended with the Aśvamedha of Pulakeśin I. The 'Rājā Jayasimha Vallabha' who in the Aihole inscription is said to have founded the Chālukya family (E.I., Vol. VI, p. 14) is not credited with any conquest, nor is his son Ranaraga. After Pulakesin I his sons and grandson established their empire over the same territories which had been under the Vākātakas (Lāţa, Mālava, Gurjara, Mahārāshtra, Kalinga, etc.), which means that they were the political successors of the Vākāṭakas and were laying their claim as such. This also explains their clash with the Pallavas, and their permanent enmity with them, the Pallavas being blood-relations [a junior branch] of the Vākātakas. The description of the 'Rājā Jayasinha Vallabha' (E.I., VI, 4, verse 5) shows that Jayasimha had been a Vallabha or revenue officer of the king of the former government, i.e. the Vākāṭaka. It seems that after Harishena, in the reign of one of his descendants, probably a grandson, or on the failure of the Vākāṭaka line, Pulakeśin I stepped into the shoes of the Vākātakas and claimed their imperial dignity and position. Their inscriptions silently pass over the Vākāṭakas.

THE ERA OF 248 A.D.

102. We have three dated records of which two certainly, and one presumably, are Vākāṭaka. The coin of Pravarasena I is dated 76 (§ 30). The coin of Rudrasena is dated 100 (§ 61).

There cannot be any doubt as to these two being Vākāṭakan. Then, there is the inscription of the Mahārāja Bhīmasena dated in the 52nd year (§ 89). Pravarasena I himself ruled for 60 years. The dates on his coins and on that of his successor, therefore, are to be referred to a reckoning started from the previous rule, that is, the time of the coronation of his father, which on the known chronology of the Guptas and its correspondence with the Vākāṭakan, must have taken place in the middle of the third century. The chronology adopted by us above, places the latter's rise in 248-249 A.D. If we can find this era which was certainly used by Pravarasena I, used in any part of the Vākāṭaka Empire in later centuries, we can identify it with the Chedi Era, which is called, wrongly, by some writers as Traikūṭa Era.

Bhīmasena, General Cunningham who discovered it remarked that the 'characters of the inscription are of the earliest Gupta forms; but the opening is worded in the well-known style of all the shorter Indo-Seythian inscriptions'. He assigned the inscription to the pre-Gupta time. The style is certainly the same as that of the Kushan inscriptions found at Mathurā. It reads:—

Mahārājasya Śrī Bhīmasenasya samvatsare 50,2 grīshmapakshe 4 divase 10.2 (etc.).²

The name Bhīma-sena, the style of dating and the early character of the letters warrant our assigning Bhīmasena's inscription

¹ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, p. 119, Plate XXX; and E.I., Vol. III, p. 302, Plate facing page 306.

² I have given the reading from the tracing of this painted inscription reproduced in the Epigraphia Indica which is better than the one lithographed by Cunningham. I am giving the reading of the necessary portion only.

to the same era in which are dated the Vākāṭaka coins. Their value would be: year 52=300 A.D.

" 76=324 " " 100=348 "

The years, except the last one, fall within the reign of Pravarasena I.

104. For the period after Pravarasena I, we have one solid fact bearing on the question in that the Vākāṭakas, as already noticed, never used the Gupta era, even when Prabhāvatī Guptā was the regent.

105. The existence of an era beginning in 248 A.D. nextdoor to Bundelkhand was contended for Area of the Era by Dr. Fleet 1: two contemporary kings of 248 A.D. of the Gupta time date their records, one in the named era of the Guptas and the other in an unnamed era: the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin has the dates 156, 163 and 191 of the Gupta Era in his documents, while his contemporary the Mahārāja Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. along with whom the former fixed up a boundary pillar at Bhumara in the Nagaudh State, has the years 193, 197, 214 of an unspecified era in his documents. The two rulers, on the boundary pillars, used neither of these eras but a neutral reckoning the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara. Dr. Fleet contended that by referring the years of Sarvanātha to the era beginning with 248-49 A.D. we get 462-63 A.D. for Sarvanātha and 475 A.D. for Hastin. Dr. Fleet, however, in 1905 (J.R.A.S., page 566) gave up this contention and referred both sets of dates to the Gupta Era, on the ground that the era of 248 A.D. was not known in or near Bundelkhand or Baghelkhand, and that it was known in 456 or 457 A.D. in Western India as employed by Dahrasena, the Traikūṭaka king. It was, however, recognised by him that the era could not have originated with the Traikūtakas:

'But there is nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭa era and still less to prove that it was so founded' (p. 657).

Similar is the view of Prof. Rapson.¹ To the association of the era with the Kalachuris in the twelfth century nobody has attached any importance, and this, for the simple reason, that there is no room in history for the Kalachuris to have started an era in 248 A.D. in the Chedi country or elsewhere. Fleet hesitatingly suggested that the founder of the era might have been the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena who dealt a blow at the Sātavāhana power. Fleet also pointed out that the era is somehow connected with the fall of the Sātavāhanas about 248 A.D. Prof. Rapson remarked on this: ¹

'But the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras.'

And Prof. Rapson stressed that it was impossible to connect the Ābhīras and the Traikūtas as belonging to the same dynasty or even to the same race for total lack of evidence. Moreover, the Ābhīras who rose against the Western Śakas arose much earlier than 248 A.D.—i.e. *cir.* 188-190 A.D.²

106. The Traikūtakas who were feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, by using the era used by Pravarasena I, prove their subordinate position and submission to the Vākāṭakas. The Traikūṭakas employ the feudatory title of Mahārāja. The appearance of the era in the western portion of the Vākāṭaka Empire shows that the era was in vogue amongst the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. The use of the regnal years of individual kings from the time of Prabhavāti Guptā to Pravarasena II is in a period when the Gupta influence is at its zenith at the Vākāṭaka Court.

107. The only objection of Dr. Fleet that there was no connection visible between Trikūta where the era is found in use in the fifth century A.D. and Chedi (Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand) with which the Era of 248 A.D. is associated, now disappears in the light of the data on the Vākātaka history. We find the era in vogue in the Chedi country in the time of Pravarasena I. Fleet's former view that Śarvanātha's

¹ Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, page clxii.

² V. Smith, Early History of India, p. 226, n., citing Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

years are in the Era of 248 A.D. seems to have been sound. There is not the slightest doubt that the Mahārāja Hastin was a Gupta feudatory and that there was a necessity to fix a boundary pillar between the Vākāṭaka dominions under Mahārāja Śarvanātha and the Gupta dominions under Hastin. Both Śarvanātha and Hastin were feudatories and Hastin avowedly a Gupta feudatory. Śarvanātha, therefore, could only be a feudatory to the Vākāṭaka king, whose capital or town at Nachnā lay within a few miles of Uchchakalpa or Uchahara (Nagaudh State).

§ 108. There are two facts which establish the Era of 248 A.D. to be the Vākāṭaka Era. The Purāṇas, after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power whether at once or subsequently—e.g. the Gunta Era does not come into force until the last years of Samudra Gupta or the reign of Chandra Gupta II [the forged copperplates of Samudra Gupta (Gaya and Nālandā plates), which were imitated from some genuine copperplates, are dated in regnal years]. Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasena I became Emperor and the previous Emperors, i.e. the Kushans, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position. Samudra Gupta did the same, and he also, like Pravarasena, counted the era from the coronation of his father. It is apparent that he followed the Vākāṭaka precedence and his example helps us here like a reflex action.

We would therefore call the era of 248-49 which began on the 5th of September, 248 A.D. ¹, the Vākāṭaka Era of Chedi. ²

¹ Kielhorn, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 129.

² The dates of Jayanātha, Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa, being taken to be in the Era of 248 A.D. his Kārītalâî plates dated '174' fall in 422 A.D., and his father Vyāghra could very well have been a younger contemporary of Prithivīshena I, if we take the interval to be that of 45 years or so, and he could have endowed pious foundations in the capital of his king and might be identical with the Vyāghra deva of the three inscriptions at Ganj and Nachnā. But the identity by no means could be established on the present materials. If they are identical, Jayanātha's dates must be in the Era of 248 A.D.

PART III.

Magadha (31 B.C. to 340 A.D.) and the Gupta India at 350 A.D.

'Rājādhirājah prithivīmavitvā Divam jayaty-aprativārya-viryah'.

'The King of Kings of irresistible prowess, having protected the Country (thereby) wins Heaven'. [Asvamedha Coin of Samudra Gupta.]

 \bar{a} -Samudra-kshitté \bar{a} n \bar{a} m = \bar{a} -N \bar{a} ka-ratha-vartman \bar{a} m [K \bar{a} lid \bar{a} sa].

XI. HISTORY OF MAGADHA FROM 31 B.C. TO 250 A.D. AND THE RISE OF THE GUPTAS [275 A.D. TO 375 A.D.].

109. Magadha, after the fall of the Kāṇvas, according to the Purāṇas, passed on to the Andhras and Lichchhavis at Pāṭaliputra.

Andhras [Sāṭavāhanas]. This statement is corroborated by the find of

Sātavāhana coins in the excavation of Bhīṭā [Allahabad District]. I read one Sātavāhana coin excavated in my presence by Dr. Spooner at Kumhrār [Patna]. The Sātavāhanas, however, could not have been for more than fifty years at Pāṭaliputra and in Magadha after the fall of the Kānvas (31 B.C.). The Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II of the Lichchhavi dynasty, dated in Srī-Harsha Samvat 153 (=758 A.D.), states that 23 successions before Jayade va I, his ancestor Supushpa Lichchhavi was born at the city of Pushpapura. The date of Jayadeva I is about 330 A.D. to 355 A.D. as worked out by Dr. Fleet.² Now, giving an average of about 15 years to this long list of 23 kings we may place Supushpa in the beginning of the Christian Era. The Lichchhavis in occupying Pāṭaliputra might have taken a mandate for doing so from the Sātavāhana Emperor, or they might have independently captured the capital, which they had aspired to do for centuries. The

¹ I.A., Vol. IX, p. 178. Fleet, G.I., Introduction, pp. 184-185.

² Fleet, G.I., Introduction, 135, 191; I.A., XIV, 350.

disturbance caused to the Sātavāhana Emperor by the appearance of Kadphises and Wema Kadphises in Northern India afforded an ample opportunity to the Lichchhavis to fill up the vacuum at Pāṭaliputra. We may also take it that their occupation of Pāṭaliputra would have ended with the advance of Vanaspara, viceroy of Kanishka, to Magadha about the close of the century.¹

The Lichchhavis, having once occupied Pāţaliputra 110. for about a century, must have felt a Kshatriya dynasty of sort of claim to re-possess Magadha Kota. on the liberation of the Gangetic valley by the Bhārasivas. But when the Bhārasiva reorganisation comes into play, we find Magadha not in the possession of the non-Brahmanical Lichchhavis but of an orthodox Kshatriya family. This family is called 'the Magadha family' in the Kaumudi-mahotsava, and by Samudra Gupta it is called 'the Dynasty of Kota' (Kota-kula). The founder's name seems to have been Kota; the descendant of Kota who was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and whose name is lost in the earlier part of the Allahabad inscription, is called Kotakulaja. The names of these Magadha kings ended in varman.2 This family must have come into existence about 200-250 A.D.

111. The Guptas appear about 275 A.D. somewhere in Magadha. Gupta, the first Rājā, srises as a feudatory prince. As later, we find the early Guptas connected with Allahabad [Prayāga] and Oudh [Sāketa], Mahārāja Gupta's fief seems to have been near about Allahabad. His son was Ghatotkacha, and Ghatotkacha's son was the first prince who turned the name of his ancestor Gupta into a dynastic title. His name was Chandra. At the time of the rise of Chandra, called by the Prakrit name Chanda-sena in the Kaumudī-mahotsava, the king

¹ See Part I (§ 33) above.

² See in Bhandarkar Annals, 1930, XII, pp. 50 ff., 'Historical data in the drama Kaumudī-Mahotsava' by the present author.

 $^{^3}$ Prabhāvatī Guptā [Poona Plates, E.I., xv] appropriately calls him $\bar{a}dir\bar{a}ja.$

⁴ For Chandra becoming Chanda in Prakrit see the inscription of Chandasāti, the Sātavāhana king, published in E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 317,

of Magadha at Pāṭaliputra was Sundara-varman, ruling from his palace called Su-Gānga. This palace is named in the inscription of Khāravela as the Su-Gangîya and in the Mudrā-Rākshasa as the Su-Gānga. The capital city of Pātaliputra thus came down with its ancient palace intact to the period of king Sundara-varmā and Chandra. King Sundara-varman was an old man, having a child of a few years of age yet in charge of a nurse. Chandra or Chandra-sena had been adopted as his son by the king of Magadha, evidently before the birth of the young prince. Chandra regarded himself as the heir, being the elder, though a Kritaka son. He entered into a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis who are described as the enemy of the Magadha dynasty in the same drama Kaumudi-mahotsava.1 The Lichchhavis with a large army and Chandra laid a siege to Pāṭaliputra. A battle was fought in which the old king Sundara-varman died. The young prince Kalyāņa varman was carried away to the Kishkindhā hills by the faithful ministers. Chandra founded a royal dynasty (rāja-kula). The angry authoress of the drama calls the Lichchhavis 'Mlechchhas' and Chanda-sena a Kāraskara, implying a casteless or a low-caste man, not fit for royalty.2

- Origin of the Guptas.

 Origin of the Guptas.
 - (a) that nowhere they disclose their origin or caste status, as if they have purposely concealed it; and,
 - (b) that their easte sub-division was Dhārana.

and coins of Śri Chandra Sāti where 'Chandra' becomes 'Chandra' —Rapson, Coins of Andhras, p. 32. For the dropping of sena, cf. the case of Vasanta-sena and Vasantadeva of the same king (G.I., Introduction, p. 186 ff.); Dahrasena on his coins adopts the style Dahra-gana (C.A.D., p. elxiv).

¹ The drama is published in the Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Research Society, Vols. II and III.

² कहिं एरिस-वंपस्स से राचिसरी ?-K.M., Act. IV, p. 30.

From the inscription of the Gupta Princess, Prabhāvatī Guptā¹ we know that she belonged to Dhāraṇa gotra. She is evidently giving here her father's gotra, as her husband's gotra was different (Vishnu Vriddha). Our knowledge, however, is expanded by the Kaumudi-mahotsava which gives the caste of Chandra as Kāraskara. The Kāraskaras are mentioned by Baudhayana as a low community, to whom the Brāhmanas should not go and on return from whom they should perform a ceremony of purification.2 The Kāraskaras in Baudhāyana are joined with the Punjābī community Ārattas (which literally means—'the republicans']. Their exact location is given by Hema-chandra, who in explaining the Salvas calls them the people of the Kara valley.3 The place Kārapatha or Kārāpatha was at the foot of the Himalayas.4 The $S \bar{a} l v a$ s were a division of the M a d r a s and were at Sialkot where their name as Siāl, derived from Sālva which is also spelt as Sālya⁵, survives. The Kāraskaras were therefore a Punjab people, a subdivision of the Madras. We know that the Madras were called Vāhīkas and Jārtikas 6. The Madraka? community was thus made up of several subdivisions, comprising Sālvas, Yartris or Jārtikas [whom we call to-day Jāts] and others. Now, we may recall here the grammatical illustration of Chandra-gomin: 'the Jarta (king) defeated the Hūnas.' This is pre-eminently referable to Skanda Gupta8. We have thus evidence from different sources converging at one point, that is, that the Guptas were

¹ E.I., XV, 41; cf. ibid., p. 42, n.

² Baudhāyana, Dh. S., I, i. 32.

³ Hemachandra, A-Ch. IV, p. 23 (Sālvās tu Kāra-kukshīyāh).

⁴ Raghuvamsa, XV, 90. Wilson's Vishņu Purāņa, Vol. III, p. 390.

⁵ Wilson and Hall, V.P., Vol. V, p. 70.

⁶ Rose, Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, i. 59; Grierson, L.S.I., IX., Pt. 4, p. 4, n. 8. M. Bh., Karna P., (verse 2034).

⁷ Cf. on 'Madraka', my Hindu Polity, i, pp. 120-121. It means 'one owing allegiance to the Madra State'.

⁸ G.I., 54 (l. 15), 59 (l. 4). The two inscriptions (Bhītarī and Junāgarh) describe a decisive and famous battle; while Yaśodharman's was a mere raid into Kashmir (G.I., 147, l. 6) and the Hūṇas' submission to Yaśodharman was practically without a war,

Kāraskara Jāṭs—originally from the Punjab. Kakkar Jāṭs¹ in my opinion are the modern representatives of the original community of the Guptas. Amongst the Kāraskaras the particular subdivision to which Guptas belonged was evidently Dhārana. The word gotra in Prabhāvatī Guptā's inscription (Poona Plates) would mean a caste-subdivision. Dhanri, the Jāṭ clan found in Amritsar,² may be compared with the Sanskrit Dhārana of Prabhāvatī Guptā. The Kaumudīmahotsava is in full agreement with and is in fact supported by Chandra-gomin, who is undoubtedly a Gupta author.

113. The position of the Madraka Jāts was probably not very low at the time, for had it been very low, King Sundaravarman would not have thought of making Chandra-sena his adopted son. His original intention seems to have been to bequeath the kingdom to Chandra. And it was only due to the birth of Kalyāṇa-varman from some younger queen (Kalyāṇa-varmā is said to have several step-mothers—'mātarah') that the breach between the adoptive father and the adopted son occurred. The real cause of the opposition from the public, which was very pronounced, seems to be a dislike for the social system of the Kāraskaras who were not subject to the fourfold-varnāśramism of the orthodox system. It is the same dislike which is expressed in the Mahā-Bhārata against the Madrakas. They had one caste amongst them with social equality and freedom, which did not agree with the settled rules of the Gangetic society. The compliment was mutually exchanged: the Kaumudi-mahotsava taunted at the Kāraskara caste as rulers; the Guptas replied-'we shall abolish the Kshatriyas'.

114. Now we know from the Purāṇic history that in the reign of Kanishka (and probably also of his successor), Vanaspara imported some Madrakas for administrative purposes. But the Punjab military dress of Chandra Gupta I on his coins would suggest that the family had migrated recently in the Bhāraśiva

¹ Of. Rose, Glossary, ii. 363, n. The name is pronounced as Kakkar also.

² Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier, Vol. II, p. 235.

period after the liberation of the Madraka country by the latter. Very likely a Bhārasiva king gave Gupta a fief, having border-land between Bihar and Kausāmbī, for it was to suppress a rebellion of the Śavaras that Chandra Gupta I had gone to his frontier when the City Council of Pātaliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against him.

115. Chandra Gupta I having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhans of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the

traditional Hindu way of government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudi-mahotsava records that Chaṇḍa-sena¹ had put leading citizens into prison. The people of Magadha looked down upon him as something like a parricide. Chandra Gupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a Kshatriya, he had practically killed his aged adoptive father on the battlefield, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha—the Lichchhavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. To this we should add that he had defied the imperial authority of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I.

116. With the aid of the Lichchhavi power and protection he trampled upon the liberties of the people of Magadha and put the leading citizens into prison. Alberūnī therefore recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king or kings associated with the Gupta-kāla [-era] were cruel and wicked. The Hindus had the constitutional law laid down in their codes to destroy the king who acted as a tyrant or whose hands had the marks of the blood of his parents.² They planned and rose, called in Prince Kalyāṇa-varman from the Vākāṭaka territory (Pampāsara) and crowned him

¹ There are other known examples, as cited above, of new kings changing the second member of their name on coming to the throne. Chandra-sena similarly changed his name into Chandra Gupta. But the hostile contemporaries persisted in calling him by his original, humbler name, and insisted on the vernacular pronunciation for its obvious pun [Chanda='fierce'].

² Hindu Polity, ii, 50, 189.

king at the Su-Gānga Palace at Pāṭaliputra. The authoress of the Kaumudī-mahotsava exultantly said—'the law of Varna is restored; the royal family of Chanda-sena is abolished.'¹ This happened while Chandra Gupta was on his campaign somewhere between Rohtas and Amarkantak fighting the rebellious Śavaras. The outlandish monarch was ousted in or about 340 A.D., for Kalyāṇa-varmā was of full age to receive Hindu royal coronation at the time.² In the year of his coronation Kalyāṇa-varmā was married to the daughter of the king of Mathurā.

Guptas in Exile and their Moral Transformation.

117.

The years 340 A.D. to 344 A.D., the period of exile of the Guptas from Bihar was not very long but it was full of consequence and future, which produced entirely a new history—a new history not only for

Bihar but for the whole of India. It turned the Guptas from outlandish usurpers into a dynasty of the Hindu of Hindus, Magadhan, and protectors and upholders of the Dharma, Brahmin and cow, literature and sculpture, language and law, national culture and national civilisation of Hindu India. Beginning as a feudatory ruler under the Vākāṭakas with their imperial insignia of the goddess Gangā on his coin and the title of Rājā only and with no marks of royalty on his person (as portrayed on his Tiger-type coin), Samudra Gupta ended with a proud satisfaction as recorded on his imperial gold coins marked with his Garudadhvaja, a satisfaction which is a rare luck of a king in history: on his coins which he published after he had built up his empire, he registered the realisation of the ideal of Hindu hero and Hindu king that he after winning the whole country governed it so well that he won the heaven thereby (p. 112). He made Sanskrit, after the fashion of the Vākātaka Emperor, his court language; he undertook and performed asvamedhas, having made good his restoration to the imperial throne of Pāţaliputra.

¹ प्रकटित-वर्णात्रमपथसुन्मू लित-चण्डवेनराजनुलम् ।—K.M., Act V.

² Taking the capture of Pāṭaliputra at 320 A.D., and the coronation age being 25, the prince having lived in exile for about 20 years, the date of restoration would be c. 340 A.D.

117 A. Chandra Gupta I who was dying either of wounds or of a broken heart on his expulsion from Ayodhyā and its Pāṭaliputra, addressed Samudra Gupta, influence. one of his younger sons, with tears in his eyes, and with the tacit consent and approval of his Council of Ministers,—'you now, my noble sir, be the king ("protect the kingdom"), and expired.1 The death must have taken place on the other side of the Ganges, in the territory of his relations, the Lichchhavis. As a Lichchhavi subordinate and relation, his son at this moment would have obtained the province of Sāketa, i.e. the adjoining territory of Oudh, where at Ayodhyā we find in the next reigns the Gupta Emperors residing as at their second and favourite capital. It was a centre of culture. Ayodhyā had been the home of the poet Aśvaghosha, the Kālidāsa of the preceding epoch. To Ayodhyā belonged the great scholar Śikhara Svāmin who became the Prime Minister of Rāma Gupta and Chandra Gupta II.² Ayodhyā had the orthodox imperial tradition of Rāma's name, a name which was given to the eldest son of Samudra Gupta,3 a name which embodied the whole of the past Hindu civilisation. Samudra Gupta fully imbibed that tradition. Hindu learning became a part of the political cult of Samudra Gupta and his descendants. The rajasa (kingly) bhakti in Vishnu moulded their national actions and their political Like Vishnu they stood solidly to support the kingdom of India. Their bhakti (faith) is intense. They think of Vishnu and they think in Vishnu. Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II become practically one with their God. Any one who has seen the Vishnu image enshrined by Samudra Gupta at Eran, would be reminded of Samudra Gupta himself and see the King's figure and dress in that statue. One who would see the Vishnu-Varāha at the Chandra Gupta Cave at

¹ G.I., p. 6. ² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 37.

³ The popular name Rama-pāla='Rawwāl', retained by the Arab author Abu Saleh (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 21) may be compared with the Rājāvali names of the Guptas which Cunningham found at Ayodhyā. They end in pāla instead of 'gupta, e.g. Samudra pāla, Chandra pāla, etc. A.S.R., Vol. XI, p. 99.

Udayagiri will be reminded of Chandra Gupta II himself rescuing Dhruva-devi.¹ Without understanding the spiritual and religious currents of the time which bring about royal and national rebirth, one cannot truly appreciate any political reformation. It is for that reason that a proper appraisement of the Gupta cult becomes here necessary.

118. You would never be able to decipher the dedication of their victories to Vishnu, e.g. at Bhîtarî and at Mehraulî, and at the same time the magnificence and munificence conveyed by the asvamedhas and the *Garudmadanka* coins, without that key. You would not be able to unlock the mystery of these Hindu Moghuls minus Moghul cruelty and debauchery. You will not get the secret how could Chandra Gupta II abolish capital punishment, how he could raise the majesty of Hinduism to the very pinnacle of glory, and how he drew the limits of good government which no sceptre could extend further.

119. From the Bhārasivas up to the Vākāṭakas there was the rule of that God of social asceticism, Old Faith and New. that aspect of the Almighty which undertakes destruction, the God who though a giver, keeps no wealth, possesses no material splendour, the God who is austere and sombre. But, on the other hand, the second Gupta king and the first Gupta Emperor—Samudra Gupta—invokes that aspect of God whose function is royal and rājasa, who wears gold, not ashes, who builds and reigns, protects and rejoices in plenty, who is the traditional God of Hindu sovereignty. Vishnu is the king amongst gods, is magnificently dressed, stands erect and solid and upholds the kingdom of His men, is a hero and conquering lord in battle—whose emblem is Chakra—the symbol of Empire—which irresistibly destroys the forces of evil against that Empire of Lord Vishnu. There is the conch in one of His hands for announcing battle and for announcing triumph. There is, in the third, the sceptre of rule, and finally there is the lotus in the fourth, the symbol of prosperity, growth and rejoicing for His subjects. The belief in the God-in-royalty, Samudra Gupta made the belief of his dynasty and the belief

¹ Cf. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 35.

of his country. His devotion to Vishņu is so great that his personality almost merges in Him:

साध्यसाध्दय-प्रस्य-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्यस्य भन्नयवनतिमानप्रान्धसदुहृदयस्य 1 is a description in the language of the Bhagavad-Gītā, and a description which, according to the literary practice of the age, has to give a double meaning. The devotee and his God are both described by the same language. This might appear to a non-Hindu reader or to a reader who has not entered into the Hindu mystery of bhakti as a blasphemous assumption of God's attributes. But it is not so: there is in the cult of bhakti its highest doctrine that there should be unity (ananyatā) between the deity and the devotee. The devotee begins to partake of the nature of his deity until he is spiritually fully transformed and finally become one with the deity. He becomes the missionary and the agent of the Lord. He works as the medium, and all his works are dedicated to his Lord. The Guptas felt and believed that they were Vishnu's servants and agents, that they had a mission from Vishnu, that like Vishnu they should conquer the unrighteous and rightless sovereigns, and that like Vishnu they should rule in full sovereignty and bring happiness promised by the lotus in Vishņu's hand, to the people of India. They fully executed this mission and Samudra Gupta felt the consciousness that he had executed that mission well and won the Heaven thereby. Like Vishnu, Samudra Gupta and his successors filled their kingdom of India with gold and plenty, with propserity, elegance and culture.

XII. POLITICAL INDIA AT 350 A.D. AND SAMUDRA GUPTA'S EMPIRE.

Rich details in Purānas about the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta which is his imperial biography written and published in his life-time, gives details of the kingdoms and rulers which existed at the time

¹ G.I., p. 8, l. 25.

² It is not posthumous as Fleet wrongly supposed. See Bühler, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 386. It was published before his aévamedha or aévamedhas. [Fleet's mistake misled many including myself.]

of the foundation of the Gupta Empire. Yet we have probably a richer description of political India at the period in the Purāṇas. They, in fact, give us a complete picture of Samudra Gupta's India with which they close their chronicles. As their details have not been studied and the significance of this part of the Purāṇic history has been entirely missed, it is necessary to have an analysis of the Purāṇic materials which, as we shall see, are very valuable.

121. The Vāyu and the Brahmānda continue the threads of Indian history where the Matsya stops, i.e. at the fall of the Andhras, which, according to their calculation, happened in or about 238 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, p. 280).1 The Vayu and the Brahmānda take up the imperial history again and begin it with Vindhyaśakti of the Vindhyaka dynasty. They, parenthetically under Vindhyaśakti-to explain the rise of the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti and particularly his son Pravīra -give the history of the Vidiśā Nāgas and their successors, the Nava Nāgas,2 i.e. the Bhārasivas. Then they give a full account of the Vākāṭaka ('Vindhyaka') empire, with its component parts, giving the number of the rulers and their totals. In other words, they treat the history up to the reign of Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra along with the Nava Nāgas, whose period they give as past history. And then they begin contemporary history: from the Guptas onwards they neither give the number of rulers nor their rule-periods. From the Guptas onwards, the families were still ruling and those families were therefore contemporaries with the Guptas. As we shall presently see, the Puranas undoubtedly imply that they were subordinates and component parts of the Gupta Empire. To this they make a few exceptions, i.e. they note also those contemporaries who were not integral parts of the Gupta Empire. Their details are accurate and territorially specific. They are, therefore, invaluable to the history of the period. And as they stop at that, they are to be treated as a

¹ Their contemporaries the Tukhāra-Muruṇḍas, etc. close about 243 or 247 A.D.—J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 289.

² Alternative spelling: Nava Nāka. Does Kālidāsa intend a double meaning by his ā-Nāka° in the verse cited at p. 112? If ā-Samudra° refers to the Guptas, ā-Nāka° will refer to the Nākas, i.e. Nāgas.

contemporary record, contemporary with the empire of Samudra Gupta. The Purāṇas have taken up the Gupta line as an imperial dynasty as coming after Pravīra the son of Vindhya-sakti. Up to and including the Vākāṭakas, they have dealt with only imperial lines. The Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata here give some data which are exclusive to them. Here they seem to have preferred some independent materials.

122. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa place the beginning of the Guptas after closing the Nāgas who were rulers in Bihar up to Champāvatī or Bhagalpur, but the Vishṇu places their beginning in the period of the

Nāgas whereby it implies the rise of Gupta and Ghatotkacha:

नवनागाः पद्मावत्यां कान्तिपुर्यां सथ्रायासनुगङ्गाप्रयागं सागधा गुप्ताच भोच्यन्ति ।

which means, that while the Nava Nagas ruled at Padmavatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā, the Māgadha Guptas ruled at Prayaga-on-the-Ganges. This shows that their first fief was in the district of Allahabad and that at that time they were considered to have been natives of Magadha. The plain meaning of this datum is that the Early Guptas were rulers at Allahabad, not on the Jumna side but on the Ganges side, i.e. on the side of Oudh and Benares. The Vishnu reads anu-Gangā-Prayāga as one word, which it gives as the name of a capital like Padmāvatī, Kāntipurî and Mathurā. It is not anu- $Gang\bar{a}$ by itself, an indefinite regional term. Neither the Bhagavata nor the Vishnu mentions here Sāketa. The Vishnu by putting the plural form 'the Guptas' and qualifying them with the adjective the 'Magadhan', refers to a period when the Guptas had been dispossessed from Magadha, the pre-imperial years of Samudra Gupta.

123. The other Purāṇas, on the other hand, give another set of facts about the Gupta dynasty.

The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa say that the descendants of the Gupta dynast (Gupta-vaṁśajāh), i.e. the Guptas later than the founder of the family, will rule (bhokshyante):

- (a) the provinces of Anu-Gangā-Prayāga, 1 Sāketa and the Magadhas; 2
- (b) [will rule, bhokhyante, or 'will rule over', bhokhyanti] the Manidhanya provinces of the Naishadhas, Yadukas, Śaiśitas and Kālatoyakas;
- (c) [will rule bhokhyante, or 'will rule over', "nti] the Kosalas, Andhras, ('Oḍras', per Vishņu)
 Pauṇḍras, the Tāmraliptas with the seacoast people and the beautiful capital of Champā
 protected by Deva (Deva-rakshitām); 4
- (d) [will rule] the Guha provinces (Guhān, Vishņu), the provinces of Kalinga, Māhishika and Mahendra,⁵ [or, 'Guha will be governor (pālayishyati, as against bhokshyati) of Kalinga, Mahisha and Mahendra.⁶]

That the last three Imperial Provinces were under the governorships respectively of a Manidhānyaka (Vishnu) or a Manidhānya (Brahmānḍa)], Deva, and Guha is proved by the Vishnu's treatment which makes them rulers respectively of these Provincial Governments. In the Vāyu and Brahmānḍa text which was here one and the same, they are all put in the accusative, the nominative being the Gupta-vamśajāh; the name of the sub-rulers are taken to be qualifying the provinces, viz. Manidhānyajān (Br.), Devarakshitām [qualifying Champā], and Guhān [which survives in the Vishnu].

¹ Or, 'Anu-Gangā and Prayāga' [अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च, P.T., 53, n. 5.]

अनुमङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं नगधांस्तथा। एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोच्यन्ते गुप्तवं भ्रजाः॥

³ नैषधान् यदुकांसैव ग्रेशितान् कालतोयकान् । रतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोच्यन्ते [ंन्ति, Vāyu] मणिधान्यजान् ॥

Brahmāṇḍa.] क्रिम्सं नेप जुंच ताम्र जिप्तान् स-सागरान्। चन्यां चैव पुरीं रम्यां भोच्यन्ते [ंनि] देवरचिताम् ॥ [Vāyu.]

⁵ किन्निमाहिषिक-माहेन्द्रभौमान् गुहान् भोच्यन्ति । [Vishnu.]

किला मिस्पासीय महेन्द्रनिलयास्य थे।
 एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् पाखियश्वति वै गुष्डः ॥ [Br., Vā.]

Independent States. 124. Then the following contemporaries are given who are not under the Gupta dynasty:

- (A) The dynast called Kanaka ruling Strīrāshtra, Bhojaka (Br.), Trairājya (Vishņu) and Mūshika (Vishņu).
 - (B) The Abhīras of Surāshţra and Avanti.
 - (C) The Suras.
 - (D) The Malavas of the Arbuda.
- B, C, and D, according to the Bhāgavata, were non-sacramental, though twice-born, Hindus $(vr\bar{a}ty\bar{a}\ dvij\bar{a}h)$, and their national rulers $(jan\bar{a}dhip\bar{a}h)$ were 'almost Śūdras' (śūdra-prāyāh).
- (E) Sindhu [the Indus valley] and the Chandrabhāgā, Kauntî (Cutch), and Kashmir were under the Mlechchhas who were non-Brahmanical Sūdras for according to some manuscripts, aniyāh or the lowest, untouchables]. They were $M lechchha \acute{S} \bar{u} dras$, i.e. those Mlechchhas [e.g. Śakas] who according to Hindu Law had acquired the status of Śūdras but were Mlechchhas all the same, i.e. foreign-The Puranas are here distinguishing these ers (§ 146 B). Mlechchha Śūdras from the Hindu Śūdras. The Vishņu Purāņa actually calls them 'the Mlechchha-Śūdras'.1 The Vishnu Purāna adds after Sindhu-ţaţa 'the Dārvîka country', i.e. Eastern Afghanistan which is now inhabited by the Darveshkhel and the Dauras, from the Khyber Pass westwards. Instead of Dārvīka, we have the form Dārvīcha in the Mahā-Bhārata.2
- There were, thus, apart from the provinces in Āryā
 Gupta Provinces.

 Varta, three imperial provinces, according to the Purāṇas, constituted by the Guptas which they caused to be ruled by their governors. The last two (c, d, p. 124) were in 'Southern' India. And the second (b) was also below the Vindhyas, just at its gate in the West. From the Hindu point of view this was also situated in Dakshiṇāpatha, to the south of the Vindhyas, but following the modern

¹ P.T., 55, n. 30.

² Hall, Wilson's Vishnu Purana, II, 175, n.

terminology we shall call it here (1) the Deccan Province. The Vishnu Purāna mentions it as the third province amongst the provinces ruled through governors, while the Vayu and the Brahmānda place it as the first amongst the three provinces. The Vishņu Purāņa begins with (2) the Province of Kosala-Orissa-Bengal-and-Champā, while the other two Purānas place the Province of Kosala, etc. as the second. And the next, according to all the authorities, is (3) the Province of Kalinga-Mahishika-Mahendra. The Bhāgavata stands by itself. It does not give the three provinces, and originally it seems to have included the whole empire in the words medinî: 'Goptā bhokshyanti medinîm,' 'the descendants of Gupta (Goptāh, Pkt. for Gauptāh) will rule the Earth.' The Purānas in general employ the word medinî, mahî, prithivî, vasundharā or any other synonymous word for the Earth, when they mean an empire.1 If we follow the order given in the Vishnu we almost follow the Allahabad inscription. Kosala-Odra-Paundra, Tāmralipti, and Samudratata would correspond to the inscriptional Kosala and $Mah\bar{a}-K\bar{a}nt\bar{a}ra$ on the one hand 2 (line 19) and Samatata on the other [in line 22]. It seems that a province was constituted by Samudra Gupta, the capital of which was at Champa and which extended from the south-east of Magadha, through Chota-Nagpur, the tributary states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh, right down to Bastar and the Chanda District. Both the Vayu and the Brahmānda place Andhra next to Kosala. To the old Vākāṭaka province of Kosalā and Mekalā was added by Samudra Gupta Orissa and Bengal and the government thereof was

¹ This use is confirmed and made clear by Samudra Gupta's use of prithivi and dharani for 'All-India' in his Allahabad inscription (line 24). It means 'the Country', 'the whole Country'. In the present text of the Bhāgavata, however, [अनुगडासाप्रयागं गोप्ता भोद्यान्त मेदिनीस्।] anu-Gangā stands as if qualified by medinī, Probably the intention was to signify that the Guptas who were rulers originally of anu-Gangā Prayāga, enjoyed the whole empire or enjoyed anu-Gangā-Prayāga and the Empire.

² The Mahā-Bhārata locates the State of the Kāntārakas in the direction from *Bhojakaṭa-pura* [Berar]-to-E. Kosala, beyond the kingdom of the Venā valley [Waingangā] and before 'Eastern Kosala' [Southern text: Prākoṭaka]—Sabhā, 31,13. Kāntāraka corresponds with Kanker and Bastar. The other Kosala [Southern Kosala] covered Chanda District.

controlled from Champā, from which the routes to Bengal and Kosala emanated and also the river-highway was available to go right down to Tāmralipti. Champā is qualified as 'Devarakshitā' which probably signifies that it was under Prince Deva (Deva was the pre-coronation name of Chandra Gupta II, J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 37). Chandra Gupta II on the Mehraulî pillar is credited to have conquered the Vaṅgas, which may mean that as the Viceroy of the East-South he had to wage a war. Samataṭa seems to have been annexed by Samudra Gupta soon after his expedition.

The Province \mathbf{of} Kalinga-Māhishika1-Mahendra (or, -Mahendrabhūmi) was made into one unit, according to the Puranas. This corresponds with the inscriptional divisions in line 19. After Mahā Kāntāra, Kaurāla, which is 'the Kaunāla water' of Pulakeśin II, is the Kolleru lake to the south of Pithāpuram between the rivers Godāvarī and Krishnā.2 Pishţapura, Mahendragiri and Koţţūra are the hill-fortresses in Ganjam.3 This corresponds roughly with what we now call the Eastern Ghats or the Northern Circars of the E. I. Company, i.e. the territory between the river Krishnā and the Mahānadi. Pishtapura was the capital of Kalinga, as noted in almost a contemporary inscription of 'the Magadha dynasty' ruling at Pishtapura and Simhapura.4 One of the earliest rulers of this Magadha

The 'Magadha Dynasty' of Kalinga. dynasty was Śaktivarman and probably the next ones were Chandravarman and his son Vijayanandi-

varman. Vijayanandi-varman changed the dynastic name from 'the Magadha family' into 'the Śālankāyana dynasty'. This must have happened in or after Skanda Gupta's time. We find a successor of Vijayanandi-varman

One copy of the Vishnu, in place of Māhishika, gives 'the banks of (the river) Mahā' (Māheya-kachchha). This was probably 'the valley of the Mahānadī.'

² E.I., Vol. VI, p. 3. 'Kolanu' in Telugu means a 'lake'.

³ V. Smith, E.H.I., p. 300 [4th ed.].

⁴ E.I., Vol. IV, 142; Vol. XII, p. 4; Vol. IX, p. 56 and I.A., Vol. V, p. 176.

(Vijayadeva-varman) even performing a horse-sacrifice. i.e. declaring his full independence. It is almost certain that the later Vākāṭakas, when they conquered Kalinga, were asserting their rights as relations or successors of the Guptas, as well as their old right of overlordship over this part of the country. and their assertion must have been against the Śālankāvanas. This 'Magadha kula' was evidently the ruling feudatory family set up by Samudra Gupta or his successor. They were Brahmins taken from Magadha. Their early kings issue their charters in Sanskrit. The name of the first ruler must have been Guha which the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give. Its form as Guhān or Guham, [given in the Vishņu Purāṇa] is a remnant of the original accusative which is here lost in the Vāyu and the Brahmānda. That a ruler over Kalinga with the name Guha ('Guha Sīva') was a feudatory under the Emperor of All-India and beyond (Jambudvîpa) ruling from Pātaliputra, who was Brahmanical in faith, is described in the legendary History of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon 1, which is believed to belong to the fourth century A.D. It seems to have its foundation in the fact of Guha's governorship under Samudra Gupta.

§ 126 A. The third unit of the Gupta Empire was the tract to the south of the Vindhyas, consisting of the Naishadha, Yaduka, Śaiśika and Kālatoyaka provinces.

Śaiśika was next-door to Māhishmatī.² Taking Naishadha to be Berar, and Yaduka to be Devagiri (Daulatabad), we may fix this imperial province as being between the Bālāghāt range and the Sātpura, the valley of the Tāptī river. Kālatoyā is placed in the Mahā-Bhārata between the Ābhīras (Gujarat) and Aparānta.³ The ruler of this province, which was created at the cost of the Vākāṭaka Empire, was a Maṇidhānyaka, a son or a

¹ Dāṭhā-vamso, J.P.T.S., 1884, p. 109, verses 72-94 ff. "Guha-Siva-hvayo rājā" (72); "taththa rājā mahātejo Jambu-dîpasya issaro" (91); "tuhyam sāmanta-bhūpālo Guha-Sîvo panâdhunā, nindato tādise deve chhavatṭhim vandate iti". The complaint was made to the Emperor at Pāṭaliputra that his feudatory of Kalinga was worshipping a piece of 'dead bone', and reviling Brahmanical gods!

² Wilson, Vishņu Purāṇa, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 167, 168.

descendant of Maṇidhānya.¹ The province thus created was probably handed over to Pṛithivīsheṇa on conclusion of better relations, for Pṛithivīsheṇa must be ruling over this portion to be in direct contact with the king of Kuntala, whom he conquered.² We find in the reign of Chandra Gupta II the Vākāṭakas ruling in and from Berar.

127. Then follows a unit in the South, the ruler of which is a man named Kanaka, which like Guha is a personal name and not that of a dynasty:

"Strīrāshṭram Bhojakāms chaiva bhokshyate Kanakāhvayaḥ" (V. and Br.).

'The ruler of the name of Kanaka will rule Strī-King 'Kanaka.'

Vishņu:

Tashţra and the Bhojakas.' The provinces here are more fully set out by the

"Strīrājya-Trairājya-Mūshika-janapadān Kanakâhvayaḥ bhokshyati."

 $M\,\bar{u}\,s\,h\,i\,k\,a$ is the country of the $M\,\bar{u}\,s\,\bar{i}$ river which flows by Hyderabad to the south. Bhojaka seems to be a part of the Southern Maratha country. $T\,r\,a\,i\,r\,\bar{a}\,j\,y\,a$ is the well-known group of the three traditional countries of the South. Strīrājya which is always placed in the Purāṇas next to the Mūshika country and in association with Vanavāsa, I take to be identical with Karṇāṭa or Kuntala.

128. Now, who could this great ruler be, who is the overlord of the three Tamil kingdoms at the time and who is causing his rule from the Mūshika country up to the Southern Konkan? Who is this man called Kanaka? The Pallavas are

¹ Vāṭadhānya and Maṇidhānya were neighbours according to the Mahā-Bhārata—Wilson, V.P., Vol. II, p. 167. [Vāṭadhāna=Pāṭahāna=Pāṭahāna]

² E.I., Vol. IX, p. 269; A.S.W.R., Vol. IV, p. 125.

³ According to the Vishnu, bhokshyati 'will make others rule' or 'rule over'.

⁴ See Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 293— 'Chola-Pāndya-Kerala-dharant-dhara-traya'.

⁵ Strîrājya and Kuntala are probably translations of Tamil words.

evidently superseded at this moment by this new dynast. This Kanaka, according to the Purāṇic description, is nearly the emperor of the South. The only ruling family to whom the description can refer was the newly founded Kadamba dynasty. Mayūraśarman, the Brahmin general of the Pallavas, had got a feudatory state from the Pallava Emperor [Pallavendra]. On the defeat of the Pallavas of Kāñchī, who were the leading power of the South, at the hand of Samudra Gupta, Mayūraśarman probably declared his independence. His son Kaṅga-varman seems to have defied Samudra Gupta to be the Emperor of both the North and the South. The date of Kaṅga-varman is about 350 A.D.¹ According

1 In the Kadamba Kula [pp. 13-18] dates are given on the assumption that Mayūrasarman began his rule as a result of Samudra Gupta's southern conquests. But this is not correct. Mayura, according to the Talagunda record, started his career as a political bandit and was given a fief by the 'Pallava Emperor' whose service he entered as a general and who anointed him as his Sēnāpati [paṭṭa-bandha-sampūjām, E.I., VIII. 32. Senāpatis received pattabandha ('pagree'-binding ceremony), according to the Rāja-Niti-mayūkha]. No asvamedha by him is recorded in the Talagunda inscription of his great-grandson. It was probably in his last years that he assumed kingship. Cf. A.R.S.M., 1929, p. 50. His son Kanga was the first to assume the royal designation o varman. Mayurasarman's time should be regarded as 325-345 A.D. and that of his son Kanga, 345-360 A.D. This is confirmed by the date of Kākusthavarman on his plate which he issued as yuvarāja. It is dated in the 80th year. The Kadambas never founded any era of their own. We do not find there the era in which the 80th year is given, before or after any more. Prithivishena conquered the king of Kuntala, i.e. the Kadamba king who could be no other than Kanga. Prithivishena himself at the time was under Samudra Gupta, and Kākustha gave a daughter in marriage to the Guptas. The era used by the Yuvarāja Kākustha must be the Gupta era. In 400 A.D. [80 G.E.] Kākustha was the Yuvarāja to his elder brother Raghu. The time of his great-grandfather would thus be about 320-340 A.D. or 325-345 A.D.; that of Kanga who abdicated, about 340-355 or 345 to 360 A.D.; and of Kakustha, about 410-430 A.D. The dates proposed by Mr. Moraes in his Kadamba-Kula for the Early Kadambas should go higher up by some 20 years.

See on Mayūraśarman's newly discovered Chandravalli (Chitaldrug) lake inscription where he is registered merely as 'Kadambāṇam' (without any title) [A.S.R. Mysore, 1929, 50], and a corrected reading of the inscription, App. B (below). There is no 'Mokari', 'Pāriyātrika' or 'Saka' in the insc.

to the Talagunda inscription [E.I., 8, 35] Kanga performed 'lofty great exploits in terrible wars and his diadem was shaken by the Chauris of his provincial feudatories'. Kanga was defeated by the Vākātaka king Prithivīsheņa I and he abdicated. Kanaka here seems to be a Sanskritisation of the Tamil Kanga. Another reading of the Purāṇic name, in the Vishņu, is $K\bar{a}na$. It seems that on assumption of imperial power he was by Prithivishena, who was at that time a feudatory of Samudra Gupta, brought to book, and his abdication was evidently a consequence of his imperial ambition and failure.

§ 129. The Puranas help us to fix the period of the rise of

The Date of the Puranic data and the rise of Kana or Kanaka.

Kāna or Kanaka, i.e. Kanga. Let us see what is the exact point of time at which the Purānas are describing here the Guptas and their contemporaries. This

is the last section of their chronicles. The Malavas, the Abhiras, the Avantyas and the Śūras [=Yaudheyas] had not yet come under the imperial sway. They are mentioned as independent states by the Bhāgavata; the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa do not give them in their list of Samudra Gupta's provinces. Nor do they include the Punjab. They assign, in Aryavarta, only the valley of the Ganges, Oudh, and Bihar to the Guptas. With their definite date-100 years from Vindhyaśakti-the Purānas take 348-349 A. D. as the landmark for the close of their chronicles, that is, the date of the death of Rudradeva or Rudrasena Vākātaka as their exact point of time. The way the Purānas show fullness about the Nāga history, the Vākātaka Empire, and its successor, the Empire of Samudra Gupta [covering the same area of Kosalā, Mekalā, Andhra, Naishadha, etc.], indicates that this part of the chronicles closing with the death of King Rudrasena was composed in the Vākāṭaka kingdom and with the help of the Vākātaka royal records. The death of Rudrasena-348-349 A.D., being the date of the Purāṇic history of Gupta India, it naturally does not give a full

¹ Kadamba Kula, p. 17.

² Wilson's Vishnu, Vol. IV, p. 221, note by Hall. ³ See § 146 below.

picture of Samudra Gupta's empire, and it records the Śakas or Yaunas still ruling in Sindh the Western Punjab and Afghanistan. The date of the rise of Kanga therefore will also be c. 348-349 A.D.

Samudra Gupta after his first war in Āryāvarta was really going over the empire of the VākāSamudra Gupta and Vākāṭaka Empire.

Bihar via Chota Nagpur to Kosala, etc., the South-Eastern parts of the Vākāṭaka Empire and then back into Āryāvarta. At this moment it would be convenient to trace and follow the course of Samudra Gupta's conquests. We would, therefore, put off the discussion on the Republics and the Mlechchha State of Sindh, Kashmir and Afghanistan, and take up in the next chapter the wars of Samudra Gupta.

XIII. SAMUDRA GUPTA'S WARS IN ĀRYĀVARTA AND IN THE SOUTH.

§ 131. According to the Allahabad inscription, Samudra Gupta's wars in Āryāvarta were in two parts—one before the Southern expedition and the other after the Southern expedition. The result of these wars was the Gupta Empire as portrayed in the Purāṇas, almost with exactitude, in the shape of its three imperial provinces (§ 125) along with the home province of Anu-Gaigā-Prayāga-Sāketa-and-Magadha.

scales of his political fortunes in his favour, was a pitched battle at some place where he defeated two, or rather three, kings—Achyuta, Nāgasena and Gaṇapati Nāga. The immediate result of this was that the Prince of the family of Kota (whose name is not given in the verse) was captured by his armies, and Samudra Gupta had the pleasure of re-entering Pushpapura. The verse 7, lines 13 and 14, of the Allahabad pillar inscription describes this as follows:

udvelodita-bāhu-vīryya-rabhasād-ekena yena kshanād unmūly-Āchyuta-Nāgasena-Ga.....

daņdair grāhayat-aiva Kota-kulajam Pushp-āhvaye kridatā, sūryyene...taṭa.....

The letters after Ga are lost but probably the name of Ganapat... was there which is suggested by the remaining letter π and the requirement of the metre. This we can gather from the grouping in line 21 which is in prose and which begins the $N\bar{a}gasena$ -Achyuta group with Ganapati- $N\bar{a}ga$:

 $Ganapati-Nar{a}ga-Nar{a}gasena-Achyuta-Nandi-Balavarma$ —The most important personality of the group is Ganapati Nāga. The great result of the battle being avowedly an easy capture of Pātaliputra and of the Prince of the family of Kota, the battle must have been intimately connected with the question of the recovery of Magadha. Samudra Gupta himself did not capture 'Kota's descendant' who was the ruler of Pāţaliputra at the time. We may take it, therefore, that one army had attacked or laid siege to Pushpapura, and that Samudra Gupta gave battle to Nāgasena and Achyuta and also probably to Ganapati at a place other than Pāţaliputra, and at some distance from Pāṭaliputra. Now, we know from coins and from the Bhavaśataka, a work written under the reign of Ganapati Nāga (§31) that Ganapati Nāga was the ruler of Malwā (Dhārâdhîśa) with his capital at Padmāvatī and probably a second capital at Dhārā. The name of Achyuta Nandi as set out in full in line 21, and the coin of 'Achyuta' found at Ahichhatra which has the same symbols as on the Naga coins of Padmavati and also has the same fabric, suggest that he was a scion of the Nagas. Nagasena was probably the son of Kirtishen a of Mathurā, father-in-law of Kalyānavarman king of Magadha and Pāṭaliputra.2 As Kalyāņavarman who had dispossessed Chandasena of Pāṭaliputra was related to the king of Mathurā and thus belonged to the confederacy of the Naga-Vakatakas, we find Nagasena and Achyuta Nandi, in all probability led by Ganapati who was a noted soldier and the leader of the Nagas according to the

¹ This Nāgasena is to be distinguished from the Nāgasena of Padmā-vatī, a member of the Nāga family, mentioned by Bāṇa in the *Harsha-Charita*, for the latter had met with his end not on a battle-field, but on account of some political intrigue at Padmāvatī. No coin of his is found. He seems to have been a Gupta subordinate.

² Kaumudî-mahotsava, Act IV.

Bhāvaśataka, meeting Samudra Gupta in a pitched battle. They might have been on their way to the relief of Pātaliputra. The convenient place upon which the kings or rulers from Ahichchhatra, Mathurā and Padmāvatī could have converged was Kauśāmbī or Allahabad, more likely the former, as the old royal route to Pātaliputra lay through Kauśāmbī. The proclamation of this victory on the Kauśāmbī Pillar seems to convey that meaning. The praśasti was meant to be engraved on this very pillar, as line 30 expressly mentions:

bāhurayam-uchchhritah stambhah.

All the three rulers or sub-kings were killed in one day (kshanāt) on the battlefield.

This war may be dated in or about 344-45 A.D. immediately after the death of Pravara-Next step. sena I, the Vākātaka Emperor. war gave the large tract of the Gangetic valley to Samudra Gupta. From Oudh which already belonged to him and had been his base, his territory extended up to Hardwar and the Siwalik, and to the east, from Allahabad up to Bhagalpur at least, if not up to Bengal which seems to be included by the Puranic reference to Paundra. Leaving probably the valley of the Yamuna for the time being, Samudra Gupta consolidated his power in Magadha and decided upon attacking the southeastern end of the Vākātaka empire. It was far from the centre of the Vākātaka seat of power which, up to that time, was in the Kilakilā region. To Samudra Gupta it was nearer from Chota Nagpur. The Vākātakas evidently governed their provinces of Kosalā-Mekalā through and from the Central Provinces. Samudra Gupta, therefore, could cause successfully, apart from other military considerations, not only confusion but almost helplessness to the Vākātaka Emperor by attacking the Vākātakas in Kosalā, Mekalā and Andhra. The Pallavas who occupied an important position in the South at the time were in subordinate alliance with the Vākāṭaka Emperor, being their branch. The four Asyamedhas of the late Vākātaka samrāt had given him dominion over all the four quarters of India. In the South Samudra Gupta had a policy more of conciliation than of aggression. He captured rulers and released them, and except

for the territories which were integral parts of the Vākāṭaka Empire—Kosalā and Mekalā—he did not annex any southern territory. In Kalinga he set up a new feudatory. His progress, consequently, in the South must have been swift. At the same time it was very profitable. The whole of Northern India was soon flooded with gold presumably imported from the South. Samudra Gupta coined only gold money, and at his asvamedha at a later stage, he struck gold coins to such a volume that he could distribute them to an unprecedented extent.

§ 134. It cannot be entertained that the enumeration of the names of the Southern kings and chiefs Southern Conquest. in the Allahabad record is made at random. The writer Harishena, who was one of Samudra Gupta's marshals and a man intimately associated with the emperor and who held the portfolio of the Minister of Peace and War, must be expected to follow an accurate record of his master's conquests. He was composing history which was intended to be published on an Aśokan pillar for all ages to come. He divided the conquests and submission of All India into Southern, Northern, Western and North-West groups, where he was following a geographical plan with accuracy. The string of names could not have been put in by haphazard. Further, we may assume that the composition must have found approval of the Emperor who was alive when the record was published.1 Kānchī, Ava-mukta, Vengī and Palakka are one division. Palakka as Palakkada appears several times in Pallava inscriptions 2 which refer to grants in the Guntur District, and also to Vengorāshtra which here corresponds with Samudra Gupta's Vengi between the Godavari and the Krishnā.

135. This Southern or the 'Dakshināpatha' campaign was not undertaken, as generally supposed, as a digvijaya. It was a military move against the Vākātaka power,

¹ Ante, p. 121, n. 2. See Bühler's opinion, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 386, with which I fully agree.

^{*} I.A., Vol. V, pp. 51, 52, 155, consult also E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 159 [kada='place', p. 161.]

necessitated by the result of Samudra Gupta's first battle in Ārvāvarta in which Ganapati Nāga, Achyuta Nandi and Nāgasena fell. The second centre of the Vākātaka power was rooted in the Andhra country, where, from the capital Daśanapura 1 the junior branch of the Vākātakas had been ruling as 'the Pallava emperors' ('Pallavendra'2) of the South, and had penetrated as far south as Kāñchī, the capital of the Cholas-the most important Tamil State. Samudra Gupta's sole objective in the South was the Pallava army. If, to avenge the destruction of the Vākāṭaka military leaders (Ganapati Naga and others) in the North, the Pallavas with their generals and feudatories from the South and Rudrasena from Bundelkhand invaded Bihar, Samudra Gupta would have been placed between two fires. To avoid this junction, Samudra Gupta would have thought of taking them and dealing with them in detail. He descended swiftly via Chota Nagpur, Sambhalpur and Bastar straight into Vengi, the original seat of the Pallavas, and reached the battlefield on the Colair Lake. It is the old route which takes one direct into Andhradeśa. Samudra Gupta did not follow the East-Coast route, as none of the lower Bengal and Orissa towns is mentioned by his secretary Harishena. The Colair Lake in the seventh century again became the arena of a sanguinary fight in the time of Pulakeśin II.3 If we consider the list of the rulers enumerated by Samudra Gupta's secretary and prince-marshal, we see at once that all these rulers belonged to the regions of Andhra and Kalinga lying within the range of the Kurāļa or Colair Lake. They were all, evidently, assembled together (§ 135 A) and a decisive battle was fought,4 and owing

¹ E.I., I, 397, where it is described as adhishthāna, 'capital'; see Fleet, I.A., V, 154. In the latter inscription it is again called 'capital',—'Vijaya-Dasanapura'.

² This is the title by which they are designated both by the Gangas and the Kadambas, their feudatories. E.I., XIV, 331; VIII, 32.

³ E.I., VI, pp. 3, 6.

⁴ The list is (line 19): (1) Kausalaka Mahendra; (2) Mahākāntāraka Vyāghrarāja; (3) Kaurālaka Maṇṭarāja; (4) Pishṭapuraka-Mahendra-

to some clever movement and strategy on the part of Samudra Gupta all the leaders were enveloped, a débâcle followed and they surrendered. Samudra Gupta restored them to liberty on terms. Samudra Gupta returned from this place—the region between Bezwada and Rajahmundry. He had no necessity to go to Kāñchī. Nor was he interested at the time in any other Southern state either on the East Coast or the West Coast. He hurried back to Bihar, having defeated and generously and diplomatically won over the Pallava group and having detached them from the Vākāṭaka allegiance. When back, he marched against Rudra Deva who fought bravely as every one of his northern subordinates did, and was killed with them on the battlefield, probably at Eran (§ 137).

135 A. Samudra Gupta passed through Kosala on his Sambhalpur route, and then Mahā-Battle of Colair Lake. kāntāra which on the evidence of the Mahā-Bhārata we have identified with Kanker and Bastar. Next he came to Kurāļa. He must have passed Vengī1 but the ruler of Vengi is placed next to the ruler of Pishtapura, the capital of Kalinga, which was in the Godavari District. This ruler (Svāmidatta) had also two districts in Ganjam round the hill-fortresses of Mahendragiri and Kottura. Erandapalli was a town in Kalinga, in the district of Ganjam, in the neighbourhood of Kalinganagara (Mukhalingam) which is mentioned in the copperplate of Devendra-varman, found at Siddhantam near Chicacole (E.I., XIII, 212). This district must have been under Svāmidatta of Pishtapura, and Damana of Erandapalli must have been a 'rājā' or ruler of the status of a district officer. Next to him is Vishnugopa, the ruler of Kānchī, who at the time was the Yuvarāja to his brother Simhavarman I, or probably the guardian of girika-Kauttūraka Svāmidatta; (5) Erandapallaka Damana; (6) Kāncheyaka Vishnugopa; (7) Avamuktaka Nîla-rāja; (8) Vaingeyaka Hastivarman; (9) Pālakkaka Ugrasena; (10) Daivarāshtraka Kubera; (11) Kausthalapuraka Dhananjaya (prabhriti-sarvva-Dakshinapatha-raja-,

¹ For its location near Ellore in the Godavari District, see E.I., IX, 56.

his son Simhavarman II of Kāñchī. From Eraņdapalli to Kānchī is a big jump. This can be consistent only on the hypothesis that they were together at one and the same spot. Then comes the ruler of Avamukta or Avamukta. The Ava country or people had their capital Pîthunda near the Godavari. Ava and Pîthunda are noted in the Hathigumpha inscription.1 After him comes the ruler of Ve ng i, a tract which Samudra Gupta had already passed on his way from Mahākāntāra to Kurāļa. It was not possible for Samudra Gupta to go to Kāñchī, if he went there, without meeting the ruler of Vengi on the way: this is another proof that all these fighters were at one place. Palakka, as already pointed out, is the same place wherefrom several grants in the district of Guntur and near about Bezwada were made by the early Pallavas. In the grants the name appears as Palakkada. It was situated in the Andhradesa nearabout the Krishnä. Devarāshţra, which figures next in the person of its ruler, fixes again the location of all these 'rajans' at one and the same place. It was a district (vishaya) in Elmañchi-Kalingadeśa (modern Yellamanchilli) according to a plate of Chālukya Bhīma I2 whose another plate was discovered at Bezwada. Kusthalapur a must have been similarly some district-place in the same region, though we have not yet recovered its name in any other record. Probably except the rulers of Kosala and Mahākāntāra, all these military chiefs-from the rank of kings, e.g. Svāmidatta and Vishņugopa, to that of district magistrates [against whom no conqueror would take the trouble of marching]-must have been together and must have fought at one and the same battlefield. The order in which they are mentioned probably represents the order of the battle-array or the order of their surrender. Their importance is as fighters and military leaders, not as rulers. They seem to have been grouped under two chief leaders: [the numbers before the names denote their order in the Allahabad inscription. footnote 4 to § 135, pp. 136-137.]

¹ E.I., XX, 79; line 11; J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 151.

² Madras Report on Epigraphy, 1909, pp. 108-109.

- (3) Manta-rāja of Kurāla and (6) Vishnugopa of Kānchī leading
 - (4) Svāmidatta and

T

- (5) Damana of Erandapalli.
- leading
 - 7. Nīlarāja of Āvamukta,
 - 8. Hastivarman of Vengi,
 - Ugrasena of Palakka,
 - Kubera of Devarāshtra, 10. and
 - of 11. Dhananjaya Kusthalapura.

The main army was under Vishnugopa, who was supported on flanks by the Kalinga forces. The battle might be called the 'Battle of Kurāļa'. By this battle there was achieved the conquest of the Vakāṭāka provinces of Kosalā, Mekalā and Andhra. Samudra Gupta returned by the same route of Kosala, as no other countries are noted by Harishena. We may date it about 345-346 A.D. It must have followed soon after the battle of Kauśāmbī (344 A.D.). Like Khāravela, Samudra Gupta's campaigns might average one in two years [344 A.D. to 348 A.D.]. Starting after the rains he could have returned to Patna the same year.1

Samudra Gupta on his return now invaded the real Vākātaka centre, the home-province of Second Aryavarta the Vākātakas in Ārvāvarta between the War. Yamunā and Vidiśā, or to adopt the modern geographical name—the land of Bundelkhand. This Āryāvarta War gave to Samudra Gupta dominion over 'the Ā ta vī rulers [of Āryāvarta]', i.e., the Vindhyan principalities of Baghelkhand and Eastern Bundelkhand. The war was waged, therefore, in the Vindhyan regions of Aryavarta, that is, in or about Bundelkhand. To operate in the hills of Pannā is a difficult venture which military leaders would avoid. To

¹ The easy march according to Kautilya (ch. 130) was one yojana (7 miles) a day for an ordinary army; for a better one, 12 yojanas, and for the best 2 yojanas a day. [The value of yojana to be 7 miles is well ascertained by Cunningham.] The campaign of Samudra Gupta must have been swift.

the south-west, Bundelkhand is bounded by the districts of Bhilsa [Vidiśā] [Eastern Malwā]. And Bundelkhand is much more accessible from Eastern Malwā, to which there was and has been a good plain road from the Gangetic valley across the Betwa or the Chambal. Samudra Gupta would have attacked the province of the Kilakilā-Vidiśa from the plain country now lying mostly in the Gwalior territory—the passage-land of the Marathas to Hindustan. The battle seems to have been fought at Eran. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows.

137. As Samudra Gupta built his monuments at Eran which was in the heart of the Vākātaka Battle of Eran. home-province, it is definite that he had a triumphant march into the Vākātaka country. reign of the next Vākāṭaka king, Prithivishena I, we find Bundelkhand still under the Vākātakas. Immediately to the south of Eran and also to its east there were the Republics (§ 145). Samudra Gupta's founding a Vishnu temple at Eran, which was not in the territory under his direct administration, is suggestive. In the Eran inscription, where the king has not yet assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja, and where the set genealogy is yet unknown, lines 21 to 26, verses 6 and 7, show that after a military victory, Samudra Gupta raised a war memorial, like the one raised later by his grandson at Bhītarī. The inscription is earlier than the Allahabad pillar inscription. The word 'Antaka' is emphasised in this inscription; a whole lot of kings (pārthiva-ganas sakalah) are noted to have been overthrown and deprived of their sovereignty, and the king is said to have taken a consecration and is described to have become one whose valour had become 'irresistible'—a title afterwards adopted on his coins. His action in war is given prominence, in line 21, which made his enemies fear him even in sleep. To mark the glory, he established (line 26) a foundation, which is evidently the Vishnu Temple, still existing. On the freeze of the temple a funeral-scene is depicted,2 which is unusual, and is to be interpreted as the cremation of the Vākātaka king, defeated and slain. The town from that day became a direct, personal possession of the Gupta Emperor—which is the real meaning of the term 'svabhoga-nagara'.

138. Eran is at the gate of Bundelkhand on one side and Malwa on the other. The whole of Eran a Malwa, both eastern and western, was natural Battlefield. under republics who submitted, without any fight, to Samudra Gupta. It seems that at this place, which had been a strategic point and had an ancient fort and which with a vast stretch of plain country is designed by nature to be an excellent battlefield, the action with the Vākāṭaka king was fought. It became a battlefield again in later Gupta times, as we have the memorial given here to a Gupta general (Goparāja) who fought and died here in the time of the Huns, where 'his devoted wife in close companionship' accompanied him on to the funeral pyre.1

Rudradeva was defeated and killed on the battlefield by Samudra Gupta. Rudra is the only Rudradeva. king whose name is coupled with 'deva' in the inscription of Samudra Gupta, and we may take it to be intentional. Rudrasena was the biggest monarch in India at the time, having succeeded his grandfather who had been a true Emperor of All-India. 'Sena', in Rudrasena is really not a part of the name: as pointed out above we may compare the dropping of sena in the Nepal inscriptions where the Lichchhavi king Vasantasena is sometimes described as Vasanta-sena and sometimes as Vasantadeva. Deva is more dignified and stood for full royal dignity. The chronology proposed above makes Rudradeva succeed in 344 A.D., and Samudra Gupta's conquests are unanimously dated about 345 to 350 A.D. The Rudradeva of the inscription is thus contemporaneous with and identical with Rudrasena I (§ 64).

Āryāvarta Kings.

140. The Āryāvarta kings defeated by Samudra Gupta were:

Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta Nandi, and Balavarman.² This list is divisible into two parts. (1) From Ganapati Nāga to Balavarman are the names of the kings already defeated in the first Āryāvarta War; the battle of Kauśāmbī accounting for the three, the last one, Balavarman, might have been the ruler of Pāṭaliputra captured by Samudra Gupta's army who is left unnamed in verse 7. If so, Balavarman. was the second or the abhisheka- [the coronation-] name of Kālyāņa varman. The other group must therefore consist of the kings and rulers defeated in the Second War or in a probable continuation of the Second War.1 Of these Nāgadatta is to be identified with the Nāgadatta, father of the Mahārāja Maheśvara Nāga—a Nāga sub-king whose seal bearing the lanchhana of a cobra was found at Lahore and has been edited by Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions, which according to its script belongs to the fourth century A.D. (G. I., page 283). Matila ruled in the district of Bulandshahr, whose seal with another Naga emblem was discovered.2 We do not know who this Chandravarman of Samudra Gupta's inscription was,3 but we know that a Yādava dynasty of feudatories had been set up about 250 A.D. at Simhapura in the Jalandhara Doab [§§ 78 and 80]. This house must have been feudatory to the Vākāṭakas. Their names ended in 'varman'. Although in the list of the Simhapura rulers we do not find any name as Chandravarman yet it is possible that he might have been a younger cadet who came to the battlefield to fight for Rudrasena, or Chandravarman was a second name of some king of the line. The sixth king who would have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and whose name is Vriddhivarman, is described as 'Chandra'

Very likely a little later, another expedition was undertaken to the west of Mathurā in the Srughna country and up to Jālandhara.

² I.A., XVIII, p. 289. It is the symbol of the Nāga Sankhapāla. There is a conch and a serpent. The shape of the serpent is round and rays ($\bar{a}bh\bar{a}$) come out of its body, i.e. from its body rays emanate. A dhyāna of Durgā describes Sankhapāla thus: $d\bar{a}hott\bar{i}rna$ -suvarnābha,° used as a kana (bracelet) by the Goddess.

³ Once V. Smith proposed to identify the *Chandravarman* of Samudra Gupta with the *Chandravarman* of the Susunia inscription (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 876). But the script of the latter (E.I., XIII, p. 133) is much later.

in verse 7 of the Lakkhā Maṇḍal inscription [E.I., Vol. I, 13]. Chandra-varman, according to the Allahabad inscription, was a neighbour of Nāgadatta who must have been a ruler beyond Mathurā and whose successor's seal was found at Lahore. There is no room for Nāgadatta between Ahi-chhatra and Mathurā. The grouping—Rudradeva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravarman—is made up in a geographical order: Matila was next to Rudradeva, Nāgadatta was further west and Chandravarman, furthest, in the Eastern Punjab.

140 A. Now the question is whether all these three rulers fought on the side of Rudradeva in one battle or separately. Nāgadatta and Chandravarman were not in the neighbourhood of Rudrasena, but we know from Indian History that kings and allies travelled from long distances to fight pitched battles; it is not unlikely that the three feudatories fought along with Rudradeva in one and the same battle, which must have been expected. This must have been the biggest battle of Samudra Gupta, as he notes that all the Atavika kings became his servants after his war with these kings, which means that the rulers of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand took part in this battle and changed allegiance to the Gupta conqueror on the fall of their sovereign lord. But as to the two western kings or rulers it seems more likely that there was a subsequent engagement to the west of Mathura. The Puranic (Va. and Br.) description of Samudra Gupta's empire at the date of the death of Rudrasena [§129], which does not include the Punjab, would also indicate it. There was thus, more likely, a Third War in Āryāvarta, a year or so later.

141. The enveloping movement of Samudra Gupta against
Date of Aryāvarta the Vākātaka Empire was practically a
Wars. continuation of his First Āryāvarta War.

The three big battles form really one continuous campaign.
The campaign, therefore, must have been carried through
quickly. Under a generalship which was so perfect that it never
met with a reverse or check, the campaigns would have been
finished easily in three fighting seasons—October [Vijayādaśamî]
to April each year. Following the chronology adopted above
we may date the First Āryāvarta Battle about 344-345 A.D.,

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the Second Āryāvarta War in or about 348 A.D., and the probable Third War c. 349 or 350 A.D.

XIV. THE SUBMISSION OF THE FRONTIER RULERS AND THE HINDU REPUBLICS, AND THEIR PURANIC DESCRIPTION, AND THE SUBMISSION OF FARTHER INDIA.

After the [Third] Aryavarta War ending with the fall of Nagadatta and Chandravarman. Frontier Kingdoms. Samudra Gupta's period of war ended. The Allahabad inscription (line 22) is clear on the point. There were only five main states on his frontiers and they became part of his empire. (1) Samatata, (2) Davāka, (3) Kāmarūpa, (4) Nepāla and (5) Kartripura paid 'all' imperial 'taxes' and their kings presented themselves in person.1 This line of 'the Frontier Kings' runs from the mouths of Ganges through the Lushai-Manipur²-Assam to the Himalayan Mountains covering what we call now Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, and thence onwards to the Simla Hills and Kangra (Kartripura), i.e. the hills above Bengal [Paundra], the United Provinces, and up to the E. Punjab [the Mādraka country]. The inclusion of Kartripura implies that the result of the [Third] Aryavarta War was the inclusion of the Eastern Punjab. This is probably also inferable from the Bhāgavata Purāna which does not note the Madraka State in its list of the free republican states (§ 146). In the next reign we find the Gupta Era in the year 83 [=403 A.D.] dominant up to Shorkot (old Sivipura) near the eastern bank of the Chenab3. In Nepal, Jayadeva I, the new Lichchhavi king of Nepal, was a relation of Samudra Gupta and his submission meant practically the submission of the whole group of the Himalayan States on the Indian side. The Gupta Era was introduced in Nepal in the reign of Jayadeva I.4 The relationship was evidently a great factor in avoiding a mountain

¹ Allahabad Pillar Insc., l. 22, G.I., p. 8.

² Col. Gerini, Ptolemy (pp. 55-61) identifies Davāka with Upper Burma.

³ E.I., XVI. 15.

⁴ Fleet, G.I., Intro., p. 135; I.A., XIV, 345 (350).

expedition. Samudra Gupta seems to have, later on, annexed Samatata to the Province of Champā, to have a natural frontier up to the sea, which was a matter of necessity for an easier access to and the administration of Orissa and Kalinga, and the sea-trade with Further India (§ 150).

143. We should note here that the Empire of Samudra

Kashmir and Daivaputra group and their submission. Gupta ending with Kangra, leaves out Kashmir and the plains below it. This becomes clear from the Bhāgavata, the original text of which was completed

before the submission of the Daivaputra-group whom the text describes as richly deserving suppression. Line 23 of the Allahabad inscription registers the 'tranquil fame' of Samudra Gupta 'pervading the whole land' and his re-establishing many dynasties 'fallen and deprived of sovereignty'. The result of this policy of peace is immediately given as the submission of the $Daivaputra-sh\bar{a}hi-sh\bar{a}h\bar{a}nu-sh\bar{a}hi-\acute{S}aka-Murun$ das—which completes the imperial geography of the North-West and Kashmir. This was the Mlechchha State of the Bhāgavata and the Vishnu. The Shāhānushāhi made his submission in person, for the inscription gives the forms of submission which the Daivaputra group and others made respectively, and the order of their enumeration proves his personal submission. The first member of the group is the Daivaputra Shāhi-shāhānushāhi. The words Daivaputra and Shāhi qualify shāhānushāhi, which were probably necessary to distinguish the Kushan emperor from the Sassanian emperor who was at that time the next neighbour of the Gupta Empire. The first form of submission was that of offering themselves (ātmanivedana) and the second consisted of two things: presenting (upāyana) unmarried girls and giving of daughters in marriage (kanyādāna). The third was the request [yāchana] which consisted of two matters: asking for charters for the currency of the Garuda coinage within the jurisdiction of their own territories and an application to enjoy the governments of their own respective countries ['garutmadanka-svavishaya-bhuktiśāsana-yāchana: asking for charters (śāsana-yāchana) for the use

of the Garuda-coin (garutmadanka-bhukti) and for the government of their own territories (provinces or districts, svavishaya bhukti)]. We know from the Pālada or Shālada and the 'Shāka' coins of the Kushan subordinate kings of the Western Punjab, that they accepted the Gupta coinage. They printed the effigy of Samudra Gupta and his name on their coins, and it was continued up to the reign of Chandra Gupta II when we find his effigy and name also similarly stamped. As to the identity of these Gupta kings there cannot be any doubt, for the kings wear ear-rings or kundala on these coins, while the Kushans never used them. These coins, have been already described by numismatists as coins allied to the Gupta coinage.2 The kanyā-dāna, 'giving in marriage' (dāna, as opposed to upāyana, 'presenting') of 'a kanyā' should refer to the Kushan Emperor, looking at the system current at the time, that, as a rule, it was a big rival ruler who bending his head offered a daughter in marriage to the conqueror.

144. The Sassanian emperor at the time was Shapur II

Sassanian Emperor and Kushan subordination.

(310-379 A.D.) who was the suzerain of the Kushan king. The Kushans at this time issued from Afghanistan the 'Kushāno-Sassanian' coins with the title Shao-

nano-shao.³ The protection of the Sassanian Emperor and the close alliance with him could not prevent a virtual annexation of the Indian territories of the Kushans (to the east of the Indus) by the Gupta emperor. The Kushan subordinates of Kashmir, Rawalpindi and Peshawar were practically transferred to the Indian Empire by their adopting the Gupta imperial coinage. The personal submission of the Kushan Shāhānushāhi naturally prevented Samudra Gupta from pursuing a policy of aggression. But the enemy was left with potential power of mischief, for, soon after the death of Samudra Gupta the Śakādhipatiraised the banner of revolt, probably with the support of the Sassanian Emperor Shapur II. The ignominy of having to offer a Kushan royal princess

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 208-209.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 208-209.

³ Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 91.

suffered in the time of Samudra Gupta was now sought to be avenged by the demand for Dhruva-Devī, which led to the final destruction of the Kushan king and Kushan power by the march of Chandra Gupta II up to Balkh, the farthest seat and centre of the Kushans. 1

145. The republics of the Mālavas, Āryunāyanas,

Republics and Samudra Gupta.

Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras,

Prārjunas, Sahasānīkas, Kākas,

Kharparikas and others were not on

the frontiers of Samudra Gupta's empire as wrongly supposed by Dr. Vincent Smith, for, in line 22 (Allahabad Pillar Inscription) where 'the frontier kings' are mentioned, they are expressly excluded from that category. They were internal States and had become part of the Gupta empire by agreeing to pay all kinds of imperial taxes and obeying imperial orders. In the enumeration of the tributary republics there is a territorial scheme. The Mālavas, Āryunāyanas, Yaudheyas and Mādrakas are counted from the direct Gupta territory-say, from Mathurā. The first state is the Mālava. Nāgara or Karkota-Nāgara which is situated in the modern State of Jaipur was the capital of the Mālavas whose thousands of republican coins—'as thick as shells on the sea-shore'—have been found there (§§ 42, 46). The Bhagavata calls them the Arbuda-Malavas and the Vishnu locates them in Rajputana (Marubhūmi). They were thus decidedly in Rajputana from Mount Abu up to Jainur. The territorial designation Malwar (माइवार) seems to me to be based on their name.2 To their south, there was the Naga territory, and with the Naga coins their coinage bears affinity.3 They were, like the Nagas, followers of Naga worship. Their capital was dedicated to Karkoța Nāga. Immediately north to them were the Yaudheyas, stretching from Bharatpur

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 29 ff.

 $^{^2}$ $M\bar{a}rw\bar{a}r$ of our maps is pronounced in the Punjab as $M\bar{a}lw\bar{a}r$. In Rājputana l is pronounced as in the South. $M\bar{a}lava=M\bar{a}lava+v\bar{a}taka$ will be the equivalent of $M\bar{a}rw\bar{a}r$. For $V\bar{a}ta=w\bar{a}r$, 'division,' see Hira Lal, Inscriptions in C.P., pp. 24, 87; E.I. VIII, 285; Both $V\bar{a}taka$ and $P\bar{a}taka$ occur with geographical names for 'division'.

⁸ Rapson, I.C., sec. 51; V. Smith, C.I.M., 162.

[where their republican inscription of a time anterior to Samudra Gupta has been found at Bijaygarh] right up to the lower course of the Sutlej on the border of the Bhawalpur State where Johiyāwār still bears the stamp of their name. the biggest republican state also in the time of Rudradāman [c.150 A.D.]; the Yaudheyas were his neighbours, that is. Between the Mālava and the Sindh. reaching Lower Yaudheya States there was the small State of the Aryunāyanas whose exact location is not known but whose coins indicate that they were near Alwar and Agra. The Mādrakas were immediately to the north of the Yaudheyas extending up to the foot of the Himalayas. Madra-deśa was the plain country between Jhelum and Ravi 1, sometimes extending up to the Bias.² In the tract between the Bias and the Jumna lay the Vākātaka feudatories the Varmans of Simhapura and the Nāga king Nāgadatta. The other republican group of Samudra Gupta's inscription consists of the Abhīras, Prārjunas. Sahasānīkas, Kākas and Kharparikas. None of these struck their coins before Samudra Gupta, and this for the simple reason that they had been under the Vākāṭaka governor of Western Malwā at Mandhātā (Māhishmatī) and under the Nāgas of Padmāvatī. Gaņapati Nāga, in fact, is called the overlord of Dhārā [Dhārādhîśa]. We know now that the Sahasānīkas and the Kākas were nearabout Bhilsa. modern Kākpur was their town which is within 20 miles from Bhilsa³; the Sāñchi hill was called the Kākanāda. In the time of Chandra Gupta II a Sahasānika Mahārāja, probably a republican chief of the Sahasānikas, built the Chandra Gupta Temple in the Udayagiri rocks. About the Abhiras, we get great help from the Bhagavata. The Bhagavata calls the Abhiras, 'Saurāshṭra' and 'Āvantya' rulers (Saurāshtra-Āvanty Ābhīrāh), and the Vishnu treats the Abhīras as occupying the Surāshtra and Avanti provinces. We know from the Vākāṭaka history that in Western Malwa there were the Push yamitras and two other republics with their names ending in -Mitra. These were

¹ A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 14.

² J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 30. 3 J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 213.

the Ābhīra republics and in their place in later Gupta history we find the Maitrakas rising as monarchs. This group beginning with the Ābhīras and ending with Kharparikas is almost in a straight line from Kathiawar and Gujarat to Damoh, below the Māļava republic and above the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The Ābhīras in the time of the Periplus occupy Gujarat, and there is no justification in locating them in Bundelkhand as Dr. Vincent Smith did [J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 30]. He was led to do so on account of a mistaken notion that Kathiawar and Gujarat were at that time governed by the Western Satraps. Both the Purāṇas and Samudra Gupta's inscription leave no room for the Satraps in Kathiawar or Gujarat. The Western Satraps had been already dispossessed in the Nāga-Vākāṭaka period from Kathiawar. The Purāṇas here throw great light.

146. The Bhagavata treats the Abhiras of Surashtra and Avanti, the Suras and the Puranic Evidence. Mālavas of the Aravali as free republics. Their rulers are called janadhipāh, 'national' or 'popular' [i.e. republican] 'rulers'. It does not mention the Mādrakas. It seems that the Mādrakas had already come within the Empire of Samudra Gupta as a sequence of the Āryāvarta Wars and were probably the first amongst the republics to own allegiance to the Gupta Emperor when their overlord was conquered. The Suras of the Bhagavata are the famous Yaudheyas. The word Śūra ('hero') is a translation of the word 'Yaudheya', their popular title. Rudradāman, 200 years earlier, recorded that the Yaudheyas were popularly known amongst the Kshatriyas by their title 'the heroes'. The Yaudheyas, according to the Purānas, were good and ancient Kshatriyas. They formerly lived, like the Mālavas in the Punjab. It is they and the Mālavas who had kept the Kushan power in check, both at its western end on the Sindh borders and the eastern end at Mathurā. They were popularly

^{1 &#}x27;sarvakshatrâvishkrita-vîra sabda-jātotseka-avidheyānām' (E.I., VIII, 44): 'the Yaudheyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of 'heroes' among all Kshatriyas' (Kielhorn's translation).

known as 'Sūra', 'Vīra'. The Bhāgavata placing them next to the Abhīras and before the Mālavas, puts them between the two, which indicates their position to the north of the Abhiras and to the north-west of the Mālavas, i.e. the western portion The Vishnu reads:— 'Saurāshtra-Avanti-Śūrān of Rajputana. Arbuda-Marubhūmi-vishayāms cha vrātyā dvijā Ābhīra-Śūdra [read Śūra]-ādyāh bhokshyanti'. Its reading Śūdra after Avanti has the variant reading -śūra which is confirmed by the Vishnu Purāņa itself in another place 1 and the Hari-Vainśa. 2 There was, however, a republic of the Śaudrāyanas whose name was derived from a proper-name Sūdra, not the caste-name but the personal name of the founder.8 But the texts of the Bhagayata and Vishnu here evidently mean 'Sūras' which stands for the Yaudheyas. The Bhāgavata and the Vishnu do not mention at all the Prārjunas, Sahasānīkas, Kākas and Kharpa-They had belonged to the Naga group, being in Eastern Malwā.

146A. Then comes the Mlechchha State which is described by the Bhāgavata as the next state. This was the Kushan State. To the inscription of Samudra Gupta, the Purāṇa here acts as commentary:

Sindhos taṭam Chandrabhāgāṁ Kauntîṁ, Kāśmīra-maṇḍalam bhokshyanti śūdrāś ch ānty ādyā (or, vrātyādyā) Mlechchhāś ch-âbrahmavarchasaḥ. [P.T., 55].

'Over the banks of the Indus, and the Chandrabhāgā, Kauntī (Cutch⁴) (and) the principality of Kashmir, there will rule the Mlechchhas—the lowest of the Śūdras, who are opposed to Vedic holiness.'

The Vishnu reads: Sindhutaṭa-Dārvīkorvî-Chandrabhāgā-Kāśmīra-vishayān Vrātyā Mlechchhā śūdrādyāḥ [or, Mlechchhā-dayaḥ śūdrāh] bhokshyanti. The Vishnu is anxious here to connect the Indus-Chandrabhāgā valley (the Sindh-Sāgar Doab)

Wilson, V.P., Vol. II, p. 133: 'Sūra-Ābhīrāh' cf. Harivamśa, 12, 837, Sūra-Ābhīrāḥ.

² See Hall's note in Wilson's Vishņu, II, 133.

³ See Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, I, p. 156.

⁴ J.B.A.S., 1851, 234.

with the Dārvīkorvī (the Dārvīka valley), i.e. the Khyber Pass with its hinterland (§ 124), which shows that there was a correct appreciation of the natural frontiers of India. The Chandrabhāgā limit is confirmed by the use of the Gupta Era at Shorkot in its 83rd year 1 when it is employed there without even the specification of the era, which shows that it must have been in vogue there for at least 25 years, i.e. since the reign of Samudra Gupta.

The Mlechchas are called here the lowest of the 146B. Śūdras. Here we should recall the The Mlechchha rule Manana Code and the other authoridescribed. ties which hold the Sakas in India to be Śūdras. Patañjali. c. 180 B.C., discussed the status of the Sakas and Yavanas who in his time had been politically turned out of India vet few of whom remained as subjects in India. The Mahā Bhārata also has discussed the status of such foreigners, Sakas and others, domiciled in India who had become Hinduised.² Early authorities are unanimous in giving the Sakas the status of the Sūdra who was not permitted to interdine with the twice-born Aryans. These ruling Sakas and political antagonists, on account of their political and social policy, have been lowered by the Bhagavata as lower than the lowest Śūdras, to the position of pariahs (antyajas). The reason is given by the Bhagavata itself. They not only disregarded the orthodox system ('the Vedic holiness') but they imposed a system of social tyranny. The country under them was encouraged or forced to follow their manners, ethics and religious theories: 'tannāthās te janapadās tach-chhīlâchāravādinah.' Politically they did persistently what the Saka Satrap Rudradāman was made to swear not to do. He, on getting himself elected as king, took the oath that he would not exact taxes except those sanctioned by Hindu Law 3. The

¹ E.I., XVI, 15.

² [I have discussed the Mahā Bhārata passage in my Baroda Lecture (1931).] *M Bh.*, *Sānti*, LXV; Manu, X, 44; Patañjali on P. II. 4. 10.

³ E.I., VIII, pp. 33-43 [Junagarh insc., lines 9-10]: sarva-varņairabhigamya rakshaṇārtha(m) patitve vritena ā-praṇochchhvāsāt purushavadha-nivritti-krita-satyapratijāena antyatra samgrāmeshu. Then, line 12: yathāvat-prāptair-bali-sulka-bhāgaih

Mlechchha kings, however, according to the description of the Bhāgavata and the Vishņu, followed the general practice of their race—exacted illegal taxes (prajās te bhakshayishyanti Mlechchhā rājnaya-rûpinah). They killed and massacred even women and children. They killed cows (which had become sacred by that time, as the Vākāṭaka and Gupta inscriptions prove). They killed Brahmins, they took away wives and wealth of others (strī-bāla-go-dvijaghnās cha, paradāradhanâhritāh). They were never 'crowned', i.e., legal kings according to Hindu Law. They indulged in constant dynastic revolutions amongst themselves ["hatvā chaiva parasparam"; uditoditavamsās tu uditāstamitās tathā]—a condition already guessed by numismatists from their coins. There was thus a national cry, expressed by the Purana text, practically inviting the Gupta emperors and the Hindus of the time to eradicate this lingering canker in the North-Western corner-an operation which Chandra Gupta II was compelled to perform and which he did perform successfully.

147. This description is the description of the 'Yauna' rule and not of the Yavanas, the Indo-Greeks. ¹ The Yauna has been turned into Yavana. The Brahmāṇḍa, closing the dynasties and rulers contemporary with the Early Guptas, says in its second half of verse 199:

'tulyakālam bhavishyanti sarve hyete mahîkshitah' and adds by its next verse (200):

ʻalpaprasādā hyanritā mahā-krodhā hyadhārmikāḥ bhavishyantîha Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ.'

'There will be the Yavanas in this country propelled by religious zeal, ambition and greed, who will be of short whims, untruthful, of great anger and unrighteous.'

With this opening verse there follows a description which is a summing-up of the Period. The Matsya, which closed with the end of the Sātavāhanas, also gives the same description, though condensed in three lines:

¹ Cf. 'The Yaunas of the Puranas', J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 201.

'bhavishyantîha Yavanāḥ dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ tair vimiśrā janapadā Āryā Mlechchhāś cha sarvaśaḥ viparyayena vartante kshayam-eshyanti vai prajāḥ." ²

[The Aryan population would become mixed with the Mlechehhas and the people would decay.] The Bhagavata applies the same description to the Mlechchhas of Sindhu-Chandrabhāgā-Kauntî-Kāśmīra, and gives great details, as summarised above, up to the end of the chapter (Bk. XII, Chapter ii).2 The Bhāgavata is followed by the Vishņu in this scheme. It is thus evident that the Yavana of the other Purāņas is the Mlechchha of the Vishņu and the Bhāgavata. The Yavana here could not be the Indo-Greek Yavana who had passed away long before, both according to the Puranic treatment of chronology and dynastic details. These Y avanas here are the Yaunas, i.e. the Yauvā or Yauvan rulers who have been shown to be identical with the Kushans. 3 The Kushans bore the royal title Yauv or $Yauv\bar{a}$, and the Kushans are placed in the Purānas as the Tukhāra-Murundas and Sakas. The Bhagavata shortly after (XII, iii, 14) actually uses the form 'Yauna'.

The Provinces of the Mlechchha State.

The Provinces of the Cutch. It is possible that some subordinate rulers under them were non-Mlechchhas, as the Bhāgavata says that the governors were predominatingly Mlechchhas (Mlechchha-prāyāś cha bhūbhritah).

Kauntî or Cutch was included in Sindh, as the Vishnu does not mention it separately. Cutch-Sindh was under the Western Satraps whose coins we get for some 30 years after the Kushan submission, which we may date about 350 A.D.

² Ch. 272, 25-26.

² The next chapter is the description of the liberation of the country by Kalki from the Mlechchhas whom I had identified with Vishņu Yaśodharman, the final destroyer of the Huns; but his description in the Mahā Bhārata and the Brahmānda agrees with the description of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I the Vākāṭaka. [See also p. 46, n. above.]

⁸ J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 287, XVII, 201.

Value of the Purāṇic account of the Bhāraśiva-Nāga-Vākāṭaka Period and the Early Gupta Period in the Purāṇas. It is very full for the Vākāṭaka and the Samudra Gupta Periods. In fact, our literature nowhere else gives such detailed account for any other period of Hindu History before the Rājataraṅginî takes up the history of the Karkoṭa Dynasty (7th century A.D.).

FURTHER INDIA.

149 A. Further India was recognized as part of India Further India and her Recognition.

In the Bhārasiva-Vākāṭaka Period. In the Matsya Purāṇa for the first time we find that recognition.¹ Between the Himavat and the Sea, Bhāratavarsha stands, but it covers a larger area on account of Indians [Bhāratī prajā] living in eight more islands or sea-girt lands (dvīpas), 'which are mutually inaccessible on account of the sea intervening'. India is the ninth in that sea-girt system. This clearly means that the eight dvīpas or islands and peninsulas, inhabited by Indians, were in one direction from the Indian peninsula. The direction

1 Matsya, ch. 113. 1-14: [Cf. Vāyu Text, i. ch. 45, 69-86.] यदिदं भारतं वर्षे यस्मिन् खायस्मुवादयः चतुर्देशैव मनवः (1) अथादं वर्षयिधामि वर्षेशिस्मृन भारते प्रजाः (5) न खल्व्यव मत्यांनां भूमी कर्षाविधः स्मृतः । जन्तरं यस्मुद्रस्य हिमवद्दिणं च थत् । वर्षे यद्वारतं नाम यचेयं भारती प्रजा ॥ [Vāyu, 75]. भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदाज्ञिबोधत ॥ (7) समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्रे लगग्याः परस्यरम् [Vāyu, 78] र्न्द्रदीपः कसेवस्य तासपणी गभिस्मान् । नागदीपस्तथा सीग्यो गन्धर्वस्वथ वाक्षः ॥ (8) स्थं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंदतः । (9)

Then follows the description of the ninth dvips or section of Bhāratavarsha, which covers the whole of India, called here Mānavadvipa.

is indicated by the situation of $T\bar{a}mra parn\hat{i}$, one of the eight Hindu dvipas. All these dvipas were to the east, that is, they constituted what we call to-day Further India. Indradvīpa, the first dvīpa in the list, has been satisfactorily identified with Burma.1 The Malay Peninsula was well known to Indians at that time, a fact evidenced by an inscription of the fourth century A.D. inscribed on a pillar [in the present district of Wellesly] by a Hindu sea-captain (Mahānāvika) Budhagupta of Eastern India,2 and it is very probable that the Kaseru or Kaserumat dvīpa which is mentioned next to Indradvīpa, meant the present Straits Settlements. The next class begins with Tāmraparnî (the older name of Ceylon): Tāmraparņa, Gabhastimān, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, and Vāruna dvīpas. Nāgadvīpa is Nicobar.3 We know from Cambodian inscriptions that Cambodia (Indo-China) was held by the Nagas who were superseded by the orthodox Hindu dynasty of Kaundinya from India.4 We may take 'Nāga' to be the ethnic designation of the pre-Hindu inhabitants of these colonies. Gabhastimān ['Island of the Sun'], Saumya, Gāndharva and Vāruna represent the Archipelago (Sumatra, Borneo, etc.), out of which Sumatra-Java had certainly settlements of Indians before the fourth century A.D. It is certain that the Purāņas in the third and fourth centuries are conscious of the Hindu colonies in Further India, and treat them as parts of Bhāratavarsha.⁵ Their Bhāratavarsha, which was primarily India, was at this point of time interpreted as India-cum-Greater India, which latter taking Ceylon, consisted of eight units or divisions, called dvīpas.

¹ S. N. Majumdar, J.B.O.R.S., 1922 (March), now reprinted in his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1924), p. 749. His identification of *Kaserumat* with the Malay Peninsula is reasonable. But the other proposals are hopeless.

² Ibid., p. 752, citing Kern, VG., III (1915), p. 255.

³ Gerini, Ptolemy's Geography, pp. 379-383.

⁴ Champa by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, ii. 18, 23.

⁵ The Vāyu shows a detailed knowledge of the Archipelago and gives in a new chapter [ch. 48] names current in Gupta times, e.g., Anga [Champā], Malaya, Ya[v]a, etc.

150. In line 23 in the group of Shāhānushāhi and others, i.e., the group of what we should call to-Samudra Gupta and day the States 'under the sphere of in-Further India. fluence', we have 'Saimhalaka-ādibhis cha sarva-dvīpa-vāsibhih', 'the king of Simhala and all the other islanders (or, Oceanic rulers)', who made their submission and acknowledged Samudra Gupta as their Emperor. They paid no taxes but brought presents and expressly accepted his headship. Samudra Gupta describes this as uniting the whole land [Prithivi] within his two arms. His India or Prithivi, therefore, embraced within its bounds Further India. 'All the dvīpas' here meant all the Indian colonies of Bhāratavarsha (§ 149 A), of the Bhāratî prajā. Dr. Vincent Smith thinks that the embassy of Meghavarna of Ceylon, come to obtain permission for erecting a monastery for the Simhalese pilgrims at Bodhgayā, was alluded to by Samudra Gupta in his inscription as presenting tribute.1 But the two matters seem to be quite independent. In the inscription the reference is not to the king of Cevlon only but also to the rulers of 'all the' dvipas. That there were other Indian colonies at the time which had been in communication with the home-land is a well-known fact. We have in the third century a Sanskrit inscription in Champā [Cambodia] of a king belonging to the dynasty of Śrī Māra Kaundinya², anticipating the favourite Vasantatilakā metre and the language and style of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta inscriptions. This inscription establishes that the connection of the colonies with the Bhāraśiva and Vākātaka India and with the revivalism of Sanskrit in the home-land had been fully maintained. All official inscriptions in India in the second century A.D., both in the South and in the North, had been in Prakrit.3 Bhadravarman

¹ E.H.I., pp. 304-305.

² Champā by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar: Inscription No. 1. Cf. also J.R.A.S., 1912, 677, where Fan Ye (d. 445 A.D.) is cited as describing [Gupta] India from Kabul to Burma or Annam.

³ With the single exception of the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman who was particularly learned in Sanskrit and who tried to make himself an orthodox Hindu king, having come in by election.

['Fan-Hou-ta' of the Chinese] who defeated the Chinese forces [380-410 A.D.], was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II. His father, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta, was fighting the Chinese Emperor at the time, and would have welcomed connection with the Indian Emperor. Bhadravarman's son, Gangarāja, actually retired to India to pass his days on the Ganges and then went back to Champa and ruled.1 connection of the Hindu king of Funan with India since 245 A.D. is also a recorded fact. The impress of the time of Samudra Gupta on the Hindu Colonies is marked in such a degree that the Allahabad inscription is necessarily to be taken seriously—as seriously as it is taken with regard to its Samudra Gupta's reign coincides with a new Indian matters. social system on Hindu lines in Funan under Śrutavarman.² About the same time in the Hindu colony of Western Java we find inscriptions being written in Sanskrit in the script of 'the fourth or fifth century A.D.' And Sumatra gets so much of orthodox Hindu culture just before the arrival of Fa Hien that he found: 'various forms of error and Brahmanism flourishing while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of' (Fa Hien, p. 113). We have the evidence of Fa Hien that Tāmralipti, which, as we have seen, became a Guptan port by annexation in Samudra Gupta's time, was a brisk port for regular communication between India and Ceylon. To Tāmralipti the traveller had to go from Champā [Bhagalpur], which was a capital in his time—a fact fully corroborating the statement of the Puranas on the Gupta organisation of the Province of Champā-Tāmralipti. Fa Hien found a large merchant-ship sailing for Ceylon which he calls Simhala [just as in Samudra Gupta's inscription], and embarked for that island. The connection between Ceylon and India had been easy and constant enough to compel the Saimhalaka King to accept the imperial position of Samudra Gupta. Tāmralipti was also the chief

¹ Champā, pp 25-29.

² Coomaraswamy: History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 181 [see authorities cited therein]; Finot in Indian Historical Quarterly, 1925, Vol. I, p. 612.

port in Northern India for Further India. Its annexation to the Province of Champā was with a view to come in close touch with the colonies in Further India and to control the sea-trade.¹ There was here a well-considered and well-calculated policy. The inscription is not a vague record of accidental visits from Ceylon and other islands, but is a record of the results of a conscious imperial policy.

151. Evidence of Art further establishes a Guptan connection with Indian Colonies. Pieces of sculpture going back to the fourth century A.D. have been noticed as bearing the stamp of the Vākātaka-Gupta Art, and temples of the Gupta type have been found in Cambodia.² Similarly the introduction of the Gupta script and its adaptation in Burma, and the large finds of Gupta terracottas in Burma are to be noted.³ The history of Art in subsequent centuries in Indonesia is so indissolubly knit with the Gupta art that it is to be regarded as bearing solid testimony to the introduction of Gupta influence beginning with Samudra Gupta's time. Samudra Gupta, if not politically, yet culturally, did cause the unity of Further India with the Motherland within his two arms ⁴.

Hindu Ideal.

Hindu Ideal.

Hindu Dvīpas or colonies were integral parts of the Indian Empire of the Hindu Samrāt.

According to the Mahā-Bhārata, Simhala [Ceylon]

According to that

¹ Influx of gold was probably more from Further India, than from the South. F. India produced much gold.

² Coomaraswamy: 157, 182, 183.

³ Coomaraswamy, *Ibid.*, p. 169. V. Smith, Early History, 4th ed., p. 297, n., asserts the introduction of the Gupta Era in Burma. I learn from Mr. Umya, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, that no record in the Gupta Era has been found in Burma. But see Führer's APR., for June, 1894. On the adaptation of the Gupta script to Burmese phonetics in the Pyu inscriptions see the forms in E.I. XII. 127.

^{4 &#}x27;bāhu-vīryya-prasara-dharani-bandhasya'; L. 24, All. Insc., G.I., p. 8.

⁵ M.Bh., Sabhā, XIV, 9-12, XXXVII, 20.

⁶ Ibid., XXXI, 73-74; [see also Southern Text, C. XXXIV].

ideal the whole of India including Afghanistan must be comprised in that empire. But the empire must not go further west and be at the cost of the liberties of the countries beyond Afghanistan. The traditional international morality of Hindu India was noted by the Greek writers and the Arab Sulaiman.² The Law of Manu, which fixes the western boundary of India, was scrupulously observed by Samudra Gupta. The Sassanian king, who was troubled and weakened by the Roman emperor at the time, could have been invaded and probably easily conquered by Samudra Gupta, who in the art of war had no equal in his time. But Samudra Gupta had a law laid down to him by his dharmaśāstra—the code, 'the rule (śāstra) of civilisation' (dharma). And that dharma was followed: that dharma limited a Hindu monarch's actions, both international and imperial. The history of Samudra Gupta's conquests shows that his actions were well-regulated by that law, and that he did not become a militarist.

¹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 25, where the frontiers of Seistan peopled by 'the Parama Kambojas' and their allied tribes the 'Northern Rishikas' [the Ārśī people] are described. On Rishika and Ārśī, see *Bhāratabhámi* by J. Vidyālankāra, pp. 313-315; J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 97.

² Hindu Polity, ii, 190-191.

PART IV

Southern India [150 A.D.—350 A.D.]

Unification of the North and the South

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि
'धन्यासु ये भारतभूमि-भागे स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्नात्'॥

[—the India-Anthem, Vishnu Purāna, II, 3, 24.]

सम्यक् प्रजापालनमाचाधिमतराजप्रयोजनस्य।

'—[His majesty] to whom the raison d'être of acquiring kingship consisted in rendering good government to the people.'

[—Inscriptions of the Ganga Dynasty of Southern India.]

XV. THE SUBORDINATE MEMBERS OF THE ĀNDHRA [SĀTAVĀHANA] EMPIRE.

It will be convenient to have a retrospect of the Southern history to see its bearing on Puranic Scheme of Northern India and the inter-connection Imperial Periods. between the South and the North before summing up the effects of the Gupta imperialism. The Purānas, from the time of the Andhras onwards, give the subordinate ruling dynasties under the imperial power. They do so for three dynasties—the Andhras (=Sātavāhanas), the Vindhyakas (=Vākāṭakas) and the Guptas. It is noticeable that when the centre of imperialism shifts from Magadha, when it goes from the Kānvāyanas to the Sātavāhanas, the Purānas begin to describe the imperial dynasties with reference to their places of origin and not by their dynastic titles. The Sātavāhanas are described as Andhra, i.e., arising from Andhra-deśa; similarly the Vākātakas are described as Vindhyaka, arising from Vindhyadeśa. And when the Purāṇas revert to Magadha the Guptas are again described by their dynastic title. We shall now study the Āndhran imperial organisation as noted in the Purāṇas; the Vākāṭakan and the Guptan, we have already surveyed.

153. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa state that under the Feudatories of the Ändhras there were established five contemporary families:

Vā.: Andhrānām samsthitāh pañcha teshām vamsāh samāh punah.—Vāyu, 37, 352.

Br.: Andhrānām samsthitāh pañcha teshām vamśyāh ye punah.—Br. 74, 71.²

On the other hand, the Matsya, the Bhāgavata and the Vishņu do not give the number five, but describe three such dynasties. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa mention two dynasties by name, which they have in common with the Matsya and the Bhāgavata, viz., the Ā b h ī r a s and the S u b o r d i n a t e Ā n d h r a s, but they imply three, saying that under the term 'Andhras' they are giving years for two dynasties. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa in counting the five dynasties probably included in their list the M u ṇ ḍ ā n a n d a s and the M a h ā-r a t h ī house (the family of Kalyāṇa Mahārathī of Mysore) who are known from their coins.³ As these two dynasties ceased early, the other Purāṇas limit themselves to three. The Purāṇas give the years and successions of such dynasties which came down to the next Purāṇic epoch, that of the Vākāṭakas ('Vindhyakas'). The texts are:

Matsya—Āndhrāṇām samsthitā rājye teshām bhrityānvaye nripāh

Saptaiv=Āndhrā bhavishyanti daś=Ābhīras tathā nṛipāh. (271, 17-18).4

Bh.— $Sapt = \overline{A}bh\overline{i}r = \overline{A}ndhrabhrity\overline{a}h$.

Vishņu—Andhrabhrityāh sapt=Ābhīrāh 5 (where the Vishņu has misread the text quoted by the Bhāgavata,

¹ Bibliotheca Indica Edition, Vol. II, page 453.

² Bombay, Venkatesvara Edition, p. 186.

³ Rapson, C.A.D., pp. 57, 60 (correction at p. 212).

⁴ J. Vidyāsāgara's ed., p. 1160.

⁵ J. Vidyāsagāra's ed., p. 584, Bk. IV, Ch. 24, Clause 13.

taking $Andhrabhrity\bar{a}h$ as qualifying $sapt-\hat{A}bh\bar{i}r\bar{a}h$.)

It is thus evident that the Matsya and the Bhāgavata do not give the number of the dynasties; they specify the Ābhīras and the 'Subordinate Āndhras' (to be distinguished from the Imperial Āndhras) as the subordinate dynasties under the Āndhras and established by the Āndhras. Mr. Pargiter has mixed up these two different sets of data as if all meaning one and the same thing, and prepared a new text which has become most confusing here. The Matsya gives one more dynasty by name, in addition to these two, the $\dot{S}r\bar{\imath} - P\bar{a}rvat\hat{\imath}ya$ s, which is its independent and exclusive information. As the Matsya makes them contemporaneous with the Subordinate Āndhras, they also seem to have been established by the Sātavāhanas, but probably they were not so very important in the Āndhra times as the other two. We shall now take up the history of these three dynasties.

154. The Andhras, corresponding to the Vishnu's Andhra-

'Subordinate Andhras' and Śrī-Pārvatīyas. bhrityas, i.e., the Subordinate Āndhras, who are the first to be taken up for discussion by the Matsya, the Vāyu, and the Brahmāṇḍa, completed seven suc-

cessions. The Bhāgavata agrees in this except that it places the Ābhīras before the Āndhras, which is not of much consequence as these dynasties were contemporaries. The standpoint of the Bhāgavata is probably territorial, surveying from the north. The Matsya, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇda give the durations. The Matsya manuscripts, by a majority, have the following reading on the two dynasties (1) the Āndhras (the Subordinate Āndhras) and (2) the Śrī-Pārvatīyas:—

Āndhrāh Śrīpārvatîyāś cha te dve pañcha śatam samāh.1

'The Andhras and the Śrī-Pārvatīyas—the two—(have) 105 years.'

Against this, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give their text:—

Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām satam 1 dve cha satam cha vai.

'The Andhras will rule the land, the two (dynasties) for one hundred [years] and one hundred [years] respectively.'

It is clear that under the term 'Andhras' the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa include two dynasties—the Subordinate Āndhras who bore the imperial title and another, the Āndhra Śrī-Pārvatīyas. Their duration in each case is of 100 years, against the 105 years of the Matsya. Dr. Hall's copy² of the Brahmāṇḍa and the e- Vayu of Mr. Pargiter (which is really a Brahmāṇḍa MS.), give 100 years to the one and $100\frac{1}{2}$ years to the other. Thus, in fact, all these three Purāṇas are describing three feudatory dynasties.

The expression 'the Āndhras will enjoy the land (vasudhām, the earth,) shows that these latter 'Āndhras 'assumed imperial powers. We shall see presently that the Śrī-Pārvatīyas of the Andhra country did assume an imperial rôle, and that they were the first dynasty to do so in the South after the fall of the Sātavāhanas.

The Ā b h ī r a s, according to the Matsya, had ten successions and 67 years (sapta-shashtis tu varshāṇi daś Ābhīrās tathaiva cha; teshû tsanneshu Kālena tataḥ Kilakilā-nripāḥ). The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa too, give 10 successions to the Ābhīras, while the Bhāgavata gives them only 7, and the Bhāgavata does not give any duration. The Vishṇu follows the Bhāgavata.

156. To sum up: there were these three dynasties, two of which were established by the imperial Andhras, and the other also arose at the same time and evidently under them, who, though not of much importance at the time, acquired importance on the fall of the Sātavāhanas.

Thus we have

- The Subordinate (bhritya) Junior Andhras, 7 successions, 100 or 105 years.
- ¹ P.T., p. 46, n. 33; sate in some MSS. is changed to agree with dve, while dve refers not to the years but to the dynasties.
 - ² Wilson and Hall, Vayu, P., IV, 208. P.T., p. 46, n. 34.

II. The $\bar{A}bh\bar{i}ras$, 10 (or 7) successions, 67 years.

III. The Śrī-Pārvatīyas, 100 or 105 years.

IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY OF THE SUBORDINATE ANDHRAS.

The Subordinate Andhras are the well-known feudatory Sātavāhanas or Āndhras in whose line flourished the two Hāritīputras of the Chutu Dynasty, who have left their inscriptions at Kanheri (Aparanta), Kanara (Banavasi) and Mysore (Malavalli).1 These inscriptions cannot be dated earlier than 200 A.D. on the evidence of their scripts.2 Although the Banavasi record has an archaic script, the Malavalli inscription of the same reign has characters of 200 A.D. The latter record is in line with the Kodavali inscription of King Chamdasāti-the last but one king of the Sātavāhana line (E.I., XVIII. 318), whose date, as given in the record, has been calculated by Mr. Krishna Sastri as corresponding to December, 210 A.D., which is very near the Puranic date for that king (228 A.D., J.B.O.R.S., 1930, 279). The genealogy of the two kings-Rājā Hāritīputra Vishņu Skanda Chuţukulānanda Śātakarņi and of his daughter's son Hāritīputra Šiva Skanda-varman, 'lord of Vaijayanti,'3 has been carefully reconstructed by Prof. Rapson on the basis of the three inscriptions of the family, together with one inscription of the first Kadamba king.4 I cannot do better than adopt that reconstruction, having personally gone into the materials thoroughly. I, however, give a name-value to 'Vinhu Kadda' as Vishnu Skanda:

¹ Rapson, C.A.D., LXXXI, XLIII, XLIX, LIII-LV, Kanheri: A.S.W.I., Vol. V, p. 86; Banavasi: I.A., XIV, 331. Maysore (Shimoga at Malavalli): E.C., VII, 251.

² Rice, E. C., Vol. VII, plate facing p. 252; I.A., Vol. XIV, 1885, p. 331, plate facing p. 332. Dr. Bühler considered the Banavasi inscription to belong to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, but Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji considered it to be later. Prof. Rapson in C.A.D., p. xxiii, would place King Hāritīputra scarcely before the beginning of the third century A.D.

³ E.C., Vol. VII, p. 252.

⁴ C.A.D., pp. liii to lv.

King Hāritīputra Vishņu Skanda (*Viņhu Kadda*) Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi=Mahābhojī°—

Mahārathī = Nāgamulanikā
| Hāritīputra Śivaskanda varman
[Vaijayantī-pati].

158. There is no doubt that the dynastic name is Chutu[Kula]. The term Chutu has not yet been explained. It is the same word as the Sanskrit chunt—'to become small'. It survives in the word 'Chutia Nagpur' which means 'the minor' or 'smaller' Nagpur as compared with the bigger Nagpur in the Central Provinces. It is, very likely, a Dravidian word which was accepted by the Aryans. Chhotū=a 'younger member', is its modern Hindi equivalent which in Chutia Nagpur is still 'Chutu,' meaning a younger brother. Chutu and Chutu-kula should be translated as 'the Younger Branch' i.e., the younger branch of the imperial Sātavāhanas.

Rudradāman and his effect on the Sātavāhanas.

Ratorāhanas.

This will take them back to about 150 A.D. which was the most trialsome time for the Sātavāhanas owing to the rise of Rudradāman to power.

Rudradāman's constitutional position has not been appreciated by Indian historians. His great strength lay in his legal status which no Śaka ruler, before or after, ever acquired in this country. His father had been fully thrown out. But he was elected king by the whole Hindu community of Kathiawar (Surāshṭra) and the neighbourhood [sarva-varnair-abhigamya rakshanārtha (m) patitve vritena]. The Saurāshṭras who elected him king had been a republican community according to the Artha-śāstra.¹ On his election, Rudradāman took an oath by which he gave an engagement which he reiterates and proclaims in his inscription at Junagarh, promising to remain true to

his pratijñā, i.e., to his coronation oath. Rudradāman's oath and the whole tenor of his public declaration in his Junagarh inscription mean that he would behave up to his last breath like a true Hindu sovereign, and he illustrated it by saying that when his ministers opposed his decision to rebuild the Sudar-sana lake on account of its heavy cost, he accepted their decision but rebuilt it from his private purse. We may take it that this elected king, behaving, as he did, like a Hindu of Hindus, must have become a very popular leader. He was learned in Sanskrit and the Śāstras, and adopted Sanskrit as his official language. He became a great menace to the Sātavāhana sovereign and he actually defeated that 'Lord of Dakshiṇāpatha' twice, but followed the Hindu law of restoring a bhrashṭa-rāja—a fallen enemy. His reign led to a new organisation in the Sātavāhana empire.

160. Under these conditions the Junior Dynasty—the Chuta Kula-along with a few other subordinate dynasties came into existence. To this period probably the 'Chutukulānanda' coins are to be assigned. The Junior Dynasty guarded the sea-coast on the west. Their capital was Vaijayantî in the Province of Vanavāsī (Kanara). We find their inscription at Kanheri in the North, and we find their coins in the South at Karwar on the sea-coast in the province of Vanavāsī. On the coins, readias of Chutu-kudānanda (No. G.P. 2),2 although the letters look earlier than those of 150 A.D., the form of 'ku' with a thickened head, and the treatment of anusvāra placed just on the top of 'na' and the form of 'sa' are later. It seems that archaic forms lingered on the coins, which amongst themselves show a period of hundred years as covered by them. It is to be noticed that the coins were not struck in the personal name of any member of the Chutu family but their official title—the Chutu Kula [Raño Chutukudānamdasa '(coin of) the Pleaser of the Chutu Dynasty']. And we find the same characteristics on the coins issued by the governor [of the Munda-

^{1 &#}x27;satyapratijnena'; pratijna is a constitutional term denoting 'coronation oath'. See Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, ii, p 50.

² C.A.D., p. xxii, Plate VIII, G.P. 2, G.P. 3, 235.

rāshtra] Mundānanda. Mundarāshtra was a province in Andhradesa according to the Pallava inscriptions.1

Chutus and the caste the of Sātavāhanas—the Malavalli inscriptions.

161. These Chutu kings, the Subordinate Andhras of the Puranas, being only a branch of the imperial dynasty, throw light on the caste of the Sātavāhanas. I have shown elsewhere² that the imperial Andhras were Brahmins by caste. The description of the branch family confirms that view. Their

gotra [stock] was 'Mānavya', essentially a Brahmin gotra and it was so recognised even after their time. In Mysore, Shimoga district, at Malavalli there was a Siva shrine presided over by Mattapatti-Deva to whom a Chutu king dedicated an estate and placed it as a Brahma-deva grant in the hands of a Brahmin called the Hāritīputra Kondamāna of the Kaun dinya gotra. This gift is recorded on a six-sided pillar which was lying on the ground at Malavalli.3 The name and description of the Chutu king are: Vaijayantipura-rājā Mānavya-sagotto Hāritīputto Vinhu Kadda-Chutu-kulānanda-Sātakanni, who had issued his order to his Mahāvallabha Rajjuka. This gift was evidently resumed by a subsequent government. A Kadamba king subsequently renewed the grant—'with a very glad mind (paritutthena)'— 'for the second time' giving to a descendant of Kondamana, a maternal uncle of the king and a Kausikīputra. The grant covered the old property and an addition of twelve new villages, all specified by name, and the gift was publicly registered on the same pillar. The gift by the previous donor is described in this as 'Siva[Khada]vammaṇā Mānavya-sagotteṇa Hāritīputtena Vaijayanti-patinā puvva-dattitti'. Šiva Khada

¹ Coin No. 236 of the Mundananda belongs to the same series. It was evidently connected with Munda-rashtra which occurs in the Pallava inscriptions [EI. VIII, 159]. [Mundā in the Mundārī language of Chutia Nagpur means a rājā.]

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 265-266.

³ E.C., Vol. VII, Sk. 251-252, Nos. 263, 264.

⁴ See correction by Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 305, footnote 2. Dr. Fleet, however, has made a confusion in regarding Siva Skandavarman as the name of the Kadamba king, while it is the name of the Chutu king, which has been made clear by Prof. Rapson, C.A.D., p. LIV.

vamman here which is put in the instrumental (as opposed to the Kadamba king who is placed in the *prathamā*), is the former king who had made the gift (puvvadatta). He is described with the same titles as in the inscription of Vishņu Skanda Śātakarni. It was a common practice in those days to add the word Śiva as a mere honorific before names. The king's name, according to his mother's inscription at Banavasi,

was Śiva-Khada-Nāga-Siri, which at Kanheri, according to the same authority, is, Khamda Nāga Sātaka. The word Śiva, therefore, was only honorific. Sāta and Sāti stand for Svāti which the Purānas give with several names of the Andhras. Svāti means 'sword'. His mother was the daughter of Vishņu-Skanda, spelt as Vinhu-Kada (or, Kada) and Vinhu Kadda, of the Chutu dynasty, who is also given the name Sātakanni in the Banavasi inscription. The former gift was actually made and recorded not be the

The former gift was actually made and recorded not by the Hāritīputra Śiva Skanda varman,¹ the lord of Vaijayantī, but by his grandfather Vishņu Skanda (Vinhu Kadda²) Sātakarņi. And when the second inscription mentions that the Kadamba king having heard that a gift had been made by Śiva Skandavarman, 'with a glad heart' makes the gift a second time, it means that a confusion was made between the names of the grandfather and grandson; instead of writing the grandfather's name the grandson's name was written by mistake.³

162. I have carefully studied the plate and I find it im-

The Kadamba king at Malavalli—the Chutus succeeded by the Pallavas. possible to read Kadambānām rājā before the word Śiva in line 4. I, however, find a reference to the prosperity of the Kadambas in the last line which shows that it is a Kadamba document and a Kadamba grant. The readable portion in line 4 which is the first line of the latter grant, is: Siva-

Kha[da] vamanā Mānavya-sa[go]ttena Hāritīputtena Vaijayantī

¹ The Kadamba king turns Sāta into varman, or adds it, which had become a style of royalty in his time, though it had not been so before.

² I read Kadda, not Kadda. Compare 'da' in line 2 with da in 'Mattapattideva', in 'nanda' in line 1 and in 'deyya' and in 'dinnam' in line 3.

³ Or, that the gift had been last confirmed by Siva Skanda, as in

pati[na] (end of the line). Before Śiva there were two letters (rañā), then a blank space. Before Śiva, Mr. Rice read Siddham jayati Maṭṭapaṭṭidevo Vaijayantī-dhamma-Mahārāje patikata-saujhāyichachchaparo Kadambānām rājā, out of which I can read traces of jayati Mat.—Dha[m]mahā.jā..... After this what Mr. Rice read as dhirāje is not traceable but in its place I read ra[ś]ammā anpa.[ti]... ka.... Mr. Rice's pati kata, etc., gives no meaning. His dhi ra je pa ti ka ta corresponds to my 'ra[śā]mmā anapa-ti. I have no doubt that after Dhammamahārājo followed (Mayū)raśammā āṇapa(ya) ti. A better rubbing and facsimile would disclose the true forms of the six blurred letters after pa and the four letters after ka and before rañā. Mayūraśar mā was the first Kadambaking. He renewed the grant.

It is, however, not a necessary corollary that the Kadambas came immediately after the Chutus. The Chutus and the Kadambas were connected, the latter being an offshoot of the former (§ 200). Some hostile power must have intervened and that was the Pallava. No room for speculation is left in view of the Talagunda inscription wherein Mayūra-śarman is recorded to have carved out his fief at the cost of the Pallava territories, and was recognized as a chief in view of his lineage, of the Hāritīputra Mānavya.¹ The Chutus thus were superseded by the Pallavas in the latter half of the third century, and the Pallava king who effected it was the king before Śiva Skanda-varman the Pallava, i.e., his father who performed an aśvamedha. (§ 183).

early as the second century A.D. were probably the same family who sent out a scion to Champā (Indo-China) to be the founder of the Kauṇḍinyas kingdom there. They seem to have been imported from Northern India in the time of the imperial Sātavāhanas. The family was a very respected one. They are mentioned with respect in the two Malavalli inscriptions and were related to the royal family. We seem to the case of the Pallava grant published in E.I., I, p. 2, where the Pallava emperor confirmed the gift made by his father ('bappa')

have a historical corroboration here of the C h a m p ā tradition of the Kauṇḍinyas. Champā received her colony from Southern India led by the Kauṇḍinyas. Another K a u ṇḍin y a, in the reign of Samudra Gupta, goes to Champā and reforms the society there. He was very likely connected with this family. The Kauṇḍinyas must have been in touch with their Champā branch, which would have been certainly to their advantage. In the second, third, and fourth centuries they were thus social leaders in the South and the Colonies.

Identification and History of the Abhiras.

The history of the Abhiras is greatly explained

by the Puranic data. Although the successions of the Abhīras number 10 or 7, Abhīras a republic. they have only 67 years to their credit. It is commonly supposed that the Abhīras of the time of the Sātavāhanas founded a kingdom under Īśvarasena whose inscription we find at Nasik.1 That inscription gives two important pieces of information: (a) that I svarasena who is described as king and in whose 9th year the record is dated, was not the son of a king, his father Sivadatta is described only as an Abhira commoner [Śivadatt-Ābhīraputrasya]; (b) the lady donor of the foundation who deposited funds with certain guilds for the pious purpose of providing medicines for sick monks of all denominations, describes herself as the mother of the Ganapaka Viśvavarman and as the wife of the Ganapaka Rebhila, which indicates that the relations had been presidents of a gana republic. It seems that the Abhiras, who rise under the imperial Sātavāhanas, had been a republic and that \bar{I} s v a r a sen a was the first to assume monarchical title $(r\bar{a}jan)$. He is believed to have ousted the Saka-Satrap between the years 236 and 239 A.D. The Matsya (§ 155) marks the end of the Abhīras expressly before the rise of Vindhyaśakti, i.e. about 248 A.D. It seems that with the rise of Isvarasena the Purānas close the republican and subordinate period of the Abhīras with him. Ten or seven successions in 67 years could

only mean republican successions, like the republican successions of the Pushyamitras and the other 'Mitras which the Puranas give and which are similarly of short durations. We do find the Abhīras again as a republican community when Samudra Gupta comes on the scene. Isvarasena probably went out of the Abhira constitution and tried to found a dynasty. In his own time the existence of Ganapakas is noted in the Nasik inscription. He could be even a republican 'rājan', though, more likely, he was a new monarch outside; it is, however, certain that about his time the Abhīras as a political community ended their allegiance to the Sātavāhana house. The recognition of the Abhīra republic by the Sātavāhanas about 67 years before Isvarasena would be dated at about 160 A.D. They were evidently set up by the Sātavāhanas as a buffer against Rudradāman who had been greatly harassed by the republican Yaudheyas and the Mālavas. The Sātavāhanas would have noticed some points of advantage in having a republic next-door to their foe, the Satrap.

in the Purāṇas for the successions of the Succession of the Ābhīras is due to the next figure in the Ābhīras.

Purāṇas, viz., for the Gardabhilas which is 7. The Bhāgavata gives them 10 and to the Ābhīras, 7; while the other Purāṇas give the Ābhīras, 10 and to the Gardabhilas, 7. It is a case of mistake by transposition. The other Purāṇas being unanimous, the 10 successions for the Ābhīras are to be preferred.

166. In the time of the Kautilya, as noted above, there was the republic of the Saurāshṭras in Kathiawar. The Ābhīras and the Saurāshṭras seem to have been allied and akin to the Yādavas and the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis.

Identification and History of the Śri-Pārvatīyas.

167. The identity of the Śrī-Parvata has been recently established by Dr. Hirananda Śāstri from Śrī-Parvata. the newly discovered inscriptions at Nā-gārjunīkoṇḍa, i.e. 'Nāgārjuna's

Hill,' in the district of Guntur, on the Kṛishṇā. The inscriptions belong to the third century A.D. The hills which enclose a valley were fortified; there are remains of a brick fortification, the bricks of which are of the Mauryan type. The place was a strong military position and seems to have been a provincial capital since the Maurya times or earlier. The natural defences were strengthened artificially by brick and stone fortifications. The bricks measure $20'' \times 10'' \times 3''$ which are the measurements of the bricks dug out at Bulandibagh.¹ It is evident that the place was a fortified capital of the empire of the Sātavāhanas, whose coins (forty-four in number) were found along with mason's tools in the remains of a monastery.

168. Here remains of Buddhist stūpas with carvings

The Ikshvāku Dynasty of Śri-Parvata, Andhradeśa. in the style of Amarāvatī have been exposed by Mr. Hamid Kuraishi and Mr. Longhurst. Eighteen inscriptions were found by Mr. Kuraishi, fifteen of which are incised on marble pillars which stood round the *Mahā-Chetiya* or the Great Stūpa enshrining a

relic of the Buddha.³ The inscriptions disclose the name of the place as Śrī-Parvata. We know the tradition that the famous Buddhist saint and scholar Nāgārjuna went to Śrī-Parvata and died there, which, curiously enough, is supported by the present name of the hill (Nāgārjuni koṇḍa). Yuan Chwang has recorded that Nāgārjuna was patronised by the Sātavāhana king.⁴ The inscriptions are in Prakrit of the Pāli type. A number of stone structures with decorations and original buildings were erected by certain ladies under the direction of the monk-architect Reverend Ananda. These ladies were relations of a royal house called 'the Ikshvāku [Ikhāku] Dynasty'. We have known this dynasty from three inscriptions discovered at Jaggayya-

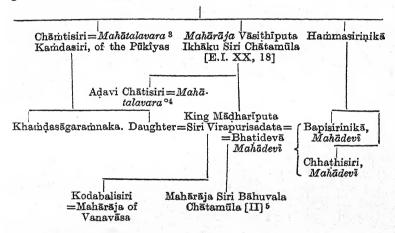
¹ A.S.R., 1926-27, pp. 156 ff., 1927-28, p. 114; on epigraphy see A.S.R., 1926-27, pp. 185-189. [Since going to the Press I have received E.I., XX., i, where the inscriptions have been edited by Dr. Vogel.]

² A.S.R., 1927-28, p. 121.

³ The relic itself has been now found. *Modern Review* (Calcutta), 1932, p. 88.

⁴ Watters, II, 200, 207.

peta in the year 1882, and these inscriptions were assigned to the third century A.D. by Dr. Bühler.¹ The present inscriptions disclose the fact that several royal ladies were ardent Buddhists, while the kings were all orthodox Hindus, and their capital town (Vijayapurī) was in the valley close by.² Most of the inscriptions are dated in the reign of King Siri Vīra-Purisa-data, between his 6th and 18th regnal years, whose date at Jaggayyapeṭa is the year 20. One inscription is dated in the 11th regnal year of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa SiriBāhu-vala-Chātamūla [or, Chātamūla II]. These inscriptions along with the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions give the following genealogy:



- ¹ I.A., XI, 256.
- ² A.S.R., 1927-28, 117.
- ³ Talavara seems to be connected with what in the Law Reports figures as 'tarwāḍ', which is equivalent to an impartible rāj. Mahātalavara would mean a 'great rājā'—a big Jagirdār.
- ⁴ Married to *Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka* Khamḍa=Visākhamṇaka, of the Dhanakas.
 - ⁵ The names may be restored into Sanskrit thus:

Virapurisadata=Vîra Purushadatta; Chāmtisiri=Santi Srī; Hammasirimnikā=Harmya-Srīkā; Chhaṭhi=Shashṭhī (goddess Kātyāyanī); Chāta=Sāta [meaning,—'happy'].

Dr. Hirananda Sastri's reading 'Bāhuvala' is correct (see plate 11) where it is a clear four-cornered b; Ehuo as read by Dr. Vogel is not borne out by the plate. In plate G the letter b is misformed, but the full form is in H where it occurs twice and in both cases it is clearly b.

Vīra Purisadata married three cousins, two of whom are called *Mahādevī* in inscriptions of the same date [E.I. XX, pp. 19-20]. Bhatidevā was probably the eldest queen, being the mother of Chātamūla II. There were four more royal ladies who made donations but their relationship is not given. Their names are:

- 1. The Mahādevī Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā Ujanikā ('from Ujjain'), daughter of a Mahārāja. She with Chānti Siri gave 107 pillars and a large amount of dīnāras for the Vihāra attached to the Mahā-Chetiya.
- 2. A Mahātalavarī, and the mother of the Mahātalavara Mahāsenāpati Viņh usiri, and the wife of the Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsithīputa Mahā-Kuṁda Siri of the Prakiyas.
- 3. Chula Chātasirikā, mahāsenapatnī, wife of the Mahāsenapati Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhīputa Khamḍa-chalikiremmaṇaka of the Hiramñakas.

There was a Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, to whom a royal lady of the Ikshyāku family [sister of Chātamūla II] was married. He was probably the last or one of the last Chutu kings, who from his title seems to have become subordinate to the Ikshvākus. It is clear that Chātamūla I was originally a mahārāja, i.e. to the Sātavāhanas; his title is generally omitted in the inscriptions, he being described merely as Siri Chātamūla of the Ikshvākus, and when the title is given [e.g. by his daughter, E.I. XX, 18 (B2)] it is always mahārāja, while Vîra Purisadata [except twice] is always 'King' (Rājan). The son of the latter, Chātamūla II, is always 'Mahārāja' (E.I. XX, 24). This shows that the royal position was assumed by Chātamūla I and lasted for only one generation more, having been lost in the time of Chātamūla II. That Rudradhara-Bhattārikā was the daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjayinī proves that in the time of the Ikshvākus there was a Hindu ruler in Avanti, and not a Satrap, a fact confirmed by Purānic history and other sources. Rudradhara-Bhattārikā's father must have been a member of the Bhāra-Śiva Empire.

169. King Siri Chātamūla (I) had performed Agnihotra, Agnishtoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha, and was a worshipper of Mahāsena, marshal of the gods. They had the Ikshvāku custom of marrying cousins. Their toleration of Buddhism is remarkable. Almost every lady of the royal family was a Buddhist but no king or any other male member has made a single donation in his own name, although they must have supplied funds to their ladies. The Ikshvākus followed the religious policy of the Sātavāhanas, their late sovereigns. Their reign was peaceful. According to one of the inscriptions of the time of Vīra Purushadata, visitors from Vanga, Vanavāsa, Chīna-Chilāta, Kaśmīra, Gāndhāra, etc. and Ceylonese monks frequented Nāgārjuna's Hill.

170. According to the script of the inscriptions of the family of Chānti Siri, she lived in the third century. Bühler placed Vīra Purisabetween the South data, who was nephew and son-in-law to and the North.

Lady Chānti Siri, in the third century A.D.¹ The aśvamed have \$200 A.D. seems to have been performed about \$200 A.D. seems

m ū la (I) seems to have been performed about 220 A.D., soon after the end of Chandasāti, the last of the Imperial Sātavāhana dynasty in Andhra.² The same sacrifices were performed a few decades later by the Pallava king Śiva Skandavarman (Aggithoma, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha³), and with some Brahmanic additions and on a grander scale, by the Vākātaka Emperor Pravarasena I. The history of the North and the South here become interconnected.

171. The family was of a good Kshatriya stock from the

¹ I.A., XI, 258.

² His record of about 210 A.D. is found there [E.I., XVIII, 318]. With the next king, Pulomāvi (III), the Purāṇas close the dynasty J.B.O.R.S, XVI], who does not seem to have succeeded to the whole of his predecessor's kingdom.

³ E.I., Vol. I, p. 5. The adjectives applied to Siva Skandavarman's father are borrowed from the Ikshvāku style, denoting an immediate political succession:

⁽Ikshvāku) hiraņa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-sata-sahasa dāyisa. (Pallava) aneka-hiroga-koṭi-go-hala-satasahassa-ppadāyino.

North. They married cousins like the ancient Ikshvākus. They very likely had migrated to the South in the imperial days of the Satavahanas when the latter reached the United Provinces and Bihar. King Chātamūla I was the first Śrī-Parvata Ikshvāku to declare his full sovereignty, probably towards the end of his reign; it is significant that his name has been mentioned in the inscriptions without a title, except in the inscription of Bhatidevā where he is given his feudatory title—'Mahārāja.' Vīrapurisadata alone had the title of King. Chātamūla II is only known in the inscriptions by the feudatory title of Mahārāja. He sought to revive the Southern Empire of Dakshinapatha, and he inaugurated it with an The Ikshvākus tried to be the Southern poliaśvamedha. tical counterpart of the Bhārasivas of the North. Chātamūla (I) was evidently influenced by the example of the Bhāraśivas who had already carried out their programme with success in the North and in the Central Provinces up to the frontiers of Andhra. The intimate connection of the Ikshvākus with the North is confirmed by one of the Ikshvāku queens being an Ujjayini lady.

172. We may take it that the Ikshvāku dynasty thought of empire-building after C h a n d r a-S ā t i Sātavāhana, about 220 A.D.¹ Taking the three generations, the family would have come to a close about 250-260 A.D., which would agree with the Purāṇas dating their fall with the rise of Vindhyaśakti. They had been brought into existence by the Sātavāhanas about the same time as the Chuţus and the Ābhīras. The Chuţus and the Ābhīras protected the West; similarly the Ikshvākus were posted in the East. Chātamūla II was probably the last king of the line. In the 10th year of a feudatory Mahārāja 'the lord father (bappasvāmin)' of Śiva Skandavarman Pallava, we find the Pallava government in possession of Andhradeśa,

¹ E.I., XVIII, 318. The inscription of King Vāsithiputa Sami [svāmin] Chamdasāti is dated in his 2nd year, in ma 1, he 2, di 1, which Mr. Krishna Sastri takes to be Mārgašīrsha bahuļa prathamā and calculates to correspond with December, 210 A.D. Cf. the Purāṇic date for that king (228 A.D.-231 A.D.) in J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 279. The above inscription is at Kodavali, nine miles from Pithāpuram.

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i.e. by about 270 A.D. (§§ 180, 187) the Ikshvākus have retired into the unknown. The time of these rules would thus approximately be:

Chātamūla I (220–230. A.D.) Purisadata (230–250. A.D.) Chātamūla II (250–260. A.D.)

§ 172 A. The Art at Śrī-Parvata which sculptured in the round a Śaka as a door-keeper is to be referred to the Sātavāhana period. Giving the honour of a door-keeper to the Śaka antagonist would fix its period, and so would do also the Sātavāhana coins found in one of the

would do also the Sātavāhana coins found in one of the monastery remains. The freezes, and the sculptures in the round, are part and parcel of the Art of Amaravati which may be called the Vengi School of Indian Art. It goes back to pre-Christian centuries as evidenced by the Amaravatī inscriptions (E.I., XV, 267). I think the superb animated carvings of Amarāvatī are works contemporary with the Sātavāhana whose personal name was Shi-yen-te-ka or Shan-t'e-ka (Watters, ii, 207), which seems to me to represent Santakarna, a name which occurs thrice in the Sātavāhana list. The tradition which Yuan Chwang heard that the king was a patron of Nāgārjuna may be apocryphal, unless Nāgārjuna flourished in B.C. The original stupa was, according to Yuan Chwang, by A so ka. The Ikshvāku work was an imitation of the Sātavāhanas. Sātakarni II alone was rich enough to decorate the Andhra tope of Asoka; he had a very long reign (100-44 B.C., J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 278) to accomplish it, which agrees with Yuan Chwang's description of the long life of the king; and his son's reign is a recorded date at Amarāvatī (Lüders, no. 1248). The story that Nāgārjuna gave Sāntaka Sātavāhana gold out of rock to replenish his treasury depleted in building the stupa, may have its basis in his discovering and recognising the gold ores of Mysore or Bālāghāt. Nāgārjuna had especialised in the knowledge of metals and chemistry among his other achievements in a long life.

¹ Modern Review, Calcutta, July, 1932, p. 88.

XVI. THE PALLAVAS AND THEIR ORIGIN.

173. The P a l l a v a s who superseded the I k s h v \bar{a} k u s and the C h u t u s, the last remnants of the

Position of the Pallavas in Indian History. and the Chutus, the last remnants of the Sātavāhanas, have a most important position in Indian History. They are the Vākātakas and the Guptas of the South. They introduced Sanskrit in the South as

the Vākātakas did it in the North. They established Saivaism as the State religion in the South as the Vākāṭakas did the same in the North. Just as the Guptas gave a permanent stamp of Vaishnavism on Northern India which has come down to our own time, so the Pallavas imprinted Saivaism on Southern India which has come down to us. As the Vākātakas and the Guptas unified Northern India, so the Pallavas established the unity of the South which came down to the last days of Vijayanagara. The Pallavas beautified the South with sculpture and architecture, just as the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas did the North. The Pallavas introduced a system of Hinduism in the South which was common to the North and the South. That system became truly the imperial and universal social system for the whole of Bhāratavarsha, i.e. Indiawith-Further India. A unity which Asoka had failed to achieve was accomplished in the India of the Vākātakas and the Pallavas. And that unity of civilization is a legacy enjoyed to-day. They turned Kānchī the old capital of the Cholas, which had been outside the limit of Aryan sanctity, into another sacred Kāśī, and under them the South became as sacred a Hindu-land as the North. 'Bhāratavarsha,' which in the time of Khāravela was probably confined to the North only, was given a new definition to include the land up to Cape Comorin. 'Āryāvarta' and 'Dakshiṇāpatha' gave way to 'Bhāratavarsha.' 2 And the Hindu historian in the Vishnu Purāna composed a national anthem, saying,

Even the Gods congratulate and envy the born-Indian; 'the Indian, born in Bhāratavarsha, is blessed', sing the Devas in heaven. 'Let us be born in that land.' ⁸

¹ E.I., XX, p. 72, Line 10.

² Vishņu Purāņa, Bk. II, Ch. 3, 1-23.

³ Ibid., 24-26; See above p. 160.

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The point of view becomes Indian from that of Aryan, and the Indian [Bhāratī santatih] includes all the children of the soil, Aryan and non-Aryan.¹

The Pallavas who turned the South into a sacred Hindu-land were Brahmins, who, as they proudly say in their inscriptions, raised their position by their austere political deeds and became Kshatriyas.

The statement is strictly true. Vīrakūrcha, the founder of the Pallava Dynasty, was invested with the insignia of full sovereignty by his marriage with the Naga Princess, daughter of the Naga emperor.2 The Naga emperor at the time, in the latter half of the third century, was the Bhārasiva Nāga whose dominions extended through Nagpur and Bastar up to the confines of the Andhra country. Virakūrcha [or, °-korcha], an inscription of whose grandson found in Andhradesa mentioning him as beginning the line gives him the feudatory title of 'Mahārāja' and the description of one who though endowed with the highest Brāhmanahood (parama-brahmanya) attained the position of a Kshatriya³, was thus a member of the Bhāraśiva empire with the position of a sub-king. In the Andhra country itself there had been no Nāga dynasty before. There were the Ikshvākus and before the Ikshvākus there were the Sātavāhanas. The Nāgas who installed Vīrakūrcha Pallava must have enjoyed an imperial

¹ Ibid., verse 17.

² यः फबीन्द्रसुतया सदाप्रहीदाजचिक्रमखिलं यशोधनः। S.I.I., ii., 508.

³ परमञ्ज्ञाखस्य स्ववाज्ञवाज्ञितचाचतपोनिधेविधिविदित-सर्व्यमर्थादस्य, E.I., i., 398 [Darsi copperplates]. Here the Mahārāja is called Vīrakorchavarman. This is the oldest record mentioning his name.

⁴ There was a family of the Bṛihat-phalāyanas (E.I., VI, 315) in the Kṛishṇā District who were probably feudatories to the Ikshvā-kus or to the early Pallavas. We do not find any trace of the family of Jayavarman Bṛihat-phalāyana before or after him. The letters of his copperplates agree with the letters on the plate of Siva Skandavarman, the Pallava Yuvarāja (E.I., VI, 84). Does Bṛihat-Phalā stand for the Bṛihat-Bāṇa, the well-known Southern family, phalā being the arrowhead (bāṇa)? The Bṛihat-Bāṇas were feudatories to the Pallavas in the time of Mayūraśarman (E.I., VIII, 32). Probably both bāṇa and phalā were translations of some Tamil word.

position and must have been on the borders of the Andhra kingdom. These conditions are fulfilled only by the imperial Bhāraśiva Nāgas.

175. We get help and corroboration here from the Buddhist history. In 310 A.D., according to Siamese Buddhist history, Andhradeśa was under Nāga kings, from whom permission was taken to transfer a portion

of the tooth relic to Ceylon from Dantapura in Andhradeśa.¹ The place in Andhradeśa is called *Majerika*, which I think is the name of the branch of the Godavari now called *Manjhira*.² The 'Nāga' king described by the Buddhists must be the Pallava king who was under the Nāga empire and was at the time (2. 300 A.D.) a descendant of the Nāga Emperor, having sprung from the Nāga princess married by Vīrakūrcha (§ 182 ff.).

176. Who were these Pallavas? This question has been

Who were the Pallayas? sought to be answered by various scholars since the discovery of this dynasty from their copperplates. 'Pallava' has remained a mystic, undeciphered figure. It was fashionable to regard every unexplained dynasty

as being of foreign origin, and in that vogue the Pallavas became Parthians. But the conscience of the historians was not satisfied and almost instinctively they came to the conclusion that the Pallavas were natives of the country. But they regarded them as Dravidian or connected with the Dravidians of Ceylon. All these theories have ignored written records and materials which leave no room for any controversy. The Pallavas have suffered at the hands of historians a fate similar to that of the Śungas. They have been deprived of their true status which is one of good, pedigreed Brahmins. The Śungas had been declared to be foreigners, until the present writer was instrumental in showing that the Śungas were Vedic Brahmins and the founders of a Brahmin empire, a finding which has now been universally accepted. The key of their origin was

¹ Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India (ed. 1924), p. 612.

² Ibid., p. 605. Cunningham thinks that the stūpa from which the relic was removed was the same as the Amarāvatī one.

found in the orthodox literature of the country. We should employ the same method again with regard to the Pallava ethnology. The code to decipher the Pallava mystery is locked in the Purāṇas, in their Vindhyaka history. code is this: A branch of the Imperial Vindhyakas, i.e. the Imperial Vākāṭakas, became kings of Andhradeśa which had become connected with the Vākātaka province of Mekalā. This Mekalā I have identified as a province of 'Sapta-Kosalā,' below the Maikal range of our maps, i.e. the British district of Raipur and the Indian State of Bastar. These Vākāṭaka sub-kings of Andhradeśa ruled in seven successions from the time of Vindhyasakti the founder of the Vākāṭaka power, down to the time of Samudra Gupta's conquest. We have thus one index here for identification. Another index is the caste and gotra of the Vākāṭakas. We know from their inscriptions that the Vākātakas were Brahmins and that they were Bhāradvājas. The third fact is that they belonged to Aryavarta and their language was Northern, not Dravidian. The fourth fact that we have consists in the date of Vindhyaśakti and his dynasty. And the fifth fact that we have is that when Vindhyasakti arose, the Naga emperors were ruling over Aryavarta and the Central Provinces, and that Vindhyaśakti himself came to the forefront on account of them and out of them, the Kilakila Nagas-tatah Kilakilebhyaś cha Vindhyaśaktir bhavishyati. The sovereigns and emperors of Vindhyaśakti were the Kilakilā Nāgas, i.e. the Bhāraśiva Nāgas (§ 11 ff.). Now let us see where we can find all these five marks of identification of these Andhra sub-kings of the Vindhyakas, in the Pallavas. The kings of the Andhra country up to c. 250 A.D. were certainly the Ikshvākus on the east-coast, contemporary with whom were the Chutu Sātavāhanas on the west-coast. The time of Vindhyaśakti is from 248 to 288 [or, 244] A.D. In this period, we find the Pallavas superseding the Ikshvākus and the Chuţus. The Pallavas according to their own deeds and documents, executed on copperplates about 300 A.D. or a little earlier, describe themselves as

¹ Cf. Krishna Śāstri, 'the Prākrit charters of Siva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman do actually belong at least to the beginning of

Bhāradvājas, the identity of whose gotra is made further clear by the later documents of the dynasty. They were the Bhāradvājas of the family of Dronachārya and Asvatthāman. They, therefore, belonged to the same Brahmin gotra to which Vindhyaśakti belonged. Their language in their copperplates is Prakrit or Sanskrit, not Dravidian. The variety of Prakrit they use in their earliest copperplates is northern. Very soon in the third generation, immediately on the close of the Naga empire, they begin to employ Sanskrit, the style of which is Vākātaka. Like the imperial Vākātakas they are Śaiva by religion. As we have already seen, it is stated in the documents of the Pallava dynasty that the founder of the Pallava dynasty was made king by the Nāga emperor on the former's marriage with a Nāga princess. The Purānas give to these descendants of Vindhyaśakti, the kings of Andhradesa up to the time of Samudra Gupta, seven successions, and the early Pallavas up to Samudra Gupta's time do number seven successions [§ 183]. Thus all the marks of identification respond to the Vākāṭaka indices. gotra is identical, their language and religion, their age and date, their Naga allegiance all agree entirely. And so does the number of successions of the Pallavas up to the time of Samudra Gupta with the number of successions given by the Purāṇas to the Andhra branch of the Vindhyaka dynasty. No room for doubt is thus left on the question of identification. The Pallavas were a branch of the Vākāṭakas. And when their inscriptions say that they were in the line of Drona and Aśvatthāman, they record a truthful tradition. The Vākātakas did belong to the line of Drona and Asvatthaman, being Bhāradvājas. And I have personally found the tradition still alive at Bāgāt, the original home of the Vākātakas in Bundelkhand, that their home (Bāgāt) is still called the village of Dronachārya, the military professor of the Kauravas and the Pāndavas [§§ 56-57]. The northern culture of the Pallavas in art

the 4th century A.D., if not earlier' [E.I., XV, 248]—a view with which I fully agree. The writing which is of the Nāga type was introduced in the South for the first time by the Pallavas; the tops of letters are headed (lined), though not box-headed.

and religion, for which they stand out as the greatest dynasty of the South, thus stands explained. The Pallavas were neither foreigners nor Dravidians, but good Brahmin aristocrats from the North, military by profession.

177. We have in the example of the 'Ganga Dynasty' a purely assumed dynastic title, unconnected with the gotra or personal name of the 'Pallava.' founder. Similarly the word Pallava, which means a 'branch,' probably stands for the 'Junior Dynasty,' like the 'Chutus' of the imperial Sātavāhanas, whom they superseded. As the Chutus were to the imperial family of the Sātavāhanas, so the Pallavas were to the Imperial Bhāradvāja Vākāṭakas:—'branch'i.e. the Lesser Dynasty. The first Pallava king bears the name Vīrakūrcha; kūrcha means a bundle of twigs-almost the same as Pallava. The real name seems to be Vira which is repeated in the name of his grandson Vîravarman (§ 181 ff.). The name of the other son of Vindhyaśakti was Pravīra, who was probably the younger, as he had a very long reign. As Pravira married his son to the daughter of the Naga Emperor and thereby succeeded to the Naga empire, similarly Vira had married a Nāga princess and was made king of Andhradeśa [which his father as a Naga general had probably conquered]. The Pallava inscription correctly relates that the ancestors of Vīrakūrcha used to assist the Nāga emperors in their government, that is, they were Naga officers; we have already seen that Vindhyasakti was at first only an officer, probably the chief general of the Naga emperors (§ 59). The use of the word Bhāra in the inscription in connection with the burden of government of the Naga king may or may not have an echo of the Bhāra of the 'Bhāra Śiva Nāga.'1

178. The Pallavas naturally adopted the imperial Vākātaka heraldic marks, which is evident from
Pallava insignia. their seal [S.I.I., ii, 521] and the subsequent
history of Imperial Insignia in Southern India

¹ भू-भार-खेदाल्लस-पञ्चमेन्द्र-सादाय्य-निम्णात-भुजार्मालानास् I—Velurpalaiyam Plates, verse 4, S.I.I., II, 507-508. [Cf. App. A, below on the place-name .Bhū-bhūrā.]

(§§ 61 and ns.; § 86). The Pallavas have on their seal G a \dot{n} g \ddot{a} and Y a m u n \ddot{a} , which are known Vākāṭaka insignia. They have probably also *Makara*-Standard or 'Makara-Toraṇa' in common. They have the Bull of Śiva in common, facing left (proper right).²

179. The Pallavas and the Vākāṭakas never come in conflict. The Early Pallavas never strike their · Dharma-Mahāown coin. Siva Skanda-varman, the rājādhirāja.' second king, introduced a new regal title. He called himself 'Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja,' i.e. 'the rightful overlord of Mahārājas [Emperor]' or 'the Emperor by virtue of Dharma'. This title had not been used by the Sātavāhanas. It was an importation from the North, it was a Hindu edition or rather a Hindu counter-title of the Kushan 'Daivaputra Shāhānushāhi. Instead of being a Daivaputra, the Pallava king places his claim on his adherence to the orthodox law and the orthodox civilization, which was quite in conformity with the law of Hindu constitution. He was substituting Dharma for the divine Daivaputra. It should be noted that the Ikshvākus never used this title and they were simply Rajans or 'kings' like their late masters the Sātavāhanas, following the old Hindu style.3 Thus we have a full effect of the northern imperial idea in the Pallava beginnings. When the Aryāvarta Branch of Vindhya śakti attains the imperial position just after or in the life-time of Siva Skandavarman (I), the same idea of Dharma Sovereignty on a bigger scale is found. The All-India SAMRAT had a Dharma raison d'être as fully set out in the Mahā-Bhārata.

¹ See the open mouth of the animal in the Pallava seal in E.I., VII, 144 and on Rudrasena's coin (§§ 61, 86).

² See the seal in E.I., VIII, 144, and the bull on the Vākāṭaka coins reproduced in Part II of this book. The bull is made recumbent in the later Pallava documents.

³ In one of the Ikshvāku inscriptions (E.I., XX, 23) all the three kings are called 'mahārāja'. This is one of the last records. Probably at that time the independent position had been lost. They had been originally mahārājas. The first Ikshvāku to adopt the title of king (rājan) was Vīra Purushadatta. His son was only Mahārāja.

When the main Vākāṭaka branch acquired the title of the $Samr\bar{a}t$, the title of $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}j\bar{a}dhir\bar{a}ja$ was naturally dropped by the Pallava family. Siva-Skandavarman was the first and the last man in our period to have assumed the imperial style in the South.¹ That Siva-Skandavarman was already gone before Samudra Gupta's time is evident from Samudra Gupta's inscription where the ruler of Kāñchī is Vishņugopa. The time of Siva-Skandavarman thus necessarily falls in the reign of the Samrāt Pravarasena I. From the time of Pravarasena I the Pallava king remains $Dharma-Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$, and the title allowed to the first G a h g a king who was installed in the time of Pravarasena, was $Dharma-Adhir\bar{a}ja$ (§ 190). The style of $Dharma-Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$ becomes fixed with the Pallavas and the Kadambas in the South, and it travelled from the South before 400 A.D. to Champā (Cambodia) ².

180. Śiva-Skandavarman, as the Crown Prince, rather as 'the junior governor' (Yuvamahārāja Bhāradāyasaaotto Pallavānam Śiva-Skamda-vammo-E.I., VI., 86) issued a charter of land-grant in the Andhrā-patha from his seat at Kānchipura addressed to the officer at Dhānvakataka. in the 10th year (of his father's reign). It shows that the Pallava dominion in the second generation had grown, at the cost of the Tamil states, to a magnitude justifying the ambition of Siva-Skandavarman. The Dharma-mahārājādhirāj Siva-Skandavarman describes his father 3 as Mahārāja Bappa-svāmin (sāmi), which shows that his father started life as a feudatory and that Siva-Skandavarman was the first dynast to adopt the full royal title. His father had reigned for 10 years or more, the grant of the Yuvamahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman being dated in the 10th year. It seems that his father was a feudatory of the Nagas, and succeeded to the settled and well-organized government of the Ikshvākus which is evident

¹ See Southern List of Kielhorn (E.I., Vol. VII, p. 105).

² There we find Bhadravarman using it. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's 'Champā,' Bk. III, 3.

³ E.I., I, 6. 'Bappa' distributed *krores* of gold which should really refer to an *aśvamedha*. [*Cf.* here the description of Chātamūla I (E.I., XX, 16)]. E.I., I, 8. His son describes himself as 'of the dynasty of the *Pallavas*'. E.I., VI, 82.

from these two Prakrit copperplates of his son and the Ikshvāku records.

181. Vīravarman and his son Skandavarman II were also contemporaries of Pravarasena I. In Skandavarman II's time the official language of the Pallava Court changes from Prākrit to Sanskrit. His daughter-in-law who dates her gift in his reign (E.I., VII, 143) uses Prākrit, but Skandavarman himself (E.I., XV) and his son Vishņugopa employ Sanskrit. And the Sanskrit style is continued by the successive generations. If the Yuvamahārāja V i s h ņ u g o p a of Kāñchī (I.A., V, 50, 154) be the Vishņugopa of Samudra Gupta, which seems to be certain, we have another proof of the Vākāṭaka affinity in this change of the official language of the charters. Vishņugopa imitates the Bhāraśiva description of the Vākāṭaka documents:

Yathāvadāhrita-aneka-

Aśvamedhānām Pallavānām.1

'The Pallavas who had completed with full ceremonies several asyamedhas.'

This employment of Sanskrit dates from before Samudra Gupta's conquest.

§ 182. The genealogy of the Early Pallavas can be reconstructed from their own documents on Genealogy of the copperplates which are copious.² For al-Early Pallavas. most every second generation we have a copperplate. They have the system of reciting pedigree up to the fourth generation in each case. The only exception to this rule are the charters of Śiva-Skandavarman, as he had not completed four generations of kings. I note below the grants and the authorities issuing them in their

Mayidavõlu, issued from Kāñchīpura by Yuvamahārāja (Śiva) E.I., Vol. VI, Skandavarman (I) 84, in Prākṛita. in the 10th year (of his father).

chronological order.

² It is curious that not a single inscription on stone has been found of the Early Pallavas.

¹ The Vākāṭaka historiographical style found in the inscriptions of Pṛithivīsheṇa and his successors is a stereotyped style and as such evidently goes back to the time of the Imperial Vākāṭakas.

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Hīrahaḍagalli, issued from Kāñehīpura by $Dharma-mah \bar{a} r \bar{a} j \bar{a}$ -E.I., I, 2, in $dhir\bar{a}ja$ (Śiva) Prākṛita. Skandavarman (I), in his 8th year.

Darsi, E.I., I, ,, ,, 'Dasanapura, the capital' (adhishṭhāna) 307, in Sansby the great-grandson krit.

by the great-grandson of Mahārāja Vīra-korchavarman.

 $ar{O}$ mgodu, E.I., ,, ,, Tāmbrāpa ,, $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$ (Vijaya) XV, 251, in Skandavarman (II) in his 33rd year.

On the basis of the genealogies given in the above titledeeds executed by these kings, the ancestry and the order of succession of the early Pallavas can be ascertained easily. We are absolutely certain that the great-grandfather of Skandavarman II and the father of Skandavarman I or Siva Skandavarman was Kumāra Vishņu the aśvamedhayājin, and that Skandavarman I's son and successor was Viravarman whose son and successor was Skandavarman II. The only question left for speculation is the position of Virakorcha who must come above Skandavarman I, being the founder of the dynasty. The Ravakota (E.1., V, 49) and the Velurpalaivam (S.I.I., II, 507) plates here become helpful. Vīrakorcha or Vīrakurcha, who according to the unanimous testimony was the first Pallava king, was married to the Naga princess according to the inscriptions, and Skanda-sishya, i.e. Skandavarman was the son of the Naga lady according to the Rayakota plates.1 We have

1 In some text-books it is wrongly assumed that Skanda-śishya in the Rāyakōta plates is stated to be the son of Aśvatthāman from a Nāga lady. The text does not allege it. It only mentions that Skanda-śishya who was an adhirāja was the son of a Nāga lady. Aśvatthāman is only mentioned as one of the ancestors.

In the Velurpalaiyam plates the Skanda-sishya who is the father of Kumāra Vishņu and the grandfather of Buddhavarman is clearly Skandavarman II, whose son, as we know from the inscription of Kumāra Vishņu III [E.I., VIII, 233], was Kumāra Vishņu II. In the Velurpalaiyam plates it is not stated, as has been wrongly assumed by the editor of the plates and writers of some text-books, that he (Skandasishya) was

thus to identify Kumāra Vishņu with Vīrakorcha-varman of the Darśi plate, who would thus be the great-grandfather of Skandavarman II. Sanskrit is found for the first time employed by the latter in the grants; the Darśi plate which is in Sanskrit seems to have been issued by him. Use of two alternative names in documents we know of from the later Vākāṭaka plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā and Pravarasena II, and earlier from the inscriptions of Aśoka. The repetition of the name Vīra as the name of the son of Skanda-varman I also proves the identity of Vīrakurcha with Kumāra-Vishņu I, father of Skanda-varman I., grandfather's name being repeated in grandson's. The early genealogy thus will stand as follows:—

- [Vīrakorcha-varman] Kumāra Vishņu (ruled 10 years or more).
- 2. Skandavarman I, called Siva (ruled for 8 years or more).
- 3. Viravarman—(no record of his).
- Skandavarman II, Vijaya (ruled for 33 years or more). Skandavarman I does not give the name of his father, but refers to him only as bappa which stands for 'father,' as later kings refer to theirs by the same term bappa-bhattāraka-pādabhaktah (E.I., XV, 254; I.A., V, 51, 155). The name is supplied by Skandavarman II's grant (E.I., XV, 251). Vīrakūrcha, in numerous later documents of the family, is mentioned as the real founder of the dynasty (occasionally coming after two ancestors $K \bar{a} l a-b h a r t r i$ and $C h \bar{u} t a-p a l l a v a^1$, who are the son of Vīrakorcha. In verse 7 Skanda-sishya is clearly stated to have flourished 'after' [tatah] Virakorcha and in his line. The statement implies a break between the two [cf. tatah in I.A., XIX, 24(10), and Kielhorn's opinion thereon in E.I., V, App. No. 195, n.; E.1., III, 48]. These mistakes, and especially the latter, have led to a great confusion in fixing the identity of the Pallava kings and in re-constructing their history.

¹ Is this Kāla-bhartri the Kāla of the Purāṇa text ·teshūtsanneshu Kālena '['when (the Muruṇḍas etc.) were overthrown by Kāla']? If so, then the true name of Vindhyśakti who rises after Kāla, according to the Purāṇas, was Chūta-pallava; and Kāla would have been a Nāga general, and an ancestor of Vindhyaśakti.

not mentioned as kings), and as already pointed out, in one of those later copperplates it is expressly stated that he was given the status of king on account of his marriage with a princess of the Naga emperor. The name Virakurcha does not recur, except once, in the whole series of the Pallava plates. The character and style of the copperplate mentioning the name of Virakorcha is very early. As we know all the names up to the father of Skandavarman I from the record of the grandson of Skandavarman II, it is evident that Vīrakorcha is to be placed at the top, as already discussed. About Virakorcha being the first king there cannot be any doubt; the rest of the tradition about the still earlier names is yet unconfirmed, except the fact that the ancestors of Virakorcha were generals of the Naga emperors. The latter fact is true, as they do rise in the Naga period. They owed allegiance to no Southern king and there was no Southern Nāga king near about Andhradeśa where they first come into political existence, while the Naga empire was nextdoor to Andhra, in the Central Provinces.

§ 183. The lines after Skandavarman II is similarly Vishnugopa, one of the sons of Vijaya Skandavarman II, has left one copperplate dated in the reign of Simhavarman I would have been proved conclusively to have been the elder brother of Vishnugopa by the Udayendiram plates (E.1., III, 142), but unfortunately they, in my opinion, are clearly a spurious document, being written in a script of several centuries later. However, we get the same result, viz. that this Simhavarman was not the son of Vishnugopa but his elder brother, from Yuvarāja Vishnugopa's document, and the Ganga copperplate (E.I., XIV, 331) where Simhavarman (I) and his son Skandavarman (III) are stated to have installed respectively two successive Ganga kings [§ 190]. There are also two grants by Simhavarman II, son of Vishņu gopa, which recite the genealogy (E.I., VIII 159; E.I., XV, 254). Thus the later genealogy on the statements of Vishnugopa and his son and the Ganga plates stands thus:

Skandavarman II.

Simhavarman I Vishnu Gopa (Yuvarāja) issues grant, I.A., V, 154.

Skandavarman III.

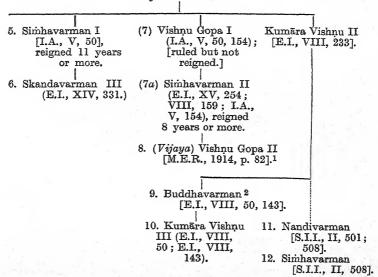
Simhavarman II (E.I., XV, 254; E.I., VIII, 159).

Vishnu Gopa gives the genealogy up to Skandavarman I who is described here without 'Siva', as also by Skandavarman II, his father. 1 Simhavarman II gives the genealogy up to Vīravarman, a name which is not repeated again in the family These two branches really constituted one continuous line reigning one after the other; Vishnu Gopa's plate (I.A., V, 154) is dated under the reign of his elder brother, on the extinction of whose line Vishnu Gopa's son evidently succeeded. But there was still another junior branch from Skandavarman This branch is established by two copperplates (E.I., VIII, 143; E.I., VIII, 233). The first is the British Museum plate by Chārudevi, wife of Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman. issued in the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman (II), and the second is by Buddhavarman's son Kumāra Vishnu (III) whose grandfather's name was Kumāra Vishnu (II) and whose great-grandfather was Vijaya Skandavarman. It is thus clear that Buddhavarman who is described as Yuvamahārāja by his wife in the reign of Skandavarman II was the son of Kumāra Vishņu II, and not of Skandavarman II as generally supposed. He was Yuvamahārāja to his grandfather, and his father had evidently predeceased him. His relationship with Skandavarman (II) is not given in the British Museum plate. We know that Yuvarāja's office was a ministerial post open to grandsons even in the life-time of their fathers.2 Thus, the complete Pallava genealogy for our period will be as follows (those who reigned are numbered; nos. 1 to 7a complete our period):

¹ As we have already seen in our section on the Chutus (§ 161), Siva was merely honorific. The repetition of the word Vishņu in the family is probably connected with the name of Vishņu Vṛiddha, one of the early ancestors [Bhāradvājas] whom the Vākātakas specifically mention. Otherwise it would be unexplained, the family being pronouncedly Śaiva.

² Jayaswal: Hindu Polity, II, 125.

- Kumāra Vishņu Vīrakorchavarman (E.I., XV, 251; E.I., I, 397) (aśvamedhin)=Nāga princess (S.I.I., II, 508; E.I., VI, 84); 10 years or more.
- (Sīva) Skandavarman I (E.I., VI, 84; E.I., I, 2; I.A., V, 50.);
 (aśvamedhin) 8 years or more.
- 3. Vîravarman (I.A., V, 50, 154).
- Skandavarman II (E.I., XV, 251; I.A., V, 50, 154);
 33 years or more.



I have extended the genealogy beyond our period to bring out the utility of the Velurpalaiyam plates [S.I.I., II, 501]. These plates furnish the early history of the dynasty with which we are dealing, and are important otherwise. They give the rise of the family with Virakūrcha and then give the genealogy from Skandavarman II. On the succession of Nandivarman I, it gives the important information that

¹ This plate is called the Narasaraopet plate. I have ascertained by correspondence with the Government of India Epigraphist that it is the same plate which is called the Guntur plate or the Churā plate. The owner did not allow a facsimile to be taken. It is not dated. It was issued by 'King Vijaya Vishnu Gopavarman, son of Simhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Vishnu Gopavarman and great-grandson of Kandavarman (i.e. Skandavarman)', from Vijaya Palotkata, in favour of a Brahmin of Kundūr. It is in Sanskrit.

² It seems that Buddhavarman reigned after No. 8, which is suggested by his description: भन्ता भूदी भूद्य बृद्धको। in S.I.I., II, 508.

when Vishnu Gopa (II) was dead and the other kings were all gone, Nandivarman succeeded. It means that after the extinction of the line of Vishnu Gopa and the line of Kumāra Vishnu III the succession opened to him. One Nandivarman, is mentioned in the Udayendiram plates [E.1., III, 142] as coming after Skandavarman III, son of Simhavarman I, but this plate is spurious, being in characters, as already pointed out, several centuries later; no reliance can be placed on it. Nandivarman I flourished in the line of Kumāra Vishnu II according to the Velurpalaiyam document. On the death of Simhavarman I his son Skandavarman III succeeded, and on the failure of his line, Yuvarāja Vishņu Gopa's son Simhavarman II succeeded. Vishnu Gopa evidently did not accept the throne. He ruled but did not reign (§ 187). According to the Narasaraopet plates [M.E.R., 1914, p. 82] Simhavarman II's son Vishnu Gopa II succeeded his father. This is confirmed by the list given in Vayalur pillar inscription. After Vishnu Gopa II the members of the third line from Skandavarman II came in-first, Buddhavarman and his son Kumāra Vishnu III, and then his cousin Nandivarman. This is the meaning of 'sa-Vishnugope cha Narendrabrinde 2 gate tato 'jāyata Nandivarmā'.

It became customary after Vishņu Gopa I to call every ancestor 'Mahārāja,' whether he had succeeded to the Pallava throne or not, as in the case of Vishņu Gopa I himself, whom his son calls only Yuvamahārāja but his grandson gives the title of Mahārāja. So the plates of Kumāra Vishņu III call his each ancestor 'Mahārāja'. Unless we get actual grants from them we cannot be certain of their succession even in a secondary line of rulers. On the evidence of the plates only one line seems to have ruled, and till now we have no evidence of the existence of more than one ruling line of the dynasty. Vishņu Gopa I, who alone could have been the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, was regent in Simhavarman II's time and was in charge of the government at Kāñchī; hence he would be called Kāñcheyaka. Members of the family might have been temporary

¹ E.I., XVIII, 145. This, as an original material, is useless, being an amalgam of several lists put together.

² Read ° vride.

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local governors with titles of 'Mahārāja,' i.e. 'Governor' or 'Yuvamahārāja,' i.e. 'Lieutenant Governor'.

§184. Vīrakūrcha Kumāra Vishņu performed an asvamedha, that is, he declared himself to be the successor of the Ikshvākus Early Pallava kings. It was repeated by Siva Skandavarman. Evidently Viravarman lost Kānchī which had to be conquered back by Kumāra Vishnu II.² The Velurpalaiyam plates do not call the latter a king. He, as a prince, seems to have conquered Kāñchī for his father. Both father and son had to fight the Cholas and probably also some other Tamil kings. 3 Skandavarman II re-established himself at Kānchī. In his time, the Gangas and also the Kadambas were set up as feudatories on the Tamil frontiers (§ 188 ff.). Their similar titles indicate that they were all Mahārājas to the Vākāṭaka Emperor. Their being Dharma-mahārājas seems to imply that they all were appointed by the Samrāt, that they belonged to a Dharma Empire established by the Vākāṭakas. There was practically a continuous fight with the Cholas until Buddhavarman broke them.4

185. The ancestral state of the Pallavas is called Navakhaṇḍa. We have a Navarāshṭra Navakhaṇḍa in the Mahā-Bhārata, but it was in Western India. This Navakhaṇḍa should be nearabout Andhra. We have Nawāgarḥ as one of the traditional '18 Forest Kingdoms' of Kosala. Its situation is near

¹ This name is never repeated in the line; it seems to have been inauspicious and unsuccessful. His bravery, however, is noted in the inscriptions (वसुधातलेक्वीरस्य).

² रहीत-काञ्चीनगरस्रतोभूत् कुमारिविष्णुस्समरेषु किष्णुः (verse 8.)—E.I.I., II, 508.

³ অল্বন্য-নমস্থল্প: জেল্থিছেজানীমবন্, বিজ্ঞানা ঘটিকা **াছস্থান্টি**লান্ জন্ম যে: (verse 7), *Ibid.* Satyasena was probably a Chola or some other neighbouring Tamil king.

⁴ भर्ता भुवो भूद्य बुद्धवर्मा यस्रोळ-सैन्यार्षव-वास्वाग्निः। (verse 8)—S.I.I., II, 508.

⁵ S.I.I., II, 515 (verse 6).

⁶ Sabhā, 31, 6. 7 Hira Lal, E.I., VIII, 286.

Bastar, by the Nagpur division of the Bhāraśiva kingdom, from where an attack on Andhra was easy. Very likely, the father of Vīrakorchavarman was the governor or sub-king in Kosalā, and from there Andhra was acquired.

§ 186. Vīrakorcha Kumāra Vishņu I must have had a fairly long career. He was an asvamedhin Pallava and the conqueror of Kāñchī. Probably Chronology. it was his suzerain or his father who conquered the Ikshvākus and Andhra, and he conquered the Cholas and occupied Kānchī. His son Śiva Skanda, to be the yuvarāja and the sub-governor of Kāñchī, must have been at least 18 or 20 in the 10th year of Virakorcha. capture of Kānchī was accomplished from the Andhra throne. Virakorcha's marriage and his recognition as a sub-king could not be simultaneous, for in his tenth year Siva Skanda was old enough to be the governor of Kāñchī. At his marriage, Virakorcha was probably only an adhirāja and not a Mahārāja, and would have got the higher title on the conquest of Kānchī, Placing the conquest of Andhra about 250-260 A.D., we may date the conquest of Kānchī at 265 A.D., and the tenth year of Vīrakorcha as Mahārāja would be about 275 A.D. when Siva Skanda would be about 20. To verify this initial date we have a guide in the date of Vishnu Gopa I; let us see if our proposed date stands verified by his date.

187. If Śiva Skandavarman came to the throne, say, five years later than the grant by him as Yuvamahārāja, i.e. in 280 A.D., and ruled for 15 years, his period [280–295 A.D.] would agree with the time assigned to him on the basis of the script of his charters as discussed above. Vīravarman, in whose time Kāñchī is lost and to whom no conquest is attributed, but who is noted for his bravery and whose name is never borne again by his descendants, seems to have died on the battlefield at the hands of his Chola enemy. The death of Śiva Skandavarman would have given a signal for an attack by the Cholas. Vīravarman could not have remained king for longer than a year or two. Vīravarman of his grandfather Vīra [Korcha]. But his name was, as already observed, never

repeated. It seems that the name Vira which came to be associated with a political misfortune—the loss of Kānchī and a defeat at the hands of the Cholas, was given up by the family. Skandavarman II became, for the second time, the founder of the Pallava power, and this time it became seated permanently at Kāñchī. We should remember that in his time the Vākātaka family was led by Pravarasena I under whom it reached its zenith, which was a point more elevated than that attained by any previous imperial dynasty. Presumably Skandavarman II received support from the Vākātaka emperor. He assumed the title of 'Vijaya' deservedly. In his long reign he had sufficient time to consolidate his, and the Vākāṭaka imperial, position in the South. For over half the period of the reign of Pravarasena I he was his contemporary. We should assign him a reign of about 35 years, 33rd year being his recorded date. After him we have one record of the reign of his son Simhavarman I and of the governorship of his another son Vishnu Gopa. his grandson Skandavarman III we have no record, and as the latter was succeeded by the son of Vishnu Gopa I, his reign must have been a short one. Evidently, Vishnu Gopa was defeated by Samudra Gupta before his coronation and according to the well-known custom he abdicated in favour of his son and never became legally Mahārāja, i.e. though he ruled, he did not reign. The dated chronology would stand thus:

1.	Vīrakūrcha	Kumāra	Vishņu (a	c. 265-	280	A.D.
	Kāñchī).					
_	-6					

2. [Śiva] Skandavarman I c. 280–295 A	. 101	olva okar	idavarman	L			c. 28	50-295	Α.	D.
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- 4. [Vijaya] Skandavarman II .. c. 297-332 A.D.
- 5. Simhavarman I .. c. 332-344 A.D.
- 6. Skandavarman III .. c. 344-346 A.D.
- 7. Vishnu Gopa I c. 346
- 7A. Simhavarman II .. c. 346-360 A.D.

This is fully confirmed by the date of Vishnu Gopa which we gather from the history of Samudra Gupta.

XVII. SUBORDINATE BRAHMIN KINGDOMS OF THE SOUTH: THE GANGAS AND THE KADAMBAS.

§ 188. Under the Pallavas there came into existence a sub-kingdom of the Brahmin Kāņvāyanas, who after their original home The Brahmin Ganga Dynasty. adopted their dynastic name 'the Dynasty of the Ganga,' like 'the Magadha Dynasty,' of the Kalinga kings under the Guptas. The kings of the Ganga Dynasty, from the third king, were installed in each generation by the Pallavas of whom Simhavarman the 'Pallavendra' ['the Pallava emperor'], and also his successor Skandavarman (III) are named in their earliest genuine copperplate.1 These Kāṇvāyanas very likely were an off-shoot of the Imperial Kānvāyanas of Magadha, the last king of whom (Susarman) was taken prisoner [प्रस्तु तं] 2 and removed to the South by the Sātavāhana.3 From the point of view of cultural history the Brahmin subordinate dynasties become important. There had been already a class of political Brahmins in the South.

§ 189. The Kaundinyas, whom we have already noticed, were introduced into the South from the North in the days of the Sātavāhana empire which once embraced both the South.

The South and the North. The tradition of certain Brahmin families coming to the

South from Ahichhatra in the time of the ancestors of Mayūraśarman Mānavya, who, as we shall presently see, belonged to the Chutu Śātakarni family, seems to have been based on history. The Sātavāhanas married into a few exclusive Brahmin families, e.g. of the Gautama gotra, Vasishtha gotra, Māthara gotra, Hārīta gotra, etc. There was a large settlement of the Gautamas in the South [Mysore]. The Ikshvākus followed that tradition strictly,

¹ E.I., XIV, 333.

² Matsya, Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, p. 38, 3, 6.

³ J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 294. ⁴ E.C., VII, Sk. 186.

⁵ E.C., VII, Introduction, p. 3.

and to some extent also the Kadambas. The Brahmin families occupied the position of aristocracy in the South. They remained exclusive and were intimately connected with the royal families. The Aiyars and Ayangars are still the real aristocrats of the South. The Brahmin rulers of the early centuries, now succeeded by the Vākāṭaka-Pallavas and the Gaṅgas of the revivalist period, and their matrimonial Brahmins were the makers of Southern India, who by introducing their culture in the South made Dakshiṇāpatha an integral part of Hindu India, and they truly extended the boundaries of Bhāratavarsha to include the whole of the South.

§ 190. The Ganga genealogy for our period may be reconstructed on the basis of the first Early Ganga undoubtedly genuine copperplate of the genealogy. Gangas, published by Mr. Rice in the Epigraphia Indica, XIV, 331, which is of the latter part of the fourth or the early part of the fifth century A.D. (circa 400 A.D.). I have extended the line by adding one more name from other records to fix and to verify the chronology. The genealogy will stand as follows:—

Konkanivarman, dharmādhirāja

Mādhava (I), Mahādhirāja
Ayyavarman (Ari¹ or Harivarman), Ganga-rāja
(installed by Simhavarman, Mahārāja,
of the Pallava Dynasty).

Mādhava (II), Mahārāja, the Simhavarman, installed by Skandavarman III, Mahārāja, of the Pallavas.

Avinita Kongani, *Mahādhirāja* (married a daughter of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, sister of Kṛishṇavarman, *Mahādhirāja*).³

¹ Cf. Kielhorn's List, E.I., VIII Supplement, p. 4.

² [According to Mr. Rice, a Vishnu Gopa was probably left out by mistake between Ayya and Madhava II] E.I., XIV, 333; Cf. Kielhorn, p. 5.

⁸ Kielhorn, p. 5. Mr. Rice, E.I., XIV, 334, thought that Mādhava II [whom he calls 'Mādhava III', counting Konganīvarman's personal

§191. The marriage of Avinīta Kongaņi with a Kadamba princess is alleged by the Ganga documents and seems to be confirmed by the reference in the Talagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman to the political marriages brought about by Kākusthavarman. Krishņavarman I whose sister Avinīta Kongani is recorded to have married, was the son of Kākustha. The time of Avinīta Kongaņi is thus fixed by Kākustha's time (c. 400 A.D.). Ayyavar man, the third prince, was installed by the Pallava Simhavarman II whose time is about 330-344 A.D. (§ 187), and Mādhava (II) was installed by the Pallava Skandavarman III (c. 344-346 A.D.) who was the successor of Simhavarman. Thus these three contemporary houses fix each other's chronology, and prove that the founder of the G a n g a Kāņvāyana Dynasty could not have flourished earlier than 300 A.D.² Their time approximately would be thus (which gives them roughly an average of 16 or 17 years each):

1.	Konkanivarman	 c. 300-315 A.D	
		 * • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	_

- 2. Mādhavavarman I 315–330 A.D.
- 3. Ayya or Arivarman 330-345 A.D.³
- 4. Mādhavavarman [II]

Simhavarman .. 345–375 A.D.

5. Avinīta Kongani 375–395 A.D.

§ 192. The first prince adopted the name Konkanivarman probably for his having come recently from Konkana. His dominion was what is known as Gangavādī in Mysore. The Penukonda plates (E.I., XIV, 331) have been found in the Anantapur District, Madras. The Gangas were the next-door

name Mādhava as Mādhava I] married the Kadamba princess, which is wrong on the evidence of the Ganga records and on the chronology for these kings discussed below (§§ 190-191).

1 Cf. Kadamba Kula, the first chart.

² This proves that the records dated in early Saka years (247 A.D. etc. Cf. Kielhorn's *List*, E.I., VIII, p. 4, n.) could not be genuine, though they recite the genealogy fairly correctly. The people alleging themselves to be descendants of old dones of lands forged a number of Ganga documents; they had a fair idea of the genealogy of the Ganga kings.

³ Vishnu Gopa's existence is not certain (§ 190, n.).

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neighbours of the Kadambas who came into existence about the same time or a generation later.

§ 193. The title $Dharm\bar{a}dhir\bar{a}ja$ of the dynasty shows that the Gangas, like the Kadambas, formed part of the Dharma Empire of the Pallavas.

§ 194. The first Ganga king came in by right of conquest, presumably as a general of the Pallavas or Konkanivarman. the main Vākāṭakas, which is suggested by their title Ganga. He acquired a country of 'gentlemanly population' [sva-bhuja-java-jaya-janita-sujana-janapadasya], having fought terrible enemies (dāruṇa-arigaṇa'). The king was 'adorned with marks of wounds (in battle)' [labdha-vraṇa-bhūshaṇasya Kāṇvāyana-sagotrasya Śrīmat Koṇ kaṇi-var ma-dharma-mahādhirājasya].

§ 195. His son Mādhava, Mahādhirāja, was deeply learned in the sacred and polite literature Mādhava I. of Sanskrit and was an authority on Hindu political science—'he was skilled in expounding it and applying it in practice: Nîti-śāstrasya vakṭri-prayokṭri-kuśalasya.

§196. Mādhava's son Ayyavarman 'was decorated with wounds on his body acquired on nume-

aneka-yuddh=ōpalabdhavrana-vibhūshita-śarīrasya.

He had devoted his time to the study of history.

§ 197. The Ganga genealogical history, summarised above, breathes the spirit of the Vākātaka Vākātaka spirit. tradition. It relates to a period before Samudra Gupta reached the South. It is in Sanskrit and had been copied from earlier documents, as it was copied in all subsequent family deeds. It was a cultured family of the type which the Vākātakas created.

§ 198. The ideal of the early G a n g a s, both personal and civic, are remarkable. The kings decorated themselves, like V i n d h y a s a k t i, with wounds won on battlefields. This finds an

who in Samudra Gupta inscription. The Ganga's civic ideal is exact and positive. The raison d'être of kingship was good government:

samyak-prajā-pālana-

mātr=ādhigata-rājya-prayojanasya:

'(to His Majesty Mādhava (I) Mahādhirāja) the object of kingship consisted only in rendering good government to his people.'

§ 199. The Kadambas are not the direct product of the invasion of Samudra Gupta, as generally The Kadambas. supposed, but the product of the early history of the Mānavyas. Their history has been separately discussed in a recent text-book by Mr. Maores. A few points which have not yet been noticed and which have a bearing on our period may be noticed here.

The Kadambas from their official documents. beginning with Talagunda pillar inscription. style themselves as Hāritīputra Mā-Their Descent. navyas. Now we know that the Vanavāsī Āndhras (the Chuţus) were Hāritīputra Mānavyas (§ 157 ff.). It seems to be certain that the Kadambas were descendants of the Chutu Sātakarnis. By calling themselves Hāritīputra Mānavyas they mark their descent from the last Chutu Mānavya who was a Hāritīputra. The moment the first Kadamba king acquires Vanavāsī and Kuntala, the original seat of the Chutus, he 'with a glad mind' restores the old grant made by the Haritiputra Siva Skandavarman of the Mānavya gotra and records it on the very pillar set up by the Chutu king for the purpose of registering the gift of the same property, which had been attached to Mattapatti 2 through the same Kaundinya family. The grant was made a second time,

The interval between the ages of the scripts of the two inscriptions is sufficiently marked, and is not one of a few years, as supposed by Mr. Rice, in E.C., VII, p. 6. The language is also different. It is a new language, Mahārāshṭrī, which had never been employed before in official drafting.

¹ E.I., VIII, 34, footnote, by Kielhorn. Cf. E.I., XVI, p. 266, 'Mānavya-sagotrānām Hāritīputrānām'.

² Its name survives to-day in 'Malavalli'.

implying that it had been resumed by the authority just preceding, which could not be that of any other than the Pallavas, from whom Mayūra Śarman is recorded to have acquired the territory on account of, amongst other considerations, his past 'lineage', that is, the ex-royal dynasty of the Chutu Mānavyas. It is dated in the 4th year of the king's reign. I regard it to be a writ of Mayūra Śarman, a fragment of his name is readable on the plate (§ 162). He was vindicating here the right of his family. He recovered his family's home-land, and revived their gift. The relationship with that ancient respectable family of the Kaundinyas, who had been probably imported there by his ancestors, had continued in the meantime, as the new donee is described as the mātula (maternal uncle) of the donor king.

§ 201. The Pallavas as they dispossessed the Ikshvākus dispossessed also the Chuţu Mānavyas. The Ikshvākus disappeared for ever, but the Mānavyas revived once more. At the first opportunity Mayūra Śarman Mānavya recovered his ancestral home and founded a new dynasty under the title 'Kadamba'.

§ 202. The Kadambas attempted to revive the dynastic memories. As they re-endowed the Malavalli god of the Sātavāhanas, and marked the tank and temple at Talagunda, which had associations with the Sātakarņis, with their proud pillar and prouder inscription, so they tried to reach the northern limit of the Sātavāhana dominions in the West, for which they made repeated efforts, but they were kept back by the Vākātakas who strenuously retained to themselves the maritime province of Aparānta, with its Western Foreign trade.

§ 203. In this attempt for, what we may describe as

Sātavāhanism, Kaṅga who flourished in

Kaṅga and the position of the Kadambas.

Kadambas.

Kadambas.

Kaṅga was the most prominent figure. Kaṅga was the son and successor of Mayūra Śarman. He dropped the Brahmin title śarman and adopted the royal style varman with his name. He was the real founder of the Kadamba kingdom which became very powerful in his time,

though only for a few years. The Pallava power, after its defeat at the hands of Samudra Gupta, was sought to be superseded by Kanga, whom the Purānas fully describe under the name Kāna and Kanaka (§§ 128-129). The Pallavas formed the southern portion of the empire of the Vākāṭaka Samrāţ. They were 'Mahārājas' to the Vākāţaka Chakravartin. The Pallavas, on behalf of the Vākāṭaka emperor, seem to have exercised suzerainty over the Trairajya, the group of three Tamil kingdoms, the leader of whom—the Cholas—they had actually conquered. Kangavarman became the ruler of three connected units—Strīrājya, Mūshika and Bhojaka, and according to the Vishnu Purāņa, his rule covered also Trairājya, i.e., he became the overlord of the South for the time being, eclipsing the Pallavas. The Pallava territory alone is excluded from his jurisdiction. It seems that Kanga tried to restore the Southern Empire of his ancestors after the defeat of the Pallavas and to question the right of Samudra Gupta to be the Emperor of All-India. was, however, defeated by Prithivishena Vākātaka and had to abdicate (§ 127 ff.). After Kanga the Kadambas remained politically attached to the Vākāṭaka kingdom which touched the Kuntala part of the Kadamba kingdom on its own Bhojakata frontiers. The importance of the Kadambas lies more on the social side. They had been long in the South before the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. Yet in the new social revival they showed new vigour and became as good agents of that revival as the Gangas and the Pallavas, within their own sphere.

§ 204. Thus the history of the South for the period is really a history of the Northerns in the South, both new and old, and of their efforts to introduce and establish a common civili-

zation, viz. that Hinduism which proved so successful at the time in reforming and reviving society in the North. The South becomes so united with the North through these efforts that truly the old definition of Bhāratavarsha had to be revised and extended to include the whole of the South. The northern Hindus introduce the language, the script, the worship

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and the culture in general, of the North into the South. They infuse new life in Further India from there, and make history. They make One-India by a common culture, the legacy of which has come down to us.

PART V.

Conclusion.

'Dharma-prāchīra-bandaḥ śaśi-kara-suchayaḥ kīrttayaḥ supratānāḥ.'
[—Allahabad Pillar.]

XVIII. Effects of Gupta Imperialism.

§ 205. The military achievements of Samudra Gupta are well known and need not be commented

Samudra Gupta's Policy of Peace and Prosperity. upon here. It should be noted that he did not over-do militarism. He was fully conscious of the value of a policy of needs. After his second campaign he

of peace. After his second campaign he never undertook any expedition, but gained his object through diplomacy and peace by bringing the Shāhānushāhi, the Hill States, the Republics, and the Colonies within the fold of his empire and the sphere of his imperial influence. possession of an enormous quantity of gold which Northern India had not known before was the result of the inclusion of Southern India and the Colonies in his empire. The contact with the South was kept up through the Vākātaka House, which was soon restored, though in the Allahabad inscription the Vākāṭaka country is treated as being part of his Central Provinces and the survey of the Republics is made as if sitting at Gwalior or Eran. In line 23 of the Allahabad inscription he says that he was restoring old royal families and in line 26 he says that his officers were busy in restoring the wealth of various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms. Prithivishena I undoubtedly was one of those. Gold from the South and Further India kept on pouring-in even in the next reign. If Samudra Gupta excelled Rāma and Prithu in giving gold coins as he says in his Eran inscription, his son certainly excelled all figures in past history in distributing gold amongst his subjects. There is no exaggeration in this. We have the testimony of Chandra Gupta II's daughter that her father gave away several thousands of crores of [Gupta] sovereigns1, which is again

¹ Poona Plates, E.I., Vol. XV, p. 41.

confirmed by Yuan Chwang. Amoghavarsha in his inscription admits that the Gupta king was the greatest donor of the Kali Age. This became possible on account of the beneficial foresight of Samudra Gupta. His policy of peace and reconciliation turned Prithivishena I into a faithful ally who conquered back the Kuntala or Kadamba king. The latter had seriously threatened Samudra Gupta's supremacy in the South, which probably led to his putting off the Asvamedha or to its repetition mentioned by Prabhāvatī Guptā.1 His colonial policy and the control of the port of Tāmralipti must have been a great source of revenue. The eastern trade with China and Indonesia was brisk at the time and was probably of greater importance than the Western trade. Both Samudra Gupta and his son Chandra Gupta emphasised their sea-frontiers, which alone they recognised on their three sides as they recognised the Himavat [Tibet] to be their northern frontier. The people were as lightly taxed as possible in both reigns, which Fa-Hien for the latter reign has particularly noticed. Samudra Gupta truly became Dhanada to his subjects. People could well afford to found big hospitals, and the peace of Samudra Gupta could very well enable Chandra Gupta to abolish capital punishment.

§ 206. The psychology of the nation was entirely changed and the outlook became lofty and magnaElevated National nimous. It was a psychology directly borrowed from the Emperor. The Hindus of his day thought of big undertakings. They contributed high, elegant and magnanimous literature. The literary people became literary Kuberas to their countrymen and literary empire-builders outside India. Kumārajīva made a literary conquest of China.² The Kaundinya missionary established a social and cultural overlordship in

¹ anek-āśvamedha-yājī Lichchhavi-dohitrah (E.I., XV, 41).

² He, a contemporary of Samudra Gupta, left for China, where [405–412] he dictated Chinese commentaries on the Buddhist Canon. His translation of the Diamond Sūtra is a national classic in Chinese literature, from which 'Chinese poets and philosophers have drawn inspiration and instruction'. Cf. Giles, Chinese Literature, p. 114.

Cambodia. Merchants and artists made India a wonderland for the foreign eyes. There was nothing feminine in art, literature, piety or politics. The chisel produced virile gods and martial goddesses. The pen portrayed handsome and masculine men, self-conscious and proud Hindu Prussians. Scholars and Brahmins wielded sword and pen with equal facility. Aristocracy of intellect and ability was raised to a height which was hardly repeated again in this land.

§ 207. Sanskrit became the official language, and it became entirely a new language. Like the Gupta coin and Gupta sculpture, it reproduced the Emperor, it became majestic and musical, as it had never been before and as it never became after again.

The Gupta emperor made a new language, and in fact a

new nation.

§ 208. The field, however, had been prepared by the

The seed-period of Samudra Gupta's India.

Bhāraśivas and more so by the Vākāṭakas. Sanskrit had been employed by the Śunga kings in their official inscriptions. It was employed by Rudradāman, again, about 150 A.D., but the Kāvya style, as evidenced by

the Champa (Cambodia) inscription which anticipates Samudra Gupta's style, is referable to the Vākāṭaka period. The Vākātakas had already created an All-India Empire. They had driven the Kushans to a corner. They had raised the military tradition of the people. They had brought back the Śāstras to their rightful throne. Samudra Gupta took full advantage of it and kept up the continuity of history initiated by the Bhārasivas and fostered by the Vākāṭakas. They had paved the road through which the Shāhānushāhis and the Śaka lords could be brought to Ajodhyā or Pātaliputra to bend their heads before the Hindu throne. The renaissance had begun before 248 A.D. The Hindus had freed themselves already from the Kushan social tyranny and their political rule. They had already rejected Buddhism as a system unfit for their society tending to make people weak and passive. It had been, however, left for Samudra Gupta to give a constructive faith, and he gave it in the form of his bhakti in Vishnu. The Bhārasivas had adopted Gangā and Yamunā as the symbols of freed Āryāvarta, and rightly hooded Nāgas were put over the figures of the river goddesses, translating politics into the language of the chisel. The Guptas duly took over those motifs though they removed the Nāgas from their heads. The sombre Śiva of the Bhārasivas and the Vākātakas makes room for the constructive Vishnu who stands with His hands erect upholding Hindu society, with a vigour which knows no lessening. Solid, not elegant, become the homes of Hindu gods. Square-built, rock-cut and rock-like temples are preferred to pinnacles. Self-confidence is the breeding spirit of the time. The Hindu has faith in himself: the Vākātaka, the Ganga and the Gupta speak of their manly beauty moulded by swords and arrows; deities are compared with men and to the advantage of men. Faith in the great God Vishnu, to whom the Gupta dedicated all his deeds and in whom he merged himself, was transmitted to the whole nation and even to Further India. This unity of man and his God was reflected in the sculptures they wrought by fashioning them after the devotees. The lofty spiritual tone reached the very zenith. Vindhyaśakti whose strength grew in great battles and whose valour could not be overcome even by gods, was yet a man exerting himself to gain spiritual merit. Mādhava I of the Ganga kings, whose decorations were wounds received on battlefields, declared that kingship existed only for rendering good government to the people. Siva Skandavarman, the performer of proud sacrifices, was after all a Dharma-Mahārājâdhirāja. Samudra Gupta the rampart of religion, the path of the sacred hymns, worthy of study by others, was practising royalty and his duty in a way that gave him the satisfaction that he was winning his heaven and hereafter thereby. Man was made for society, and by performing his duties he was winning the kingdom of heaven. Revivalist piety thus spiritualized politics, even conquest, and left passive pietism and inert quietism of the pre-revival days to bury its past. Buddhist celibacy had lowered the position of woman. Now once more woman became the object of high honour and a political partner. In coins and inscriptions she is given equality. Wife was never so honoured as Samudra Gupta honoured Dattadevī. In the greatest moment of his triumph at Eran the Emperor of All-India proudly remembered his life-partner and the day of his marriage when her dowry consisted of only the manliness of her lord, and whose grandeur now consisted in being the ideal Hindu woman, the kula-vadhū and the Hindu mother surrounded by sons and grandsons.

§ 209. We are thus dazzled by this atmosphere of full manhood and glory, of conquests and culture, of activity far and wide, at home and abroad, and we forget the unknown poets and patriots and teachers of the Bhāraśiva period who sowed the seed of which the Vākāṭaka and the Gupta reaped the harvest. The hundred years of the Bhāraśivas are the seedperiod of this Hindu imperialism. Literary remains of that seed-period movement we have practically none. recognise the tree from its fruit. That 'Dark Period' brought light and illumination to Aryavarta and India. The spiritual movement begun in that period assumed the form of intense bhakti in the heroic aspect of Vaishnavism. Who were the preachers of that cult? We know not. But we can say this much that the bible of that cult was the Bhagavad-Gītā which is repeated in the inscription of Samudra Gupta. cult is that Vishnu comes in the form of statesmen and heroes and readjusts society, protects Dharma and His people.

§ 210. Grand and pleasing is this picture and the mind gets so captivated that it becomes The Other Side. most reluctant to turn away from the vision of Samudra Gupta's India. A present-day historian trained in Imperialism would naturally take delight in that picture, a picture of bold strokes, of Kirīta and Kuṇḍala, the picture of imperial Hinduism, of the revealed vision of the greatness of the Guptas. But does his duty end with reproducing on the fresco of the past of his race the picture of the Gupta superman? His duty does not conclude without giving the judgment of the post-Gupta Hindu who looked back on Gupta imperialism and coolly analysed it. The Hindu historian

in the Vishnu Purāna makes another appraisement of the matter. His concluding words 1 may be summed up thus:

'I have given this history.² The existence of these kings will in future become a matter of debate and doubt as the very existence of Rāma and other Emperors has become to-day a matter of doubt and speculation. Emperors become mere legends in the current of time—the Emperors who thought and think "India is mine". Fie on Empires, fie on the Empire of the Emperor Rāghava.' ³

The refrain of the historian is to rail at Emperors and Conquerors. They suffer, he says from mamatva,—'l'etat c'est moi'4.

1 See V.P., Bk. IV, c. 24, verses 64-77, cf. also 'the Verdic of India' (Prithivī-Gītā), verses 55-63.

रत्येषः कथितः सम्बद्धः मनोवेशो मया तव (64) त्रुत्वेवमखिलं वंशं प्रश्नसं ग्रशिस्त्रयंयोः (67). इस्ताकु जन्दु-मान्याद-सगराविचितान् रघून् (68)

उ यः कार्त्तवीर्ध्यो बुमुले समस्तान् द्वीपान् समाक्रम्य दतारिचकः; कथाप्रसङ्घे लिभधीयमानः स यव सङ्गल्पविकल्पदेतुः (72) दशाननाविचित-राधवाणामैश्वर्य्यमुद्धासित-दिद्धालानाम् भस्तापि जातं, न कथं चणेन ? धूभङ्गपविन धिगनकस्य (73) ['रेश्वर्ये धिक्'—Commentator.] कथाश्ररीरलमवाप यद्दे सान्यात्वनामा भवि चक्रवन्तीं। श्रुलापि तं कोऽपि करोति साधु समलमात्वन्यपि मन्दचेतः। (74) भगीरथाद्याः सगरः कक्रत्स्थो दशाननो राधवल्यसणौ च युधिष्ठिराद्यास्र वभूतुरेवे सत्यं न सिथा क नु वे न विद्यः। (75)

Cf. Prithivi-Gua:
 प्रध्वी ममेयं सकला ममेषा ममान्वस्थापि च शाखनेयम्
 यो यो सतो छान बभून राजा कुब्दिराचीदिति तस्य तस्य। (61)
 विचाय मां सत्युपयं नजनां
 तस्यान्वयस्यस्य कथं ममलं इत्यास्यदं मत्युमवं करोति। (62)
 'प्रध्वी ममेषाग्र परित्यजनम्' वदन्ति ये दूतमुखेः स्वश्वम्

नराधिपास्तेष ममातिहास: पुनस सृदेष द्याध्यपति । (63) An oversea-Empire, characteristic of the Guptan, is particularly hit

ततो सत्यांच पौरांच विगीयने तथा रिपून् क्रमेणानेन नेघामी वयं ध्वीं ससागराम्। (57) ससुद्रावरणं याति (58) द्वीपान् समाकृत्य इतारिचकः (72).

at:

Against whom is this bitter criticism directed? Again and again the historian uses the word Rāghava. Did not Samudra Gupta try to revive the tradition of Rāma the Rāghava, from Avodhyā? Did not Kālidāsa render Samudra Gupta's conquest in Raghu's Digvijaya? The hit is palpably against the builder of the last empire chronicled in the Purana-the builder of the Gupta empire whom he has left unnamed in his chronicle. He means to say that a history which is worth remembering is a history of good deeds and just services: the deeds which trample upon the rights and liberties of others are not to be canonised by the historian. If he were alive to-day, he might have said—'Remember Vikramāditya, the son of Samudra Gupta, but forget Samudra Gupta. Note only virtue, give no countenance to vice in any form or shape.' Samudra Gupta, like Alexander, killed the free spirit of his country. He destroyed the Malavas and the Yaudheyas, who were the nursery of freedom; and many others of their class. Once those free communities were wiped out, the recruiting ground for future heroes and patriots and statesmen disappeared. The Gupta themselves, both from their mother's side and their father's side, had descended from those republican communities. They themselves were crops of those seed-communities, but they totally destroyed them.

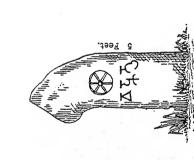
§211. The social system of the republican communities was based on equality. They knew no caste. They consisted of one caste only. The orthodox system, on the other hand, was based on inequality and caste where mass patriotism could not be mobilised as it could easily be done amongst the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Mādrakas, the Pushyamitras, the Ābhīras and the Lichchhavis. They were the exercise-ground for statemaking, for patriotism, for individual ambitions, capabilities and leadership. But under Samudra Gupta and his descendants they all merged into an organised, officialised, orthodox castesystem and an orthodox political system which recognised and fostered monarchy and imperialism. The seed-pod for the rise of a Krishna, the prophet of rightful war and the prophet of the cult of duty, the seed-pod to produce a Buddha, the prophet of a universal religion and universal

equality, was consumed for ever; the seed-pod for the production of a future Bhāraśiva or a future Gupta was made extinct. And the Hindu sank. The Republics of Rajputana dissolved into the Rajputs who forgot all the traditions of their republican ancestors. And the Republics of the Punjab dissolved into the Jāts with all their past lost. The life-giving element was gone. The Hindus did not remember the name of Samudra Gupta with any gratitude, and when Alberūnī came to India he was told that the Guptas were a wicked people. This is another view of that picture. They were tyrants to Hindu constitutional freedom, though excellent rulers to the individual subject.

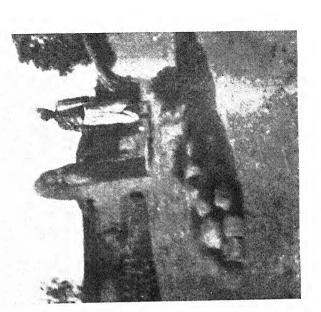
§ 212. The only thing which could appeal to the Hindu mind represented by the historian of the Vishņu Purāṇa, whose political ethics never gave countenance to force and coercion, was a system like that of the Bhāraśivas, uniting in a federation of states with full individuality and individual life. The Bhāraśiva Federation was an enlargement of the Saṅgha organisation of the Hindu republics. It was a league of equals with a recognised leading power. If the Guptas had experimented that, they would have been better remembered by the Purāṇic historian. Following the historian of my country I would say: Let us remember to-day only the good deeds of the Guptas and forget their imperialism.



Durehā [Jāso] Pillar.



Cunningham's drawing.



Dureĥā [Jāso] Pillar Inscription.





Eye-Copy tracing of letters.

y. b. O. k. S., 1930

APPENDIX A.

On the Durehā Vākāṭaka Pillar, and the Nachnā and Bhūbharā (Bhūmarā) Temples.

Since completing the *History* above I took a journey (December, 1932) to verify certain facts. The result is noted below.

Durehā is a flourishing village at a distance of about

4 miles (S.) from the town of Jāso, the seat

of the Chief of Jāso. Jāso is a small

Bundela principality on the borders of

Nagod (Nagaudh), Baghelkhand, Central India. Cunningham visited Durehā and noticed a stone monument which he described in his Reports, Vol. XXI, p. 99 (Plate 27), as 'a natural lingam'. He gave an eye-copy of the inscription on it and a drawing of the monument. Since his time no one else went to the place to verify Cuninngham's record. Suspecting the inscription to be of importance, in my last tour in Bundelkhand I made enquiries about the place Dareda as Cunningham had spelt it. I came to know from my friend Mr. Śaradā Prasad of Satna that the correct name of the village is Durehā and I motored with him to the place. The monument is by the side of the unmetalled road in the village, standing on an artificial elevation. It is not a lingam at all, but a pillar; the side facing the south is made smooth by chisel, while its back is rough as it was hewn out of the quarry. Unfortunately when I returned from Nachnā and took an impression of the inscription it had become dark and the operations had to be done in artificial light. Below the inscription which consists of one line there is a wheel with 8 spokes, just as on Rudrasena's coin and Prithivishena's inscriptions of Ganj and Nachnā. Cunningham gives this inscription below, not above, the wheel in his eye-copy. It seems that the drawing given by him was done from memory, not on the spot, as the order of the inscription and the wheel is transposed and the shape of the stone is also not truly drawn. The stone is not round.¹

A flashlight photograph was taken after filling the lettering with French chalk, but as I could not fully follow the forms of the letters in darkness, the third letter was not fully filled in and its left-hand loop incision (which has come out in the impression²) was missed. There is a flaw in the stone to the right of the third letter which gives a false impression of there being a letter. It is produced by a higher level of the surface. The last two letters were completely missed by me on the stone in the darkness; but they have come out in the impression. I give a photograph of the whole stone to show its shape. The stone is painted white by the villagers and a few letters in white paint are written above the inscribed portion. It is now called Mangalanātha (Śiva).

The inscription reads $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}tak\bar{a}n\bar{a}[m]$ which evidently refers to the royal insigne the wheel, chakra, below. The whole would read 'the chakra of the $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}taka$ '. It was obviously set up in the $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}taka$ territory.

Its letters belong to the early Vākātaka time. The first letter Va is earlier in form than the same letter in Prithivīsheṇa's inscriptions. Its second letter $k\bar{a}$ agrees with the form of the same letter with the same value in the impression of Prithivīsheṇa's inscription reproduced by General Cunningham in his plate (A.S.R., Vol. 21, plate XXVII, second inscription). The third letter ta has a wedge on the top and the box is not developed. The fourth letter ka has no box on its top; nor does the last letter na has the form of the time of Prithivīsheṇa, it belongs to an earlier type. M is also of an early form. Hence the majority of the letters appear to indicate a date earlier than that of the known inscriptions of the time of Prithivīsheṇa.

Distances of Sites. I may note here the distances between important ancient sites in the area.

Durehā is about 5 miles to the north-west from Nachnā. Bhūbharā (Bhūmarā) to Khoh is 5 miles (to the south) across the hill. Ganj to Bhūbharā the distance is 13 miles. Khoh is on the southern side below a high range (about 1,500 ft.), and Nachnā below its northern slopes. Khoh is in the Nagod State

¹ See Plate IV.

² See Plate V.



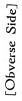
Gond Type at Bhūmarā.

К.Р. ј.

Bhūbharā [Bhūmarā] Voussoir Bricks.



[Reverse Side]



9. B. O. R. S., 1933.

ר האבו זכן

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while Nachnā is in Ajaygarh. Durehā is in Jāso. There were two large towns in the early centuries—one on the site of Ganj-Nachnā and the other at Khoh. These were twins, united and separated by the chain of the mountain on the top of which was situated the Temple of the so-called 'Bhūmarā', more common and correct pronunciation being $Bh\bar{u}bhar\bar{a}$. The temple is near the village Majhgawāň ('the middle village'), at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the village Bhūbharā [which everyone I met at the locality and at Nagod called by this name].

Bhūbharā is a village of the Goṇḍs, who have features as in Bharahut sculptures. Bharahut and Bhūbharā are within Nagod territory and within about twenty miles from each other as the crow flies. In the middle lies Uch-harā, the residential fort of the Rajas of Nagod.

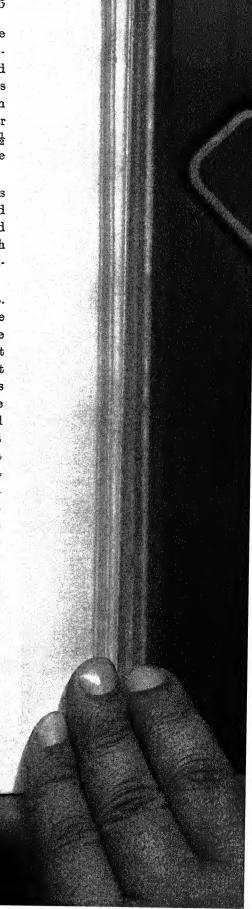
There was a brick-wall round the temple of Bhūbharā.

Thousands of bricks still lie in a square round the temple remains. Most of these bricks where I examined the heap (East Gate) disclosed Brāhmī letters of c. 200 A.D. I have brought

Gate) disclosed Brāhmī letters of c. 200 A.D. I have brought to the Patna Museum two such bricks. They are important as affording some reliable data on the date of the temple. The letters on the rough bottom-side read darva-ārā[la] on one and darva (l. 1) -ārālā (l. 2) on the other. 2 Darva is 'hood' and ārāla or ārālā is 'arch', from ārā, 'segment of a circle', 'a spoke'; cf. Sanskrit arāla. These marked bricks are, as a matter of fact, voussoir bricks. $\bar{A}r\bar{a}$ seems to mean a voussoir, and in ārālā we seem to discover the technical architectural Hindu term for the horse-shoe arch. The name darva-ārālā, 'hood-arch', may refer to the shape of the arch, or to the purpose of accommodating hoods of Naga images. evident that the outer wall of the temple had niches with round arches for reception of images. The smooth face of one brick has a clear $bh\bar{u}$ inside a bigger letter which is a large $bh\bar{a}$. large letter is followed by a large rā and a ya with an anusvāra.

1 See Plate VI. Female types have a still greater resemblance.

2 See Plates VII and VIII. The surface of the bricks has been made lighter to bring out the lettering in the photograph.



The whole inscription reads $Bh\bar{u}bh\bar{a}r\bar{a}yam$, 'at Bhūbhārā.' The other brick on the top-side has \bar{a} at the left corner and $r\bar{a}$ at the right. They have arrow-marks to show the correct direction to the mason. The bricks are voussoir bricks in shape. The measurements of the bricks are: (1) $7'' \times 8'' \times 9''$ (one side broken, at present 6", originally probably 8" like the opposite side); the thickness is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the fabric very strong; (2) $8'' \times (7'', broken)$ 9". It seems that bricks were made below the hill and were marked for $Bh\bar{u}bh\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ which was evidently the name of the hill where the temple was built. Probably bricks were made together for several buildings and were thus allocated.

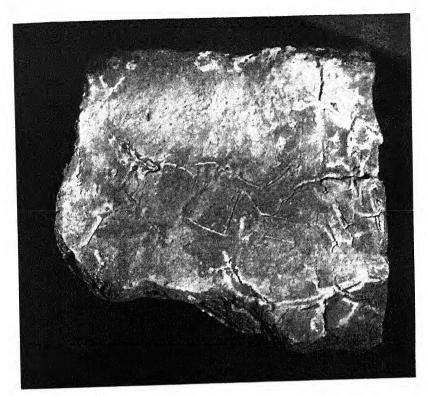
There being no inscription on the stone remains of the 'Bhūmarā' temple, the brick inscriptions are very useful in fixing the age of the temple. The temple cannot be later than 200 A.D., it should be, as the letter-forms certainly indicate, of about 150–200 A.D.

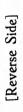
The name of the mukhalingam, now lying flat in the temple, is Bhākul dev, according to the tradition current at Majhgawāň and the neighbourhood. This seems to stand for Bhāra-kula-deva, 'the Deity of the Bhāra-kula (dynasty)'. The date of the bricks would warrant the inference that probably this was the Śiva-lingam founded by the Bhāra-Śiva king mentioned in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. In any case its period is the Bhāraśiva period.

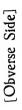
There are place-names in the neighbourhood, e.g. Bharahaṭā and Bharaulī. Near Satna there is Bhara or Bhāra.

Bharjunā where ancient sculptures are found. Pre-eminently in the same group of nomenclature and area stands the well-known Bharahut.

Bhūbharā [village] marked the boundary between the Gupta empire and the Vākāṭaka kingdom during the Gupta period, according to the boundary pillar inscription of Bhūbharā (thārī pāṭhar) which is traceable at present in the jungles. Bhūbharā and Majhgawāň are in the thick of the jungle. We found fresh foot-prints of a pair of huge tigers who had walked back by the time of our return over our shoe-marks. Reports of similar temples on the hill still existing have reached me. The hill should be explored.

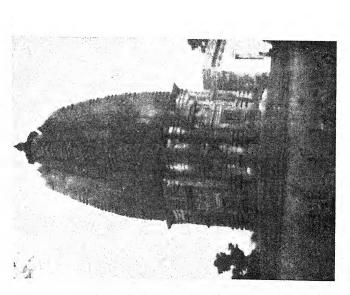




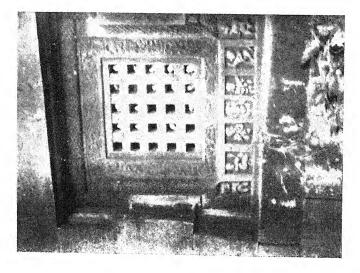


g. B O. R. S., 1933.

Nachna Temples.



Bhairava=Siva (Chaturmukha) Temple (Pinnacle over Amalaka restored recently, and Portico added.



A window in Pārvati Temple showing Date=Palm Design.

9. B. O. R. S., 1933.

The Bhūbharā temple has been subjected to modern The glorious door with its vandalism. jambs and sculptures has been removed; Vandalism. that is, the temple has been practically demolished; and the parts have been taken to the Indian Museum at Calcutta and to Fort Uch-harā, where numerous parts have been fortunately saved and preserved by Lal Saheb M.-Kumāra Bhārgavendra Singh, President of the Council of Nagod. The exquisite face-lingam is lying they are lying scattered. uncared for in the jungle within a shrine which has been rendered tottering by the removal of the massive door and the sculptures which faced and lined the sides.1 This link between Bharahut and the revived Hindu plastic art has been subjected to a fate worse than Bharahut.

The Nachnā temple has been the subject of a worse treat-The famous Pārvatī temple has been, within the last few years, deprived Nachnā. of its outer walls completely.2 With its pieces one side of the tower of the Siva temple has been repaired by a local Brahmin,3 who is said to have discovered gold coins buried in jars at Nachnā. The walls of the Pārvatī temple imitating rocks and caves have thus wholly disappeared, and their animal sculptures which are amongst the most beautiful specimens of Hindu plastic art are either lying scattered on the ground or taken away. A few of them have been rescued by a friend of mine.

The Pārvatī temple and the Śiva temple are works of the same artists and are contemporary ones. Mr. Codrington is wrong in saying that the Pārvatī and Śiva Śikhara of the temple of Śiva is a later temples. construction and 'superimposed' (Ancient India, p. 61). I have examined the temples and had the advantage of the expert opinion of an engineer whom I had taken with myself. The

¹ Lal Saheb whose attention was drawn to the present condition of the temple has kindly promised to take steps to preserve what still remains.

² See the Modern Review (Calcutta), April, 1933, for its illustration.

³ See Plate IX. The room in front of the Sikhara temple is a recent addition. The side photographed shows the original sikhara, except for the pinnacle which is modern.

Śikhara temple is the earliest in India existing in its original form. The carvings and the technique are the precurser of the Gupta and the later art. The Śiva-faces on the lingam are superb.¹ One of them with a Bhairava expression has its palate wonderfully well done, which one realizes by feeling it. I hope, some artist will make a thorough study of the temple and sculptures on the spot, and some official attempt would be made to rescue the buildings and the remains.

A good datum on the age of the Nachnā buildings is the cult-figure of Siva. The face to the Age of Nachna south is Bhairava. Siva was worshipped Temples. in his auspicious (Siva) form by the Bhāraśivas; the forms at Bhūbharā, and Nakṭī(Khoh) and the one discovered by me (see below) are all of that aspect.2 The Vākātaka Rudrasena I, on the other hand, worshipped that god in the Mahā-Bhairava form (G.I., p. 236). It was interdicted to make Bhairava in the main shrine (na mūlâyatane kāryo Bhairavas tu... Matsya 258. 14). Hence we have his fierce face (tīkshna-nāsâgra-daśanah karālavadano mahān; 258.13) combined with other faces.3 Two more Bhairava-Śivas in the same style are found at Jaso, one on a platform in the village, fashioned in the same red stone as the Bhūbharā sculptures, and another in black stone in the Jaso temple (brought there and deposited from some neighbouring site). The Nachnā temples will go back to the time of Rudrasena I, for Prithivishena worshipped the god in the Maheśvara form (G.I., p. 237). The Parvati temple has the date-palm trunk design in one of its windows.4 This design is prominent at Bhūbharā. R. D. Banerji has pointed out the intimate structural and material affinity between the Parvati and Bhumara temples (Memoir, No. 16, p. 3). Nachnā is nearer Guptan Art and serves as a link between that and Bhūbharā.

New discoveries.

New discoveries.

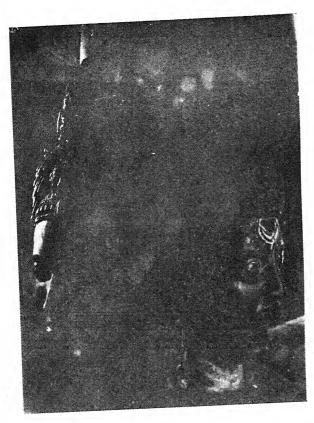
I found a mukhalingam belonging to the same period as the Bhūbharā-Majhgawāň

¹ See Plate X. ² See Plate XI.

⁸ See the two faces reproduced in Plate X. The sanctum is dark but for the windows. With difficulty this photograph was taken.

⁴ See Plate IX.

Vākātaka Šiva.

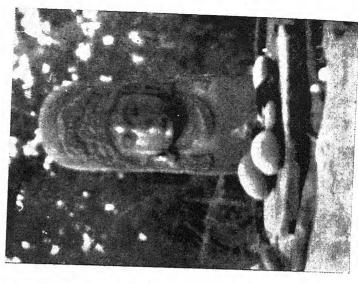


Two faces of
Bhairava=Śiva (Chaturmukha Lingam)
at Nachnā.





Eka=mukha=Lingam—Nakti=ki=talai, Khoh (A. S. W. C., 1919=20).



Bhūbharā Eka=mukha Lingam Śiva [Under tree near the Village]

J. R. O. R. S., 1033.

K. P. J.

Bhūbharā [Bhūmarā] Siva [Bka-mukha Lingam] in the Temple. VOL. XIX. PTS. I-II] APP. (A) ON DUREHĀ, NACHNĀ, ETC. 219

Bhākul dev.¹ Between Ganj and Nachnā I found a square stone temple with a few sculptures on a bāwalī (stepped well) which have exactly the same technique as the Nachnā sculptures. The temple contains a plain lingam. The spot is called Chauparā.

From Lal Saheb of Nagod and other persons I came to learn local traditions about the past dynasties which ruled over Uch-harā, Nachnā, and Nagaudh. The 'Bhars' are said to have been the former rulers of Nagaudh and Nachnā and the Sanyāsins, of Uch-harā. These Sanyāsins are the historical 'Parivrājaka Mahārājas' of the inscriptions, and 'the Bhars' might probably be the Bhāra-Śivas. There is no room in history from the Chandel times or rather from the Gupta times to the present day for a Bhar dynasty. It is possible that Mahārāja Jayanātha and his family who were neighbours of the Parivrājakas were a branch of the Bhāra-Śivas.

There is no Bhar village at Bhūbharā. But I was told by Lal Saheb, who is the adopted son of the late Chief of Nagaudh and knows every inch of the ground, that the Bhars in the State wear sacred thread and have the status of inferior Kshatriyas. They may or may not be connected with the Bhāra-Sivas. I am inclined to regard them as unconnected.

At Bhārahut I heard the tradition that there had been a Telî dynasty there. This probably refers to Tailapa, as in the proverb of 'Gāṅgū and Telî' (Gāṅgeyadeva and Tailapa).

1 See Plate XI. Curiously enough, I found a similar, though later, sculpture at Koch, near Tikari, Gaya, indicating the Bhārasiva influence in Magadha. [The Koch image will be illustrated in a subsequent issue of J.B.O.R.S.]

APPENDIX B.

On Chandravalli Inscription of Mayūraśarman.

The Archæological Survey of Mysore Annual Report, 1929, published in 1931, came to my hands after I had completed the above History. In the Report (p. 50 ff.) Dr. M. H. Krishna has published a new inscription of Mayūraśarman where Mayūraśarman's name clearly appears. This inscription may be compared with the Kadamba inscription of Maļavalli in which I have read Mayūraśarman's name (§ 161). In both records he is 'Mayūraśamman'. In the new record, which is engraved on the embankment of a lake at Chandravalli by the fort of Chitaldrug in three short lines, Dr. Krishna has read certain geographical names as 'Pāriyātrika, Sakasthā[na], Sayindaka, Punāṭa, Mokari'. He has given a photograph of the rock which at places is very indistinct, and he has given a drawing (eye-copy) of the letters. From the photograph I have checked the reading which needs modification.

Dr. Krishna's reading of the first line I fully accept: it is:

(1) Kadambānam Mayūraśammanā [viņimmi]am

The second and third lines he reads as

- (2) taṭākam, dūbha Trekūṭa Abhīra Pallava Pāri-
- (3) yātrika Sakasthā[na] Sayindaka Punāṭa Mokarinā.

And he has translated them as

'(Mayūrasarman) who defeated Trekūta, Abhīra, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Sakasthāna, Sayindaka, Punāta, and Mokari'.

But Mokarinā will mean 'by Mokari', i.e. by Mayūraśarmman a Mokari, Mokarinā qualifying the above Mayūraśarmmanā. Nor can dūbha be taken for 'defeated'. The reading
is obviously not correct. Following the photograph I read
the two lines thus:

[Symbols: between lines 1 and 2 there are symbols of the sun and moon, denoting perpetuity]

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- (2) taṭi[.] Kānchī-Trekūṭa-Ābhīra-Pallava-[pu]rī-
- (3) [yāti]keņa Sātahanīstha-Sendraka-puri-damanakāri[nā].

The three lines will mean:

'Mayūraśarmman, of the Kadambas, who marched against Kāñchī and Trekūta (Trikūta)—the Ābhīra and the Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at ¹Sātahanī, built the embankment '.

The first two capitals were of the Pallavas and the Ābhīras respectively; the order is wrong in the inscription; having mentioned $Trek\bar{u}ta$ the writer put down Ābhīra. The Sendraka seat seems to have been at $S\bar{a}tahan\bar{\imath}$ which name as the name of a province we already know. As the names of capitals are sought to be given, I am more inclined to take this Sātahanī as the name of a town.

In $ta\bar{t}$ the long \bar{t} was seen by Dr. Krishna (p. 54), but he refused to read it, to connect with it the next ka. Dr. Krishna has drawn in his tracing the form pu after Pallava but has read it as pa, with the result that he obtains $P\bar{a}riy\bar{a}trika$. The next letter na he has missed. The supposed ka of his $sakasth\bar{a}na$ is clearly ta; ha and $n\bar{t}$ (the next letters) he has completely missed. Evidently a part of the ligature in Sendraka is taken by him as a part of a y which does not exist. There is an i- or \bar{t} -matra on r (read by Dr. Krishna as $n\bar{a}$ of his $Pun\bar{a}ta$); the suggestion of a straight line to the right at the tail-bend of the letter is no part of the letter which can be clearly seen under a magnifying glass.

It will be seen that Mayūraśarman has not yet assumed any royal title.

The date of the inscription on palæography would be cir. 300 A.D. The late Chalukyan form of r is to be noticed in Sendraka. Dr. Krishna's date (250 A.D.) is influenced by his wrong reading.

We are thankful to Dr. Krishna for bringing the record to light and for deciphering most of the letters, which must have entailed great labour.

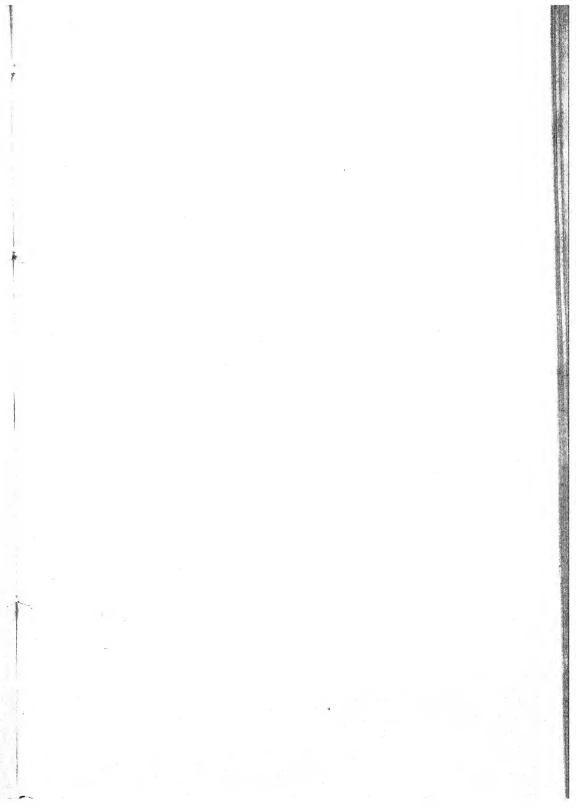
APPENDIX C.

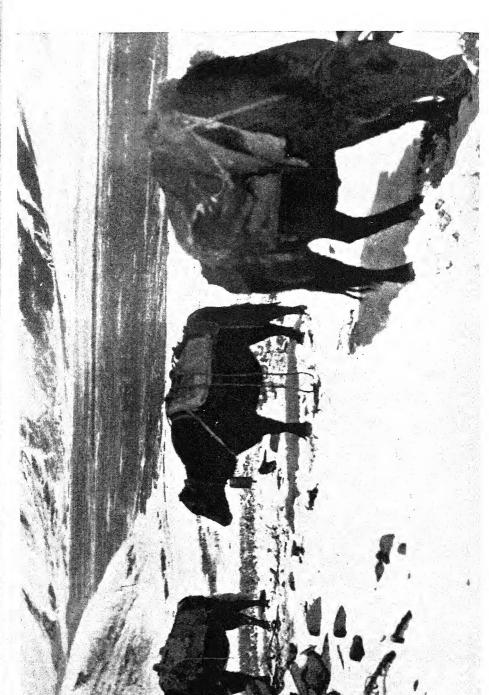
On Chandrasena, and Nāga Marriage.

Chandra-sena (pp. 113, 117): On Chandrasena as a ruler in the district of Gaya see Cunningham, Reports, XVI, 41-42. General Cunningham heard the tradition at Dharāwat [a village near Kauwāḍol] that the king of the place was Chandrasena whose lake Chandra Pokhar measuring 2,000 ft. × 800 ft. is still existing. He is said to have married a fairy. His time was before Guṇamati, the Buddhist scholar (p. 46). Seals in Gupta characters were dug out by Cunningham at Dharāwat.

Nāga marriage and Kalyāṇavarman's marriage (pp. 113, 118): The marriage of Kalyāṇavarman was peculiar in that the young king did not go to Mathurā for his marriage; on the other hand the bride was brought to Pāṭaliputra. This custom of bringing the girl by her parent's party to the bridegroom's house for marriage was a Nāga custom, which has been brought out by Mr. Hira Lal Jain in his edition of the Jaina text the Nāya [=Nāga]-Kumāra-chariu of Pushpadanta, Karanjā Series, 1933 (p. xxvii).

N.B.—Ajantā: I have ascertained now that the correct pronunciation is Ajantā, not Ajantā which I adopted above from Vincent Smith [E.H.I., 442].





On the Lwanl Glacier, October 1930.

II.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(Continued). By the Vice-President.

IV. The Goriganga valley.

The ordinary route to Milam and the Untadhura Pass leaves the Pindari route at the bridge where formerly stood the signpost 'To Tibet', which was mentioned in the account of the route to the Pindar valley. Here instead of crossing the stream the traveller follows it up to its source. The first camping ground is at Shama, at 6,700 feet, on a pleasant spot high up on the hill-side, twelve miles from Kapkot, and fifty-two from Almora. The camping-ground is practically on the watershed; and the next stage is only of six miles, all down-hill to Tejam (3,182), a less pleasant camping ground: but one which cannot easily be cut out in any arrangement for double marches, because a good bania's shop is on the camping-ground, and supplies can be there easily replenished. The downward march is so easy, except for the crossing of the Ramganga, that the journey from Kapkot to Tejam is often taken in one day (as a 'dabl parao'); but Tejam is not a pleasant place in the hot weather months, infested with a peculiarly noisome biting fly; and if any double marches are to be done in these months, it would be worth while to take trouble to cut Tejam out. though in September and October it is pleasant enough. Tejam lies on the northern side of the Ramganga river, where it is joined by the Jakala; and the Ramganga is not bridged, and has to be forded. From the middle of October until the stream is swelled by the melting snows of the lower slopes of Nanda Kot the crossing is made very easy, with a temporary bridge where the water might reach the thighs, and merely involving wet feet for the rest. But in other parts of the year the crossing may be more difficult. Ordinarily in September, and until the monsoon is well-established at the end of June, no undue delay need be apprehended at the ford, where sturdy men from Tejam may be expected to be present to assist the laden coolies

in crossing the stream, which runs strongly, though the water is not cold. In the early part of September of 1931, when Mr. Hugh Rose came here, he had continuous heavy rain; and so had to make a long detour south from Shama to Berinag, where he joined the road leading from Bageswar to Thal, and crossed the Ramganga by the bridge there, ten miles northeast of Berinag, and twelve miles south of Tejam.

Tejam is comparatively low; and the camping ground is small and much frequented, with a bania's shop on one side of it. From here to Munsiari, the gate of the Milam valley, is seventeen miles, of which the first six go due north, up the valley of the Jakala. The track then turns to the east, and a steep climb leads to Girgaon (6,600), nine miles from Tejam, a pleasant camping place on the hill side. From here it is an easy march to Munsiari. The pass is comparatively high for the outer ranges (9,000); as the road rises Cheena and Lariya Kanta stand out prominently on the south-west; at the pass the group of the Panch Chola, less than twenty miles distant, affords a view of startling beauty, if one is so fortunate as to find it unclouded. From the pass an easy descent leads to Munsiari, a comparatively large village which lies at the gate of the Milam valley.

Munsiari is an important village, with a post office and a rest-house which on the map is called the Ranthi rest-house, because that is the revenue mauza in which it lies. The furniture has during many years been allowed to fall into decay; but no grievance can be made of that, since anybody who reaches Munsiari will ordinarily be travelling with tents, and so be independent of bungalow furniture.

The provisions of Regulation V of 1873 have been applied to the area north of Munsiari, which forms the 'inner line' of the Regulation, which the European traveller may not enter without a permit, to be obtained from the Deputy Commissioner of Almora before setting out. If the traveller desires to enter Tibet, obtaining permission may not be so easy; but for the ordinary respectable European resident in India, whose word may be trusted when he says that he will not enter Tibet, the granting of the permit is a mere matter of form. A printed

list of stages and their lengths will probably have been sent by the Government Coolie Agency when application was first made to them. The length of the stages therein given is approximately correct on the route to Phurkiya, and on the Milam route up to Munsiari; but in the lower part of the Milam valley, these stages will be found in practice to be longer than the official distances, which do not take into account the diversions; the steep climbs and long descents where the road, if there ever was a road, has been swept away by avalanches. When Dr. Boeckh made the journey, there was an artificial road, built out from the cliffs, for a short distance; but I doubt whether there has ever been anything like an easy road between Laspa and Martoli. The first official stage after Munsiari is at Lilam, eight miles from Munsiari; but most travellers will push on to Rarar Gar, four miles farther on, since the difficulties of the road have hardly begun at Lilam. Two and a half miles from Lilam, the Ralam river joins the Goriganga, which here takes a sharp turn to the east for a mile or so, turning again to the north where it is joined by the Rarar Gar, which comes in from the left, flowing down from a hill four miles away, 16,755 feet high. Close to the junction of the streams is a camping ground, with a storm-shelter, such as will be found again later on in this valley at Baugdiar and Rilkot, and in the valleys of the tributary glaciers. References to shelters which must have been somewhat of this kind are to be found in the accounts of the earliest European travellers in Bashahr, so that they cannot be a new thing in the Himalaya. They give cramped shelter, with little head-room; but on occasion they may be found extremely useful: and at sight they call to mind similar shelters on approaches to the more frequented Alpine passes, as for instance, the Col de Balme. I do not know when they were first put up in the Goriganga valley and its tributaries; but they must be comparatively modern, because Robert Schlagintweit expressly noted that there were none.

The second official stage from Munsiari is at Baugdiar (8,550), eighteen miles from Munsiari. There is a tolerably good camping ground here, close to the place where the stream which flows from the Poting Glacier enters the Goriganga. But all

the camping grounds on this route are much the same; and if the traveller has camped at Rarar Gar, he will probably go on to Laspa. The valley narrows down, with comparatively great mountains on either side, until we reach the gorge which Dr. Kurt Boeckh compared to the Via mala of the Alps. The comparison is obvious; though this is more of a via mala: the Goriganga may be broader than the stripling Rhine, but the enclosing mountains are higher in proportion. Winter rain and snow has been deficient in the last two years; but there was something over the normal fall in 1929. The avalanches which followed in the via mala and beyond it destroyed the made road; but they brought down such a mass of snow to the Goriganga as to provide a comparatively level road for two miles or so, with the Goriganga roaring underneath, which has not yet perished. I have mentioned how Traill said that Laspa had suffered from excessive snowfall; but in normal conditions Laspa would probably always be cold. The traveller who may go up the valley in the autumn should be prepared to find Laspa as cold as any part of it, and should take precautions accordingly.

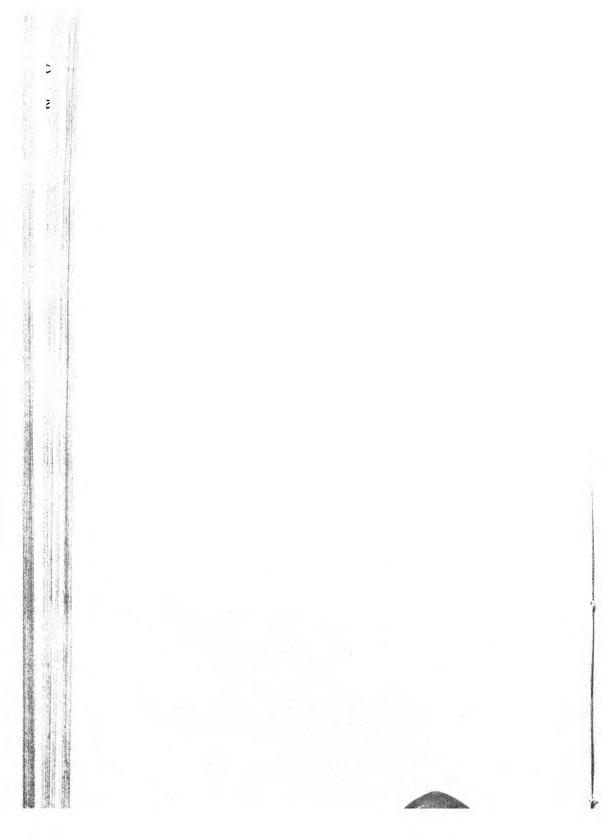
The third official stage from Munsiari is at Rilkot, 103 miles from Almora and twenty-three from Munsiari, where shelters will be found of the kind already described. Three miles beyond, in theory, but double the distance if that actually covered owing to the windings of the track is to be considered, is Martoli (11,070), a considerable village standing on a plateau above the Goriganga, with a singularly beautiful view to the north, of the high mountains beyond Milam. Here the Lwanl stream enters the Goriganga, flowing from the Lwanl Glacier, and fed by tributary glaciers from the south-eastern face of Nanda Devi (24,379), and from 21,624, 20,740, and Nanda Kot.

It was by this valley that Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge with General Wilson, approached Traill's Pass when they made their successful crossing in 1926. The valley, like other high valleys of the Himalaya, is frequented by shepherds in the summer; and the tracks which they have made to ascend it facilitate the approach to the glaciers. Following the right bank from Martoli, a comparatively good track leads to the village of



Nanda Devi from the Lwanl Glacier, October 16th, 1930.

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.



Lwanl. Immediately before Lwanl is reached, the stream which flows out of the Salung Glacier from Nanda Kot has to be In the summer months, this affords no difficulty. because it is bridged; but in the autumn, when the valley is deserted, and the planks of the bridge have been removed, a detour up the Salung Gadh is necessary to find a tolerable ford. When these streams have to be crossed in the autumn, it is better to wade them than to be carried over on a jhibu or by a hardy follower, particularly in the afternoon, if the water is of such depth as to entail the possibility that a drop of it may I have known a frost-bitten toe to follow from enter a boot. a little water's entering a boot at 11,500 feet on a mid-October afternoon. It is not necessary in the autumn to go very high in this country to find the conditions described by Mr. Smythe as prevailing at higher altitudes earlier in the year: to be liable at the same time to sun-stroke from above, and to frost-bite from At that time of year, the valleys of the Goriganga and its affluents are very much colder than the Pindar valley; and it is well to take no risks.

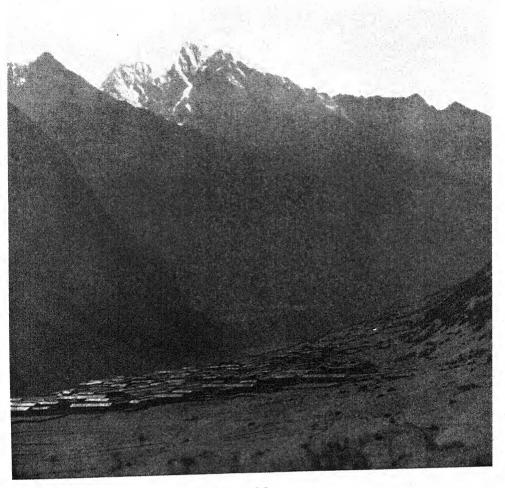
The warmth of the sun is deceptive in the day-time; but when we were in the valley in 1930 we did not realise how deceptive it was; how cold the air really was; and how little one could judge the matter under the sun, until it was too late to ascertain what the temperature really was, because the thermometers had been sent ahead. A bag of clothes had become damp from the slip of a jhibu in crossing the Salung Gadh on the 16th of October. At half-past nine on the following morning at Martoli they were spread out on a stone wall to dry. After ten minutes on the wall, under the sun, which certainly seemed to be hot, they were frozen stiff, to our complete astonishment.

Above the eastern bank of the Salung Gadh, about four miles from Martoli: rather less if the bridge is standing, but considerably more if a ford has to be found, is the little village of Lwanl, the only village of the valley, deserted like the rest of the villages of the upper Goriganga valley from the beginning of October until the end of April, where there is a good camping ground. About a mile above Lwanl the main stream is

crossed, and the shepherds' track on the left bank is followed. Six miles from Lwanl is Narspan Patti (13,200), which will be recognised by an unmistakable landmark, the great overhanging rock which afforded shelter to Adolphe Schlagintweit in his descent from Traill's Pass in 1855. Far below Narspan Patti, a long stretch of avalanche snow, now become ice, covers the main stream of the Lwanl Gadh, which emerges from the ice in such a manner that one might well be deceived into imagining that this is the snout of the Lwanl Glacier, particularly since the ice-cave is at about the height at which the snout would be naturally expected to occur. But the appearance is deceptive; whatever the reason may be, the snout of the Lwanl Glacier is exceptionally high for this area, and the Lwanl Gadh will be found to be flowing, a broad, shallow, cold stream, far above Narspan Patti. The last of the shelters, of the kind which has been described, will be found a mile and a half beyond Narspan Patti; the broad and shallow glacier stream must be crossed to reach it; and the snout of the glacier is about half a mile above it.

Dr. Longstaff, accompanied by Alexis and Henri Brocherel of Courmayeur, came to Narspan Patti on the 6th of June, 1905. He ascended on the 7th as far as the snout of the northern glacier which flows into the Lwanl from Nanda Devi, and leaving his coolies behind, camped at 17,400 feet with the two guides. On the next day he reached 19,350 feet on the southern spur of the eastern peak of Nanda Devi; but on the 9th, after ascending to over 20,000 feet, he abandoned the attempt to climb the mountain. It appeared to be clear that to continue the attempt would mean at least two more nights in the snow; and to be extremely doubtful whether the ascent was practicable, owing to the steepness of the ridge and the imminent danger of avalanches. Dr. Longstaff accordingly came down and returned to Narspan Patti.

On the 10th of June he crossed the glacier stream by a snow bridge, and climbed towards Nanda Kot. He camped at 16,550 feet, whence he sent his coolies back to the Lwanl Glacier. On the 11th the climbers set out at 3-45 a.m. They reached the north-eastern ridge of Nanda Kot at 20,000 feet at



Milam Village

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

8-45 a.m. and proceeded to climb it. They ascended the ridge to over 21,000 feet; but as the ridge became steeper and narrower the snow became worse, and the danger of starting an avalanche made it impossible to proceed, so this attempt also was abandoned.

Dr. Longstaff then decided to see what might be done by way of the Salung Glacier, whose outfall flows into the Lwanl stream just below Lwanl village, and to try to cross by the head of the Salung to the Poting Glacier, which flows from the south-eastern ridge of Nanda Kot, the source of the stream which joins the Goriganga at Baugdiar. He sent his main camp to Baugdiar, taking light equipment up the Salung valley. On the 17th of June, he camped on the glacier at 15,600. On the 18th, he started at 3 a.m., reached the head of the glacier at 8 a.m., and crossed to the Poting. He remarks that Nanda Kot from the pass looked magnificent but impracticable; but the pass at the head of the Poting valley to the Pindari Glacier looked as if it were practicable. The descent from the head of the Poting Glacier to the lower valley was found to be difficult.

According to the official list of stages, Milam is only thirty miles from Munsiari, and only seven miles from Rilkot. Milam is actually about eight miles from Martoli; and it would be well to work on the assumption that from Martoli to Munsiari is something over thirty miles, probably thirty-two. From Martoli onwards the route is easier. There are tracks on both sides of the river; the track on the right bank, the Martoli side, is for some reason more used than the other, though it is the worse of the two. The late traveller, unless he wishes to explore the Panchu valley, will do well to cross the Goriganga by the bridge which leads to Burphu, a little village which stands out prominently on the left bank. Milam stands on a peninsula where the Goriganga, flowing down from the complicated glacier system of the Untadhura valley and from glaciers to the north-west, joins the Milam Glacier stream: and one or other of the rivers must be crossed. Over the Goriganga

¹ A.J., XXIII, No. 172, August, 1906.

there is a bridge so constructed that it cannot be dismantled, and so high above the river that it is safe. On the Milam stream there is a bridge which is removed as soon as Milam is deserted, so that the early or late traveller will have to wade. The stream is only thigh deep; but it runs strong, and the temperature of the water, a little below where it has emerged from the snout of the glacier is about 36°F, a temperature which is apt to be paralysing unless one is quick; and there the timid follower becomes a cause of danger.

Another reason for taking the left bank, which will naturally weigh with many visitors to Milam, is that baral are to be found in the valleys on that side, and more rarely on the other. But if any exploration of the Panchu valley is contemplated, the right bank must be followed. Opposite Panchu, which is five miles from Martoli, if cloud should be absent, there will be a sudden and startling view of Nanda Devi in all her glory, ten miles distant, beautiful beyond anything that has hitherto been seen, unless the Lwanl valley has been ascended. She looks near; but the appearance is deceptive. Dr. Longstaff explored the Panchu valley in 1905 with his two guides; but he found nothing at the head of it which indicated that an approach to Nanda Devi was to be found by this route. On the 31st of May, he bivouacked on the right lateral moraine at 14,600 feet, whence he climbed to the head of the glacier at 18,000, and there, turning to the left, he descended to the Lwanl Glacier, to which he subsequently returned, to make the gallant but unsuccessful attempt on Nanda Devi which has been already described. On the Lwanl Glacier he kept to the left bank, and followed the track to Mapa (midway between Martoli and Panchu), which is shown on the survey map as the end of the road which begins at Almora and leads to Phurkiya, crosses the head of the Pindari Glacier by Traill's Pass, descends the Lwanl Glacier, and ends at Mapa.

Milam (11,250) is the highest inhabited village of this valley. It stands on the left bank of the considerable stream which flows from the Milam Glacier on a peninsula made by the other branch of the Goriganga as it flows down from the mass of glaciers which lead to the Untadhura Pass, and from other

glaciers farther west, leading to the old traditional Johar Pass. It has a Post Office in the summer, which is closed when the village is abandoned at the beginning of October, with a postmaster of an exceptional kind (which indeed would be necessary in such a station), who regulates the village, and facilitates arrangements for the rare European traveller when he desires to go farther, when the means of transport must be changed. Captain Bain-Smith, while greatly appreciating the work of the postmaster, whom he admires for his efficiency in general, has suggested to me that the village postman of Milam deserves also to be regarded as something out of the ordinary, since he has on occasion crossed what is ordinarily regarded as a difficult mountaineer's pass to deliver an unstamped postcard.

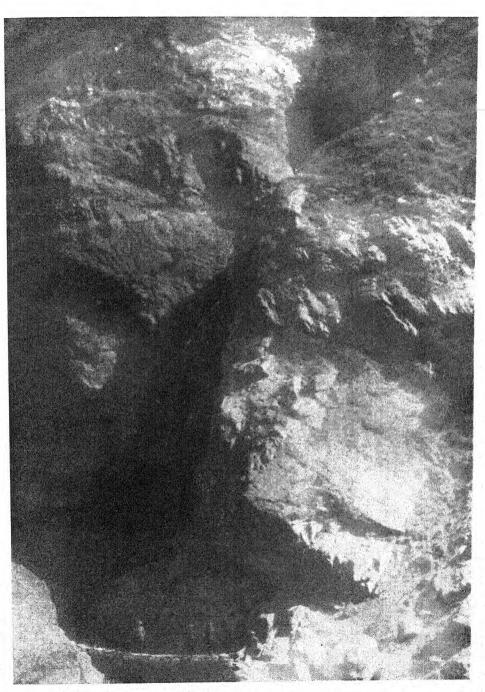
The glacier is contained by the north-eastern spur of the Nanda Devi massif which, always high on the western side of the glacier, with peaks of 21,772 and 22,940 feet, rises to 23,220 towards the north. Here it bends round to the south-east, rising to 22,400 before it falls gradually to about 15,000 feet above Milam itself. The main glacier flows for eleven miles from the slopes of 23,220 to the snout, two miles above Milam, fed by five large glaciers from the Nanda Devi side, and by at least three from the east. The moraines are steep and shaly; baral are to be found on them and on the hills about Milam; and the sportsman in search of game, and any traveller whose time is limited, may well make Milam his base, lest time which might be more profitably spent should be taken in merely travelling from one camp to the next.

The glacier affords large opportunities of exploration to the mountaineer who may seek to find a pass to the north, or a route to the Nanda Devi basin by one of the tributary glaciers of the right bank. Dr. Kurt Boeckh attempted vainly to ascend one of the tributary glaciers, in the hope of entering the Nanda Devi basin, and of reaching the Ganges valley on the other side after crossing it. His attempt failed at the outset, because his coolies, casually picked up as he went along, sensibly declined to follow him. Indeed, his scheme, as he conceived it, was not practicable; and the late Arnold

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Mumm remarked in his Five Months in the Himalaya, that if they had been able to reach the summit ridge, the party might have been able to descend into the great basin surrounding Nanda Devi, but a party consisting mainly of loaded coolies would probably not have been able to get out of it again, except by the way they came.

I have mentioned how, from the first week of October until the end of April, all the villages of the Goriganga valley and its tributaries are deserted, and the planks of the bridges are removed, lest they should be swept away by avalanche or Indeed, a journey up the valley at the beginning of October, is made difficult by the fact that the travellers have to go up against the exodus of the whole population, with their cattle, sheep and goats, which on that rough and narrow track. makes the upward journey hard. At Milam on the 6th of October, 1930, the solitary inhabitant was a trapper who had stayed behind to catch marmots and foxes; and a fortnight later the whole valley was deserted, except at Baugdiar, where it was apparent that somebody had stayed behind, from the newly-set traps which were lying about the paths. Traill tells us that on one occasion while he was Commissioner, Milam was plundered by a band of Tibetans during the periodical absence of its inhabitants; but ordinarily anything which the population may leave behind them during the winter is sufficiently protected by the difficulty of access to the place at that period.



Crossing the Doongnala (Goriganga) at Milam.

III.—Pāli Plate of Gôvindachandra of Kanauj 1171 V.S.

By A. C. Banerji, M.A., Calcutta.

This is a single copperplate inscribed on one side, measuring 1'5" by 1'1" containing eighteen lines of writing. At the bottom of the plate there is a hole for the seal; but both the seal and the concluding portion of the grant are missing. The record therefore abruptly ends with the words Bhādrapadē māsi.

This copperplate comes from the village of Pāli in the pargana Dhuriarpur of the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces. It was presented to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, by Mr. Hoey, then Magistrate of Gorakhpur.¹ It was noticed for the first time by the late Prof. Kielhorn²; it has also been noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his Lists of Inscriptions of Northern India (No. 186). Two copies of impressions of this plate were found together with those of Don Buzurg plates of the same king, among the papers of my father (the late R. D. Banerji), and it is being edited from them.

This is a land grant of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gôvindachandradēva of Kanauj. It records the grant of the village of Pāli and others in the Saruvārāonavala pathaka of Sirasī pattala, to certain person (the name of the donee and the concluding portion of the gift are lost).

The characters of the inscription are North Indian script of the early Mediæval period commonly known as the Nāgari script. The language is pure Sanskrit, and the extant portion is written partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards orthography we might note that $\pm a$ is always expressed by $\pm a$. Another characteristic of this grant is that certain portions which occur in other charters are omitted here. Thus in line 13 of this inscription, after the imperial epithets of the

¹ Catalogue of Archeological Exhibits, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, Pt. I, p. 113, No. E. 15.

² E.I., V, p. 114, fn. 4.

donor and before his name the words aśvapati gajapati vāchaspati which occur for example in the Kamauli grants are omitted here.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the earliest grant of Gôvindachandradēva (as king) so far known. Three other grants, dated in 1161, 1162, 1166, were issued during the reign of his father Madanapāladēva, and Gôvindachandra is distinctly mentioned there as Mahārājaputra.¹ Up till now the Kamauli grant of the same year issued in Kārttikamāsa was considered the earliest²; but this record, issued as it was in the month of Bhādrapada, antedates the former by a month. The village granted is to be identified with the village of the same name in the Gorakhpur district, but the other place names cannot be identified.

A historical outline of Gôvindachandra's reign will not be out of place here. Mahārājādhirāja Gôvindachandradēva was undoubtedly the greatest monarch of his dynasty. Quite a large number of his land grants has been discovered. While still a crown prince he is credited with having defeated the Turushkas many times, and in one of which he was able to save the sacred city of Benares from the vandalism of the barbarians. The Maner, Lar, and Saheth-Maheth copperplates prove that in the east Gôvindachandra's dominions extended up to Magadha if not to parts of Bengal proper. The Maner plates of V.S. 1183 record the grant of the villages of Gunave and Padalī in the Maniārapattala to a Brāhmaṇa named Gaņēśvaraśarmaņ.3 While the Lār plates show that in V.S. 1202 his empire extended up to Munghyr.4 The Saheth-Maheth plates not only confirm our supposition that Magadha was included within Gāhaḍavāla dominions, but have also enabled the scholars to correctly identify the position of the ancient city of Śrāvastī. The extension of the dominion of Kanauj kings over Magadha does not seem to be improbable if we remember the political condition of eastern India at this time. empire of the Palas, like many other empires of Indian history,

¹ I.A., XIV, p. 103; E.I., II, p. 359; I.A., XVIII, p. 15.

² E.I., IV, pp. 101 ff. b. ⁴ E.I., VII, pp. 98 ff.

³ J.A.S.B., XVIII (N.S.), pp. 81-4.

had disappeared after a short revival by Rāmapāla; and in the first quarter of the twelfth century, when the Senas were trying to establish themselves in lower Bengal, and the Pāla roi faineants trying to maintain their lost glory, the neighbouring province of Magadha lay at the mercy of any ambitious North Indian sovereign who chose to lead a few thousand men into it. Such was the degeneration of a country, whose conquering legions had once defeated the proud Greeks under Seleukosh and established an empire from the foothills of the Hindukush to the Krishna on south. No Pushyamitra, no Samudragupta, arose once more to revive the fallen fortunes of Imperial Magadha. A half-finished inscription (probably of the time of Gôvindachandra) found in Gangāikôndachôlapuram proves some sort of intercourse between Kanauj and the distant southern capital. What is exactly the import of the record we do not know, therefore it is rash to arrive at any new conclusion like Mr. Sur. 1 The remarks of late Mr. Venkkaya who drew our attention to this inscription for the first time are quoted below. "Before closing the section dealing with the Gāhadvālas, it is necessary to refer to a damaged and incomplete inscription of the dynasty found as far south as Gangāikôndachôlapuram the ancient Chôla capital, in the Trichinapalli district of the Madras Presidency. The inscription forms a part of the record of the forty-first year of the reign of the Chôla Emperor Kulôttunga I, corresponding to 1110-11 A.D.; and thus belongs to the interval between the latest known date of Madanapāla and the earliest of Gôvindachandra. For some reason or other the proposed grant was not made, or was not engraved in full on the stone. But what is actually found on the stone may be taken to show that some sort of relationship or connection existed between the Gahadvalas of Kanauj and the Chôlas of Tanjore. There is also some reason to suppose that the Gāhadvālas might have introduced the worship of the Sun into the Chôla country."2

¹ Indian Historical Quarterly, 1930, pp. 56 ff.

² A.R.A.S.I., 1907-8, p. 228. A short transcription of it appeared in *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 175.

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It is not in war alone that Gôvindachandra distinguished himself. Religion, charity, and learning found an ideal patron in him. In many of his records he is described as *vividhavichāra-vidyā-vāchaspati*. Lakshmīdhara the famous author of *Vyavahāra-kalpataru* was his *Sāndhivigrahika*. On his death Gôvindachandra was succeeded by Vijayachandra.

TEXT.

- 1. Ôm ¹ svasti || (a)Akunthôtkantha-vaikuntha-kantha-pītha-luthat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa sriyaḥ śrē-yasē=stu vaḥ || (b)Āsīd=asīta²-dyuti-vansa³jā-
- 2. ta-kshmāpāla-mālāsu divan=gatāsu 4 | sākshād=viva-svān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yasôvigrahaity=udāraḥ || (a)Ta-t-sutô=bhūn Mahīchamdras=chandra-dhāma-
- 3. nibhamnijam | yēn=āpāram=akupārapārē vyāpāritam yasa h^5 || $^{(c)}$ Tasy=ābhut=tanayô nay-āika-rasikah krāntadvishan-mandalô vidhvast-ôddhata-dhīta(ra)-yô-
- 4. -dha-timiraḥ Śrī-Chandradēvô nṛipaḥ | yēn=ôdāratarapratāpa-samit-āsēsha-prajôpadravam śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam=asaman=dôr-vvikramēņ=ārjjitam ||
- 5. (d)Tīrthāni-kāsi-kusik-ôttarakôsal-Ēndrasthānīya-kāni paripālayat=ābhigamyā | hemātma-tulyam-anisan dadatā dvijēbhyô yēn=āṅki-
- 6. tā vasumatī satasas=tulābhiḥ || Tasy-ātmajô Madanapāla iti-kshitīndra-chuḍāmaṇir-vvijayatē nija-gôtra chaṁdraḥ | yasy-ābhishe[ka]-kalasô-lla-
- 7. sitaiḥ payôbhiḥ prakshālitam kali-rajaḥ-paṭalam dhari-tryāḥ || (c) Yasy-āsīd-vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅgāchal-ôch-chais-chalan-mādyat kumbhi-pada-kramāsama-bhara bhra-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

⁽a) Metre: Anushtubha.

⁽b) Metre: Indravajra.

² Read asita.

⁸ Read vamsa-.

⁴ Read divam-gatāsu.

⁵ Read yasah.

⁽c) Metre: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

⁽d) Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- 8. syan=mahī maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tālugalitastyān-asrig-udbhāsitaḥ Sēshaḥ pēsha-chusād¹=iva kshanamasau krôḍē-nilin-ānanaḥ || (e)Tasmād=ajā-
- 9. yata nij-āyata-vāhuvallī vamddh-āvaruddha navarājya-gaja-narēndraḥ | sandr-āmrita-dravamucham prabhavô gāvam yô Gôvindachandra-iti-chandra iv=āmbu rāsēh \parallel
- 10. Na '∫'katham-apy=ālabhanta raṇa-kshamāṁs=tisṛi-shu dikshu gajān-atha Vajṛinaḥ | kakubhi cha bhramur-Abhramuvallabha²-pratibhaṭā-iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ ∥ Sô=yam sa-
- 11. masta rāja-chakra samsēvita charaṇaḥ sa cha para-ma-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsvara-paramamāhēsvara-nijabhujôpārjjita-Śrī Kanyaku-³
- 12. bjādhipatya-Śrī Chamdradēva pādānudhyāta paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja-paramēsvara paramamāhēsvara Śrīmad-Madanapāladēva-pādānudhyā-
- 13. ta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja paramēsvara-paramamāhēsvara Śrīmad-Gôvindachandradēvô vijayī \parallel Saruvārāôṇavala pathaka Si-
- 14. rasī pattal-āyām Pāligrāma-prabhritigrāmēshu dattaḥ parinishth-āya mayā....bdi hala-trimsad⁴=ankē hala 30 tad-ētēshu grāmēshu
- 15. nivāsina-nikhila-janapadān-upagatān = api-cha rājarājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purôhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāndāgārik-āksha-
- 16. patalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-patṭanākarasthānagôkulādhikāri-purushān sam-ājñāpa-yati-bôdhayaty=ādisa-

¹ Read vasād.

⁽e) Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁽f) Metre: Drutavilambitam.

² Read bhramer=abhramavallabha.

³ Read Kānyakubja.

The other inscriptions have asvapati gajapati......vāchaspati before Srimad, cf. E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 101 ff.

⁴ Read trimsad.

- 17. ti¹ cha yathā-viditam≡astu bhavatām yath-ôparilikhita-grāma sa-jala-sthala sa-loha-lavaṇ-ākara sa-madhūkachūta-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yū-
- 18. ti-gochara-paryanta sa-sīma-paryanta chatur-āghaṭa-visuddha² sa-gartt-ôshara ēka-saptaty=ādhika-sat-aikā-dasa³-saṃvatsarē Bhādrapadē māsi.....

¹ Read ādiśati.

² Read viśuddhah.

³ Read śat-aikā-daśa.

Pali Plate of Govindachandradeva of V. S. 1171.

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, November 6th, 1932.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on April 24th, 1932.
- 2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months April to September, 1932.

Resolved that to enable the Society to settle arrears incurred in connexion with the printing of its Journal the Hon'ble the Minister of Education be requested to assist the Society with the sum of Rs. 1,000 from his discretionary grant.

3. Resolved that the following periodicals be put on the Society's exchange list:—

Orientalia-Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma.

Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.

The Journal of the University of Bombay.

Resolved further that the Editors of 'Weiner Beitrage' be requested to send specimen copies of their periodical for consideration.

Resolved further that the Council regrets that it is unable to place the following periodicals on its exchange list:—

Federated India, Madras.

The Assam Research Society.

Rajwade Sansodhak Mandal, Dhulia.

Saqui, Secunderabad.

4. Elected the following new members:-

Vasudeva Sharan Agarwala, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Curator, Curzon Museum, Muttra.

Sri Ram Sharma, Esq., M.A., Professor of History, D.A.V. College, Lahore.

Motishanker S. Desai, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot.

Hira Lal, Esq., Digha Kothi, Patna.

Vidyasagar Sadasiva Bakhle, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Satara City.

Sivanandana Thakur, Esq., M.A., Head Pandit, Patna High School, Patna.

Ram Shankar Tripathi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. (London), Benares Hindu University, Benares.

5. Wrote off the arrears of subscription due from the following members who are now dead:—

Phanindranath Bose, Esq., Nalanda .. Rs. 24.

Jagannath Das, Esq., Benares .. Rs. 10.

Siveswara Dayal, Esq., Patna .. Rs. 12.

Sahadevanarain Pandey, Bhagalpur .. Rs. 60.

6. Resolved that the following bills for the June issue and that the bills for the September-December issue of the Journal be paid:—

Bill No.			Date.		Ame	oun	t.
					Rs.	A.	P.
3572	· · · · · ·		12-7-32	 	822	6	6
3573	V		,,	 	76	0	0
3574			,,,	 	6	-4	0
3575			59	 	14	4	0
3576	• • •		,,	 	8	4	0
3577			**	 	8	4	0
3578		1.1	**	 	2	4	0
3579			,,,	 	2	4	0
3580			,,	 	12	4	0
3581	1.0		,,	 4	74	12	0
3582			,,	 	10	4	0
3583	c- •(•		2)		3	0	0

TOTAL .. 1,040 2 6

7. Read a letter, dated November 5th, 1932, from the Local Secretary of the Indian Science Congress requesting permission to use materials published in the Society's Journal for the preparation of the Congress' handbook.

Resolved that permission be granted.

8. Resolved that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal be granted permission to take at his own cost extra reprints of his article 'The History of India from 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.'

J. L. HILL,

9th November, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 5th of February, 1933.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the Chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on November 6th, 1932.
- 2. Passed the monthly accounts from October to December, 1932.

Resolved on a motion of the Chair that the thanks of the Council be conveyed to Babu Hira Lal for his generous donation of Rs. 320.

Resolved further that this amount be appropriated to the uses of the Society's Journal.

3. Considered the advisability of placing Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara and Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly on the Society's exchange list.

Resolved that the former be put on the exchange list, but that the Council regretted its inability to place the latter on its exchange list.

4. Elected the following new members:—

Mr. Lakshmi Narayana Singh, Patna.

Mr. S. Banerji, Fyzabad.

Prof. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

- 5. Read and considered the following letters:—
- (1) Letter No. 26 R.S./1, dated the 30th October, 1932, from the United Press, Patna.
- (2) Letter, dated the 9th November, 1932, from the Patna Publishing and Agency Co., Patna.

- (3) Letter, dated the 9th January, 1933, from the Calcutta Oriental Press.
- 6. Resolved that, subject to the convenience of His Excellency the President, the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held on March 23rd, 1933.

Resolved further that Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, Director-General of Archæology, be requested to deliver the address at the Annual General Meeting.

- 7. Resolved that bills Nos. 6918 and 6851 from the Indian Photo Engraving Co., Calcutta, be paid.
- 8. Wrote off arrears of subscription due from Mr. A. B. Petter.

J. L. HILL,

7th February, 1933.

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on Sunday the 19th March, 1933, at 8-30 a.m.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the Chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 5th February, 1933.
- 2. Passed the monthly accounts for January and February, 1933.

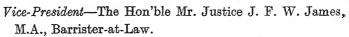
Resolved that the Rs. 1,890-3-3 placed on fixed deposit and now falling due be reinvested.

Resolved that the Rs. 1,000 placed on fixed deposit and now falling due be deposited in the Current Account.

- Elected the following new members:—
 Mr. Ganga Shankar Mishra, M.A., Benares.
 Rai Bahadur Ambujaksha Sarkar, B.L., Purulia.
- 4. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting.
- 5. Passed the Agenda paper for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that Mr. P. C. Manuk be asked to propose the following names for election as office-bearers and Council members for the year 1933-34:—

President—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.



Secretary-Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint-Secretary-Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer-Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian-Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :-

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

6. Read Circular letter of the VII Indian Oriental Conference.

J. L. HILL,

21st March, 1933.

Honorary General Secretary.



Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 23rd March, 1933, in the Patna University Library Hall, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., presiding.

1. On the motion of Mr. P. C. Manuk, the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1933-34:—

President—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer-Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian-Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :-

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Faweus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

- 2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1932-33, which was taken as read.
- 3. The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.
- 4. His Excellency, the President, introduced Professor Pour-E-Daud of Santiniketan, Bengal, who delivered a very interesting lecture on the subject:—

'The Mithra Cult'.

5. Mr. G. E. Fawcus proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. L. HILL,

24th March, 1933.

Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Report for 1932-33 of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1931, was 171. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost six of its ordinary members by death and one by resignation. It also lost three subscribers to the Journal. On the other hand the names of seven new members to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1932, was accordingly 168. Among the life members the name of a new member was added. Among the honorary members there were two deaths. Thus the number of honorary members and life members on the roll on the 31st December, 1932, was 10 and 16 respectively, making a grand total of 194.

The grant made annually to the Society has been considerably reduced with the consequence that fewer books have been purchased for the Library. The Society's Journal has also felt this loss to its income though its effects have been fortunately lessened by the generous donations of Babu Hira Lal and Khan Bahadur Syed Muhammad Ismail. The Minister of Education also assisted the Society with Rs. 250 from his discretionary grant.

II. JOURNAL.

During the period under review Volume XVIII (Parts 1, 2, and 3-4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 399 pages, 22 plates, and one map.

Parts 1-2 of Volume XIX are in the Baptist Mission Press. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1932.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 17th March, 1932, in the Council room of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the

transaction of the formal business, the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a Garden Party, at which the Society was at home to its visitors in the Museum grounds.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 24th April and 6th November, 1932, and 5th February, 1933.

IV. LIBBARY.

During the year 282 books (371 volumes), of which 17 were Sanskrit, 2 Pali, 20 Hindi, 8 Urdu, and 7 Bengali works, were added to the Library. Of this total 80 were presented, while 173 were obtained by exchange and 129 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1932, the Library contained 6,126 volumes as compared with 5,755 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 282-10-7 was spent on books during the financial year up to February, 1933.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was employed in the Darbhanga district and catalogued 561 manuscripts from March, 1932 to January, 1933. He was on privilege leave from 10th June to the 27th August, 1932. From 15th April to 4th June, 1932, he was employed at Headquarters to help the Editor in writing out Introduction to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts. The Oriya Pandit's services terminated on the 10th March, 1932.

VI. GENERAL.

The following were added to our exchange list:-

- 'Bombay University Magazine', Bombay.
- 'The Hindustany Academy', Allahabad.
- 'Pontificio Instituto Biblico', Rome.
- 'Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara', Madras.
- 'Government Epigraphist for India', Ootacamond.

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ANNUAL REPORT.

[J.B.O.R.S.

VII. ACCOUNTS.

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

J. L. HILL,

7th March, 1933.

Honorary General Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1932, to February, 1933, of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

- A. The actuals for 1931-32 showed a closing balance of Rs. 1,961-5-5 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 8,872-7-3 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 10,833-12-8 at the end of 1931-32.
- B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February, 1933, the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,749-8-1. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 5,861-15-1 which gives a total of Rs. 7,611-7-2.
- C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1933, amounted to Rs. 1,800-4-0, up to the 29th February, 1932, the realised amount was Rs. 1,282-1-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,600.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 691-9-0 up to the end of February, 1933. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,405-0-1.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 124-12-3 up to February, 1933.

20th March, 1933.

S. BAHADUR, Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28, 1933.

INCOME			EXI	Expenditure.	£
	Actuals.	Kevised Budget.		Actuals.	Kevisea Budget.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	,af	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Subscriptions	1,800 4 0	1,600 0 0	Establishment	1,120 9 0	1,248 0 0
Sale of Journal	691 9 0	800 0			56 4 0
Miscellaneous (a)	6,480 1 3		Mithila Pandit	1,138 13 5	1,423 8 0
Postage Recovered	8 11 0	20 0 0			0 0 29
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila			Oriya Pandit		Ó
Manuscript	:	25 0 0	Telephone		0
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report		20 0 0	Printing Charges		0 9 609'9
Government Grant	4,803 0 0	4,553 0 0	Postage		0
			Stationery		0
Opening Balance:			Library	509 7 5	-1
Hathwa Fund	463 0 1	1,651 6 114	Electrical Charges		:::
Darbhanga Fund	74 3 114	3,452 7 10	Out of Hathwa Fund		::
Mayurbhanj Fund	434 2 51	1,632 14 84	Out of Darbhanga Fund		2,025 0 0
General Balance	989 14 11	4,096 15 2	Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	283 2 7	1,000 0 0
Interest on F.D		100 0 0	Furniture	******	:::
			Miscellaneous (a)	3,113 5 4	200 0 0
			TOTAL	13,995 13 7	13,978 15 6
			Closing Balance (b)	1,749 8 1	4,002 13 2
GRAND TOTAL	15,745 5 8	17,981 12 8	GRAND TOTAL	15,745 5 8	17,981 12 8
			(a) This includes Rs. 2.971-7-10 sent to Allahabad Rank in	971-7-10 sent to Alla	hahad Bank in

(a) This includes Rs. 6,107-0-3 received from Allahabad Fixed Deposit.

(a) This includes Rs. 2,971-7-10 sent to Allahabad Bank in Fixed Deposit.

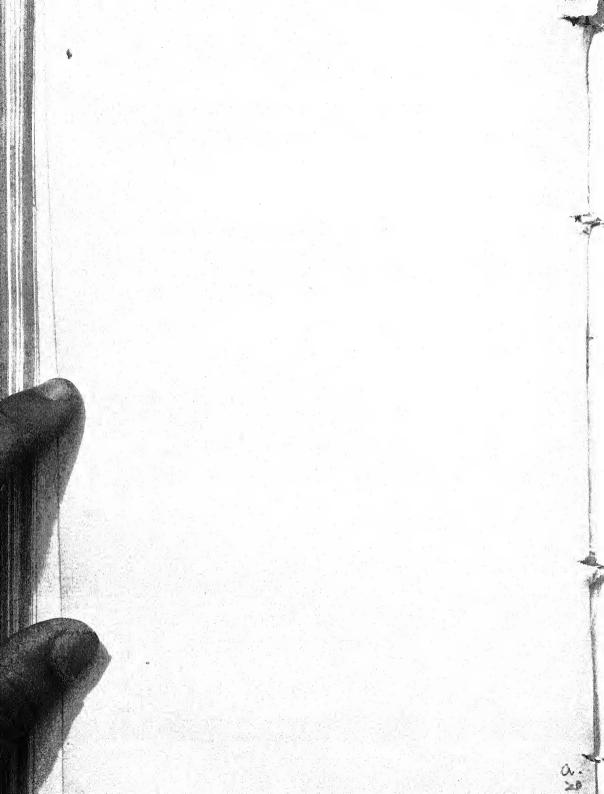
(b) Closing Balance Current Account:— Hathwa Fund Darbhanga Fund Mayurbhani Fund General Balance GRAND TOTAL GRAND TOTAL GRAND TOTAL GRAND TOTAL Total 7 2									
::::::		Þ.			*	Ť	-	-	2
::::::		A	,		12	Ξ	∞	15	7
::::::		Rs			715	1,033	1,749	5,861	7.611
(b) Closing Balance Current Account:— Hathwa Fund Darbhanga Fund General Balance GRAND TOTAL GRAND TOTAL GRAND TOTAL			:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(b) Closing Balance Current Hathwa Fund Darbhanga Fund Mayurbhanj Fund General Balance GRAND TOTAL Fixed Deposit GRAND TOTAL	Account :-		:	:	:	:	:	:	:
	(b) Closing Balance Current		Hathwa Fund	Darbhanga Fund	Mayurbhanj Fund	General Balance	GRAND TOTAL	Fixed Deposit	GRAND TOTAL

S. Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer.

20th March, 1933.

Transliteration of the Devanāgarī Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgari.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
ख	a	a	t
बा	ā	च य	th
*	i	दं	d ,
*	ī	घ	dh
ਭ	u	न	n
<u>জ</u>	ū	प	\mathbf{p}
耙	ŗ or ŗi	पा	\mathbf{ph}
प ृह	ŗ or ŗī	ब	b
硬	ļ	भ	bh
₹	1	म	\mathbf{m}
र	е	य	У
र्	ai	₹	r
खो	0	स	1
ब्रो	au	व	V
क	k	म	ś
ख	kh	ষ	s or s
ग	g	स	8
घ	gh	ह	\mathbf{h}
ङ	ń	ल	1
च	ch	\cdot (Anusvāra)	$\dot{\mathbf{m}}$
e	chh	¹ (Anunāśika)	$ m \ddot{m}$
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ķ
अ त	jh	*	
অ	ñ	\times (Jihvāmūlīya)	þ
ट य	ţ) ((Upadhmānīya)	h
ਰ ਨੂੰ	th	s (Avagraha)	ř
ड	d	Udātta	
ढ	фh	Svarita	^
या	ņ	Anudātt a	'_



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- The Rigvedānukramaņī of Mādhavabhatṭa, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, University of Madras.
- 4. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (collected till 1923) and outlines of Political History by Robert Sewell, edited by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University of Madras.
- 5. Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India, by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, University of Madras.
- 6. The Mauryan Polity by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, University of Madras.
- 7. The Chronology of the Early Tamils, by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, University of Madras.
- 8. Brahmanical Gods in Burma, by Nihar Ranjan Ray, Calcutta.
- 9. Studies in Indian Antiquities, by Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University.
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- 11. An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, by Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, Oxford University Press.
- 12. A Primer of Indian Logic, by MM. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, I.E.S., Varadachari & Co., Madras.
- 13. Vibhramaviveka of Mandana Miśra, edited by T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- 14. India's Outlook on Life, by J. C. Chatterji, Kailasa Press, New York.
- 15. Inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Central Provinces Government.
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[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.-Mithra-Cult.

By Professor Poure-Davoud.

DERIVATION OF THE WORD MITHRA.

In Avesta, the Zoroastrian scriptures and in the inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings in Fourth Century B.C., Meher occurs as Mithra, and in Sanskrit as Mitra. In Pahlavi the language before the Arab invasion it became Mitr. At present in Persian language, we speak of it as Meher, and intend to convey by it various meanings, such as, promise, oath, mercy, the sun, etc.

We find many names of historic personages, and of the cities and places of ancient Persia coupled with the word Meher in the books of the Persian and Arab historians and geographers of the middle centuries. In the Old Testament, the 8th para. of the first chapter of the book of Ezra, informs us, that the treasurer of Cyrus the Great, was one Mithra-Dat. Since Mithra is one of the angels of the Zoroastrian faith, and occupies a prominent place, many of the fire-temples of the olden times were named after him.

At present also, the Zoroastrians call their place of worship Dar-e-Meher. In the dictionaries we find that Meher is a golden ornament which is mounted on the top of an umbrella. flagstaff or tentpole. We can correctly point to all the meanings and we can trace the source of every one of them in Avesta and history. In medical science also Mithridatisme is popular. It is to be taken in small doses at first which is to be increased gradually, so that the body may get accustomed to it and the system may be immunized against poison. The description current in the European medical science reminds us of the Mithra of the Persians. It is related that the powerful rival of Rome Meherdad the Great of Pontus (on the shores of the Black Sea), who reigned from 123 to 63 B.C., used to take 'Mithradatisme' in small doses in order to be immunized against the effects of poison which might be administered to him through the intrigues of his enemies. Most of the orientalists have defined the original meaning of Mithra as envoy or mediator.

The word Maēthanyā which is much used in Avesta means home. The modern Persian word Mayhan is iden-مهمان Maehman of ميهان Maehman of Mehman is also derived from this root, the Avesta form of which is Maēthman. The German scholar, Justi, taking Mithra to mean envoy considers it as the means and agency of the originator of light or the eternal light. In other words, Mithra is the agent between the Creator and the creatures. In Gathas which are the oldest portion of Avesta, the word Mithra is used only once. But not in the sense of an angel; rather in the sense of religious duty. In the fourth chapter of Vandidad, which fully treats of sanctity of a given promise, the duty of sticking to it and the sin and the consequent punishment of breaking it, the word Mithra has invariably been used in the sense of a promise. In the tenth Yesht, the Meher Yesht of Avesta which is appropriated to this angel, often the word Mithra is used for promise or agreement. Mithro-druj, which means in slang speech a liar unto Mithra, usually signifies breach of promise. None of these meanings is contrary to one another. The meaning of the root of the word Mithra, is, to connect, and, to be a medium. The other meanings have arisen owing to the position and the work of this angel. Some of the orientalists have adopted its ancient and original meaning, friendship and love.

MITHRA AMONGST THE BRAHMANS.

In Sanskrit also Mitra means friend. And in the Vedas, as in Avesta, it means the Lord of Light and Splendour. In the holy books of the Hindus also a group of deities, who number seven, is hinted at. But the names of all of them are not known. These seven deities of the Hindus are named Aditya, that is, sons of Adity. From these seven brothers, the names of Varuna and Mitra are generally repeated; and sometimes Airyaman also is referred to as a brother. In the Vedas, Mitra, like Mithra of Avesta, is the guardian of truth and promise. In both the books he is the opponent of falsehood and sin. But in the holy songs of the Hindus, there is only a concise and ambiguous, but brief stanza concerning Mitra, who is always spoken of in company with Varuna. Although, the Vedic and Avestan philosophies differ from each other, still on investigation, we find them close and similar to each other to such an extent that we can safely say that they are two branches of the same Aryan tree, and at one time the Iranians and the Hindus worshipped Mithra together.

Although in the Vedas, Mitra occupies a high position, yet compared with the other Gods of light like Indra, its importance is inferior. Under the circumstances, we may identify the Mithra of Avesta with the Varuna of the Vedas, because they closely resemble each other in their peculiarities and attributes.

ANTIQUITY OF MITHRA.

Thus, we have seen that Mithra is mentioned even in the Vedas which is said to be the oldest religious book in the world. And from the subject matter also we know that the belief in this angel of truth and victory is likewise very ancient. Moreover, the cuneiform inscription which was found in Cappadocia (a kingdom of Asia-Minor) proves that a Hitite tribe living in Mitani, in the north of the present Iraq, used to worship the Indo-Iranian gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and

Nāsatya. These gods of the Aryan period and the Zoroastrian yazata were known together everywhere in Persia and are as old as nations themselves. Even now the followers of the religion of Zoroaster propitiate him on the day of the feast of Mehergan (a description of which will be given).

MITHRA IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ACHÆMENIANS.

The name of Mithra having found a place in the Achæmenian inscription from the Fourth Century B.C., has been repeated only five times. Firstly in the inscription of Artaxerxes II, who reigned from the year 404 to 359 B.C. In the part of the inscription found in the ruins of Susa it is stated: 'This palace was built by my ancestor Darius I, later, in the regime of my grandfather Artaxerxes I, it was destroyed by fire. By the grace of Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra, I have reconstructed this palace. May Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra guard me against all enemies and may no calamity nor destruction befall the palace I have built.' Again the same king repeats his desire in exactly similar terms on the base of a column found at Hamadan and removed to England.

An inscription in the ruins of Persepolis in the Province of Fars, engraved by Artaxerxes III, the son and successor of the above King, who reigned from 359 to 338 B.C., runs thus:—

'May Ahuramazda and Mithra protect me, this kingdom and all things made through my instrumentality.' It must be noticed, Mithra and Anahita appear for the first time in the above inscriptions whereas in the last instance, Anahita has not been referred to.

THE FEAST OF MEHERGAN.

The sixteenth day of every month is dedicated to this angel of splendour and it is named Meher. This is a festive day. Particularly the said day in the month of Meher is a very important holiday. Accordingly to the Pahlavi Book Bundehish Mashia and Mashiana (Adam and Eve) were born on such a day. In ancient times this festival was called Mithra Kana; that is relating to Mithra, later it became Mehergan. This

great holiday is observed for six days. It begins from the sixteenth day and ends on the twenty-first day. In ancient Persia, there were only two seasons; firstly, summer (Hama) and after that winter (Zayana). In the whole of Avesta, mention has been made of the same two seasons. Nauroz is the feast of the beginning of summer. And Mehergan the feast of the commencement of winter.

The feast of Mehergan is particularly observed with great pleasure and merriment. Ctesias, the Greek writer of Fourth Century B.C., writes that the Achæmenian King was not supposed to be intoxicated at any time, but on the day of the feast of Mehergan, he dressed himself in a purple robe and gave his company to the party of wine-drinkers. Another historian, Doris, writes that during this feast, the King danced. According to Strabo, the geographer of the First Century B.C., the Satrap of Armenia used to send as a present, twenty thousand colts to the court of the Achæmenian Emperor, on the occasion of Mehergan. Ardeshir Babekan and Nowshirvan, the Sassanian Kings, used to present deserving men with new apparel on this day. This festival was so greatly esteemed by the Iranians, that even the Arab conquest was not able to abolish it altogether. It is evident that in the reign of Sultan Masud Gaznavi, whose coronation took place in the year 1030 A.D., the feast of Mehergan was celebrated in his court with all its ancient pomp and splendour. In the whole of Iran and Asia-Minor also the feast of Mehergan was common, and thence it found its way into Europe along with Mithra-worship, the description of which will be given later. It is strange that in all the mass of information available in Europe regarding the Cult of Mithra, no mention is made of this important and great holiday of Mehergan.

The Belgian savant, Cumont, in his precious book entitled 'The Cult of Mithra', says: 'The feast of Mehergan, which during the Roman Empire was as the day of the appearance of the sun, and was called "Sol Natalis invicti", i.e. the day of the birth of the invincible sun, was dragged to the 25th of the month of December. After the propagation of Christianity into Europe, it was fixed as the birthday of Christ.'

MITHRA IN THE BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORIANS.

On the subject of Mithra, we have not received much intelligence from the ancient Greek and Roman writers who flourished before the propagation of Christianity into Europe. On the other hand, we possess ample information regarding this Persian angel from writers who flourished in the early centuries of Christ, when the Cult of Mithra prevailed throughout the extensive Roman Empire. But most of it is mainly derived from the Christian spiritual fathers who aimed at proving the futility of the Mithra-Cult and propriety of their own faith. Thus, for the critical study of the history of religion, this extremely prejudiced information becomes useless, and it is repugnant to the Persian sense of nationalism.

The book which was written specially about the religion of Mithra, and which would possibly have been a very good source of information on the history and religion of ancient Persia, vanished owing to the bigotry of the new Converts to Christianity in the same way as the fanaticism and oppression of the Mahomedans destroyed the Zoroastrian religious literature.

Most of the Greek writers have given the names of their own gods to the angels of the Zoroastrians, according to the resemblance of the position and the work allotted to them. For example, to the Persian Anahita they gave the name of their Greek goddess Artemis. But the name of Mithra was not changed; he was called Mithres. This is a proof of the popularity and greatness of Mithra. Xenophon in Fourth Century B.C. writes in his 'Cyropedia' that the Achæmenian Kings used to take oaths in the name of Mithra. In his turn, Plutarch in First Century A.C. also writes that when Darius deputed one of his nobles to some important mission, he exhorted him to speak the truth and to beware of Mithra. From these two reports, it is evident that from ancient times, Mithra was considered as the angel who watched the true or false word of men and meted out condign punishment to liars. Curtius writes that Darius (Codomanus) prayed for Mithra's assistance in the battle of Arbela against Alexander.

in keeping with the spirit of Avesta which says that Mithra is an angel whose aid is sought for specially in battle-fields. Strabo says that the Persians worshipped the sun in the name of Mitres. From this information, we can ascertain that in the First Century B.C. Mithra was mistaken for Sun, and these two were considered as one and the same. The most reliable information which has reached us is from Plutarch who writes that Zoroaster taught that in the spiritual world, Hormozes resembles light and splendour and Armeinios resembles darkness. Betwixt these two, Mitres is appointed. For this reason, the Persians know him as the medium and intermediary. This news from Plutarch points to the original meaning of the word Mithra, as referred above. We must also note that the belief of the Persians in the intermediary character of Mithra is much remoter than the time of Plutarch, who flourished in the First Century A.C. For, as he himself admits, that the information given by him with regard to the religion of Persia has been taken from the work called 'Philippina'. This book is unavailable at present. Theopompos, the author of the book was a contemporary of Philip, the father of Alexander, and flourished in the Fourth Century B.C.

Herodotus, who is one of the prominent historians from the view-point of more ancient times, does not write anything essential referring to Mithra; he only mentions certain proper names in the course of his history from which we learn that Mithra was well known, and that the name was used as auspicious prefix by the Persians to form a part of the names of individuals. Herodotus takes the name of Mithra also in his first book, para. 131. But undoubtedly he has made a mistake in describing this name. He says: 'The Persians used to offer sacrifices also to the sun, the moon, the earth, the fire, water, and wind, besides Zeus which to them is the name of all the heavens. Having learnt the worship of Urania from the Assyrians and the Arabs, they incorporated it in their own prayers. The Assyrians called Urania Myllita, and the Arabs Alitta, while the Persian name was Mitra.' In this place, Herodotus must have intended Anahita. But since he did not recollect this female angel, Mitra, who was more famous,

must have occurred to him at once and consequently he used the name in place of the Assyrian and the Semitic goddess.

MITHRA IN AVESTA.

In the Gathas, the name of Mithra with the signification of light and splendour has not been referred to therein, but the rest of the portions of the holy book are full of his glory. The longest Yesht-Meher is devoted to him. Like all other great Yeshts, it is very old and abundantly interesting. Meher Yesht is written in a poetic form. The versification is not of such nature as to enable us to ascertain the meter as in the case of the five Gathas, and unless we analyse the verses and write a separate note on each of them, we cannot fix a general rule for the number of the syllables.

Meher Yesht reminds us of the Aryan times, and also the reformation brought about by Zoroaster can be clearly seen in it. From Meher Yesht we can extract two good morals which can be termed the foundation of sound character: firstly Truth and secondly Boldness. This Yesht may also be considered as the mainspring of the Truth and the Valour of the Persians, for which they were renowned throughout the ancient world and even their life-long enemies, the Greeks, could not deny this. Mithra is ever vigilant and he remains fully armed to help the truthful and to search out and overthrow liars and promise-breakers. In the 2nd para. of the Meher Yesht where the subject of Mithra is introduced, Ahuramazda speaks to Zoroaster thus:—

'I have created Mithra worthy of praise and eulogy like Myself, O Spitama, he who lieth unto Mithra and breaketh promise and knoweth not the condition of fidelity, verily he is a desolator of the land and the murderer of truth. O Spitama, thou shalt not break promise given by thee, whether it be to a Mazdayasna or to a Daevayasna. For, a promise to whomsoever given, should be considered proper and worthy of performance.'

As we have pointed out, Mithra, according to the beginning of the Yesht, is counted amongst the creations of Ahuramazda and he is entrusted with the guardianship of promise and oath

of men. On this account he is also considered the angel of splendour and light, so that nothing may remain hidden from him. Truth and falsehood going on throughout the world, and, promise performed or broken are all known to him. order to enable him to perform properly his duties as the guardian of promises. Ahuramazda has bestowed upon him one thousand ears and ten thousand eyes. In the Pahlavi commentary of this Yesht, it occurs that these ears and eyes are separate angels who are appointed by Mithra, so that they may inform him of all that they see and hear of the actions and words of men. In the history of Persia, we read that portions of the soldiers of the ancient emperors were named the eyes and ears of the empire; undoubtedly, Meher Yesht is the source of the idea and the institution. In addition to these, he has the services of ten thousand guards who continuously patrol in the world and keep him informed of all the events and happenings.

The abode of Mithra is on the top of the mount Hara, in a place where there is neither day nor night nor darkness, neither the cold wind nor draught, neither disease nor filth. From there he watches the countries. This place of his rest is as wide as the orb of the earth, i.e. Mithra is present everywhere. Any one who carries his complaint to Mithra for having been deprived of his right, however feeble his voice, yet the wailing cry catches hold of the entire world, and reaches the region above, and Mithra, becoming aware of it, rushes to his aid. A great citadel is also reserved for Mithra, where he always stands alert like a watchman, and is ready for service. Mithra is always vigilant, and is the opponent of the demon of slumber. His arms are strong and so long that they reach the entire world and he can catch hold of the liar, wherever he may be, whether in the east of India or west, or in the centre of the earth. Boldness, vast vision, and exemption from being duped are the appropriate attributes of Mithra. All the qualifications necessary for the discharge of his duty are given to him. Similarly, he possesses all the equipments for his work as the great guard. Like the heroes of Shahnameh, Mithra puts on a golden armour with a silver shield on the shoulder, and holds a

heavy mace in his hand. He drives in a celestially made golden chariot which has huge glittering wheels. Four white horses take him round the world nimbly and speedily. In Mithra's chariot, there are a thousand golden-pointed arrows, a thousand spears, a thousand steel axes, a thousand swords, a thousand iron maces, and slings. Verethragna, the angel of victory; Sraosha, the angel of obedience; Rashnu, the angel of justice; Arshtat, the angel of propriety; Parendi, the angel of good fortune and plenty; and Ashi, the angel of riches and wealth, keep galloping on the front, rear, right, and left of Mithra. As the Zoroastrian religion is a practical one, Mithra also punishes liars and promise-breakers in this very world. He makes them perplexed, distressed, and destroys their chattles and belongings. In the battle-fields he renders their arms useless and of no effect. He casts them into oblivion, disgraced, and dishonoured. Similarly, he rewards the righteous and the men of good actions with wealth, health, happiness, prosperity. rule, and affluence, and he makes them victorious in battle-fields. It is owing to the strength and power of Mithra that the kings of the ancient times have paid especial attention to him. In Yesht tenth, itself, it frequently occurs that Mithra is the bestower of sovereignty. For this reason, the noble and the warrior classes used to pay more homage to him than any other angels.

That Mithra is not the sun, but the angel of light and splendour is quite apparent from the tenth Yesht itself. In paras. 13th and 95th of the same Yesht, mention is made of the appearance of Mithra before sunrise and his rounds after sunset. In para. 145th of the same Yesht, it occurs: 'We praise the stars, the moon, the sun and Mithra, the king of all countries.' Besides, Meher Yesht, in all the portions of Avesta, difference is made between the sun and Mithra. Amongst such, Vandidad Fargard 19, para. 28, refers to the appearance of Mithra before the rising of the sun. In the books of the latter writers also this difference exists. There is no doubt that Mithra and the sun are separate (not one); nor is there any doubt that from very ancient times these two have been confounded and have been taken as one. Strabo referring

to the above, writes that the Persians praise the Sun with the name of Mithra. Five centuries after him, Elische, the Armenian historian of the Fifth Century A.C., imitates the Zoroastrian preachers and says: 'Since the sun illuminates the world by its rays and matures by its heat he (the Sun) on account of his uniform charity and impartiality in justice is called Mithra.'

According to the injunction of the tenth Yesht those who are not familiar with the tenets of religion, and those who are not fit for the post of leaders ought not to become the supervisors of the ceremonials and observances of Mithra-Cult. At the time of executing it, one must be clean, he must have taken a bath. The origin of the baptismal bath of the Christians can probably be traced to such rituals, that had later on spread in Europe, along with the Mithra-Cult.

From what has been seen, we can say that Mithra is the angel of light and battle.

MITHRA-WORSHIP IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE FAME OF MITHRA IN PERSIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS.

Since the kings of Persia devoted special attention to Mithra and since all the warriors expected their victory and triumph through his aid, Mithra-worship spread in the entire land of Persia. In all places help and protection was sought of Mithra. His influence having penetrated beyond the boundaries of Persia, had reached all the countries under the sway of the Emperors. In Babylon, which was one of the capitals of Persia and the winter residence of the kings, Mithra was considered one with the local god 'Shamsh', on account of the resemblance of their nature. Just as the Babylonians considered the Persian Anahita equal to their own goddess 'Ishtar' and adored her, the worship of Mithra too, was not held by them as foreign. From Babylon the Mithra-Cult spread throughout Asia-Minor. In the countries speaking Greek language also Mithra was made identical with the Greek sun-god, Helios. In short, wherever he went, Mithra was taken as identical with the local sun-god, and he became the object of attention and

love. Except that, the Aryan origin of Mithra remained, all the non-Aryan tribes invested him with the attributes and practices of their own gods as it suited their taste. Such local convenience was the means of the extension of Mithra-worship, up to the borders of the Black Sea and the Greek Aegean Sea on the west, and to the Sind, i.e. India on the east, the very Aryan country where Mitra was considered the god of light and strength from very ancient times. It may be said that the greatness and splendour of Mithra was maintained in all these extensive countries of Asia from the time of the Achæmenians up to several centuries after Christ. The old tree of Mithraworship was not shaken by the victory of Alexander of Macedon. For, after his death and the distribution of his empire amongst his commanders, the worship of this angel of light re-asserted itself with all its vigour of bygone days, throughout the said countries. Eastwards, a kingdom was founded at Bactria which later on extended to the northwestern India and came to be known as the Indo-Scythian Empire. Here were struck the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka (of the Turuska dynasty of the First and Second Centuries A.D.), bearing the rays and the halo or the glory of Mithra. Moreover, the names of Mitro and Athro (fire) were engraved thereon in Greek script.

Likewise, the rulers of all the independent kingdoms established in Asia-Minor after the death of Alexander considered themselves as belonging to the Achæmenian family. Whether they were actually of Persian descent or not, they took pride in being considered as related to the mighty ancient emperors, and they persevered in reviving the practices of their ancestors. Quite a number from father to son adopted the name of Mithridates, i.e. Meherdad or given by Meher. Antiochus I, king of Komnagene (69 to 44 B.C.) considered himself related to the Achæmenians from his father's side and issued orders to erect large temples for the glorification of his ancestral God and angels. Also he ordered the religious leaders to dress themselves like the Magians. Amongst the temples, he constructed one for Mitra. An engraving found at 'Nimrod-dagh' he is shown standing face to face with Mithra.

In the reign of the Parthians, the place of Mithra was safe, and the names of three of the kings of Parthia were Meherdad. In the engravings of Taque Bustan situated to the north-west of the city of Kirmanshah, three human forms are to be seen. The middle one is of the Sassanian Ardeshir II who ruled from 379 to 384 A.D. On his right-hand side there is Hormazd, and on his left, the one who holds a torch in his hand is Mithra, and not Zoroaster, as some have conjectured.

THE BEGINNING OF THE DISSEMINATION OF THE MITHRA-CULT FROM ASIA-MINOR TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

From the foregoing discourse, it is not surprising to note that the Mithra-Cult entered the land of Greece from Asia-Minor; though we generally do know that the Greek-speaking regions had come to a small extent under the influence of Mithra. Plutarch writes that from ancient times the pirates of Cilicia (the present city of Tarsus) performed mystic rites and offered sacrifices to Mithra on mount Olympia, i.e. in the very place, which has always been the headquarter of the Greek gods. According to the same writer, a Zoroastrian, i.e. Mithraworshipping sect was during his own time (49 to 125 A.D.) well known in Europe.

Under any circumstance, however, the number of the followers of Mithra was not great at this time, but in the middle of the First Century A.D. Mithra occupied a lofty position. For, according to Dio Cassus, a Roman historian, when Tirdad, the king of Armenia and the brother of the Ashkanian King Vologeses I came to Rome to be crowned by the hand of Emperor Nero, he is reported to have addressed the Emperor during the coronation-feast, and to have said: 'I have come before you so that I may praise you like Mithra'. Plutarch also writes that in the triumvirate of Pompey the Great, in the year 67 B.C., when the Romans had defeated the pirates of Cilicia, they became acquainted with Mithra-worship, which had spread in the whole of Asia-Minor. In fact, by the said victory, only a few places on the coasts of Cilicia fell into the hands of the Romans, and it was after two centuries later that the whole country was subjugated. Consequently, about the

year 102 A.D. it began to be counted as a Roman dominion. Although, the day of the commencement of Mithra-Cult in Europe is so antique, yet it was not until the close of the First Century A.D. that it came to be widely disseminated. The invasions by the Roman legion and their successes in Asia-Minor and Iraq gradually brought Europe under the influence of Mithraism. In the reign of Cæsar Tiberius who ruled from 14 to 38 A.D., Cappadocia (in Asia-Minor) was conquered, and became a part of the Roman Empire. During the reign of Nero, whose rule lasted from 54 to 68 A.D. the western portion of Pontus, or the coasts of the Black Sea fell into the hands of In the reign of Vespasian who was emperor of Rome from 69 to 79 A.D., Lesser-Armenia and Kommagene, the very countries where Mithra was particularly worshipped, were conquered, and from there the Roman soldiers brought the worship of Mithra to Europe as a reward or booty. Thenceforward the great invasions of the Roman Cæsars like Trajan (98 to 117 A.D.), Lucuis Verus (161 to 169), and Septimius Severus (193 to 211), against Asia and the conquest of Iraq brought more and more influx of Mithraism, till it rose into high flood in the western world. After this, the governors and the legionaries of Rome (Legion 15) on their return from Asia-Minor to Carnuntum near to Vienna built a temple of Mithra in the Danubian territory.

THE SPREAD OF MITHRAISM AND THE PERIOD OF ITS PROSPERITY.

These Roman legionaries who were religiously minded, became good disseminators of Mithraism. In Europe also Mithra was at first the favourite deity of warriors, and it occupied the same position in the Roman countries as it did during its sway in the territories under Persia.

Apart from the soldiers, the prisoners of war, who were transported from Asia to Europe, became instruments of its spread. Moreover, commercial relations and economical problems and the interchange of the western and eastern thoughts contributed to the propagation of Mithraism throughout the entire length and breadth of the countries under the sway of

ancient Rome. In the year 148, it extended its influence amongst the brave German soldiers. In the time of Emperor Commodus, who ruled from 180 to 192 A.D., and who was devoted to Mithra, there was no place without some influence of Mithraism. In short, on the continent of Europe, the sphere of influence of Mithra extended from the shores of the Black Sea to Ecosse. In Africa, it reached the borders of Sahara. Looking at the map of the ancient Roman Empire, and the expanse of the land of Asia, with the exception of the countries of the yellow race, we can say that in no country any god or angel or prophet equalled Mithra in fame. According to Renan (1823-1892) the famous French philosopher and historian 'had a pestilence or calamity broken out and retarded the progress of Christianity, the religion of the world to-day would have been Mithraism'. The religions of Christ and Mithra both entered Europe simultaneously from Asia. At the end of the second century both had following in the remotest countries of the Roman Empire. Relying on the numerous existing memoirs of the times of Emperor Sever (208-235) we can conjecture that the followers of Mithra were more than those of Christ. True that we do not possess any antique book which can serve as an evidence of the majesty of Mithra, the fanaticism of the Christians of that time did not leave any traces of their powerful rival, Mithra. But through historians. we know that numerous books existed especially treating of the principles of Mithra-Cult, its prayers, benedictions, the methods of prayer and the customs and usages. Amongst such was the great work of the Roman writer Pallas, whose mere name exists; but the ruins of the temple of Mithra and the engravings which are found in all the countries of Europe are to a certain extent proofs of his ancient majesty and glory and indicate some of the customs and practices of that Cult. initial benedictions and prayers were in Greek, and the latter part in Latin. For invigorating the words and for making the language impressive, some Persian words had been inserted. The attribute which was always associated with Mithra was the word Nabarz, the very word the present Persian form of which is Nabard or Nabarde signifying valiant and bold.

In Avesta also, the attribute which is always used for Mithra is the word Sura, which means valorous. The priests of Mithraism used to take pride that they worshipped their god according to the customs of ancient Persia the country in which Zoroaster had brought the religion. And they endeavoured not to allow its principles and Persian origin to be mixed up with foreign elements. In consequence of his having been worshipped for centuries in Asia-Minor and Mesopotamia, Mithra was attributed with some of the traits of the foreign local sun-gods, yet at no time could he be completely metamorphosed so as to lose his own Persian colour and character. In Europe, the splendour and majesty of Mithra was especially due to the fact that the emperors, nobles, and the legionaries were his supporters and they used to order the persecution of the Christians.

The persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Decius, in the year 250 A.D. is well known in Roman history. In the year 274, the Emperor Aurelian ordered a big temple to be erected to Mithra, for he attributed his success against Zenobea. the Queen of Pamir, to the benevolence of Mithra, the god of victory. Diocletian, who reigned from 284 to 305, imitated the fashion of the Court of his Sassanian contemporaries and took great delight in the propagation of Mithra-Cult. In the year 303 he ordered a general persecution of the Christians. After him Emperor Galerius (306 to 311) persecuted the Christians with the greatest severity. In the third century of the Christian era, Mithra-Cult reached the highest point of its prosperity in the Roman Empire and it appeared that it would take the entire world under its influence. The tide turned only with the victory of Constantine over Licibus in 324 A.D. fought under the banners of Mithra, the god of victory, against Constantine of the Christian side who was, like Gushtasp, the supporter of Zarathushtra. In this defeat of Licibus was also the defeat of the Sun (the symbol of Mithra) by the Cross.

مهر بپوشید رو ریخت ز مُخ آبرو ترسا چون شب پرة دیدهٔ بینا گرفت الاف زد و هر زد گفت مهر خدائي نهفت زبان گُستاخ چون رنگ کلیسا گرفت

Mithra, the Sun hid its face, and the honour of the Magian was gone;

The monk, like the bat at night, opened his sight.

He took to boasting and vain talk, and thereby hid the Love (Mithra) of God;

Like the church-bell he began to waggle his impudent tongue.

THE PERIOD OF THE DECLINE OF MITHRAISM.

After the success of Constantine, the followers of Christ became impudent. Not only did they laugh at the customs and practices of the worshippers of Mithra and wrote of them as low, but they also craved to destroy all their temples, and this desire was fulfilled. Mamert, a rabbi of Vienna, who passed away in the year 474, writes that during the time of Constantine, nobody dared to look at the sun either at the time of rising or of setting. The peasants and the sea-farers too dared not glance at the stars. Shuddering with the fear of losing their lives, they used to keep their eyes fixed towards the land.

In the year 337 Constantine took sacrament and died in the very year. The worshippers of Mithra were overwhelmed with troubles for a period of thirty-six years, until Julianus came to the throne in the year 361 A.D. This philosophic emperor had from childhood a liking for the religion of Mithra notwithstanding the fact that he was brought up as a Christian and had taken baptism. He thought himself a representative of the Sun and he considered himself as the spiritual son of the Sun. Immediately after ascending the throne he re-established the worship of Mithra in Constantinople, and erected a temple in his own palace. After the ascension of such an emperor, the worshippers of Mithra naturally got new life. So much so, that in his reign, when Georgios, patriarch of Alexandria, desired to erect a church on the ruins of the temple of Mithra, the people became enraged and arrested him and threw him into prison. On the 24th of the month of December, 361 A.D., i.e. one day prior to the day of the annual feast of Mithra, they killed him with the utmost cruelty. As Julianus considered himself to be under the patronage of the god of victory and

triumph, he was very bold. Like Alexander the Great, he desired to annex all Persia, the very kingdom which was the fountain-head of his religion. He marched with a large army towards Persia, and reached opposite Ctesiphon. But Mithra, the angel of Victory, did not wish to ruin and degrade his own native country. In the field of battle a fatal arrow struck Julianus. It is said the emperor filled his palm with the blood of his wound and he sprinkled it towards the sky, and said: 'O, Galilee (Jesus Christ), thou hast defeated me.' the time of his death, he attributed the fault to Christ and not to Mithra. After the expiry of the short reign of Julianus, the worshippers of Mithra became the objects of suspicion in Europe, just like the Christians in Persia. again, the followers of Mithra were left without a supporter and a number of them was massacred in the year 371. emperors carried on an unremitting warfare against them. most of the provinces, they were liable to attacks by the Christian nobles. Their temples were plundered and burnt. Even now the remnants of temples which are being excavated, give testimony to the persecution and arson carried on by the Just as Mahmud Gaznavi desired to exhibit his religiousness by breaking and scattering the images of the Hindu deities in India, the Christians also persisted in devastating the temples of Mithra and breaking the images in order to show their great love for the son of the Holy Ghost! leaders of Mithraism, in order to preserve the remaining images, used to keep the entrance of their subterranean temples hidden in wall. They used to hide the holy symbols as much as was possible for them. For they confidently believed that the sway of the Christians was temporary. On the other hand, in order to extirpate Mithraism thoroughly and to render the places of worship unsuited for use even for the future, the Christians assassinated the high priests in the temples themselves and threw them below the niches and the walls and left the corpses there. For, they knew that according to the terms of Zoroastrianism the ground which became polluted with a corpse and a carcass, would for ever be considered desecrated. Thus, the religion of Mithra disappeared sooner than the rest of the religions,

which existed in the Roman Empire. For, even the government authorities were specially inimical to it. In the city of Rome itself, Mithraism could hold its own for a longer time, for, the patricians were able through their influence and wealth to repel attacks. They were especially bound to remain faithful to the religion of their ancestors and forefathers for the reason that they had, from generation to generation, added to the offerings and the gifts to the temples. Even after the death of Julianus, some hope was once again entertained for the revival of Mithra-worship and the amelioration of its followers. Particularly in the year 392 when Eugenius took the title of emperor, these hopes were increased. But two years after this, he was killed by Theodosius and this incident of the year 394 marks the final disappointment of the worshippers of Mithra and of the extirpation of Mithra-Cult. Theodosius studiously endeavoured to spread the religion of Christ. There was no more chance for the worshippers of Mithra, except in the distant places in the fastnesses of the Alps and the Vosages, where the Cult existed up to the Fifth Century A.D.

THE TRACES OF MITHRAISM IN CHRISTIANITY.

The religion of Mithra existed in Roman Empire for more than three hundred years, and a good many of its principles and usages have remained in the religion of Christ, e.g. offerings, supplication, the day of Judgment, the belief about the bridge across the infernal fire, purgatory, heaven, hell, account, and proportion of good and bad actions and the future retribution of virtue and vice. In addition to these many of the ceremonies and customs of the religion of Mithra have been adopted in the form of feasts and usages by the Christian nations. We do not possess ancient books on Mithra-worship to enable us to ascertain as to what extent have its fundamental maxims influenced Christianity. Although the principles of these two religions differ from each other, the engravings and relics found in the ruins of the temple of Mithra, and a series of information supplied by the historians, enable us to say that almost whole of the customary and ceremonial part pertaining to Mithraism has been transplanted into the religion of Christ. These appropriations and usurpations had taken place prior to the exit of the Mithra-Cult from Europe. And there existed some mutual relation between the two great religions. The philosophers of the Second Century A.D. had compared them and given the prominence and superiority to Mithra. Later on, the bigoted scholars and leaders of the first few centuries once again compared these two religions and they said that the worshippers of Mithra have made devilish imitation from the holy religion of Christ. Had the fanaticism of these writers permitted any book on Mithraism to reach us, we should have undoubtedly read in it that worshippers of Christ have made devilish imitation from the holy religion of Mithra.

The customs, the tenets, and the ceremonies of Mithraism are very ancient; many of them were common in Persia. antiquity of some of them reaches as far back as the Aryan period. When the religion of Christ came into Europe, it found itself face to face with a long-standing religion which, by virtue of centuries old civilized customs, had grown into a fine tree adorned with leaves and fruit and firmly fixed in the soil. Its apparent form was eminently suited to the taste of the people of the times, and was the object of great attraction and homage. The new-born religion did not possess under any form the rites or ceremonies or a book, even from its own Consequently, it could not but copy the founder Christ. foreign ceremonies and the usages or in other words, it had to borrow and appropriate to itself at least the apparent forms of its rival. As a result, the followers of each religion called their co-religionists 'Brothers'. Both the groups used to take the holy bath at the time of initiation. Both used to sprinkle holy water on persons of their own group. Both used to give moral sermons and to emphasize the retribution of the judgment day. Both observed a holiday in a week. Each group considered that the ceremonies and observances had arisen out of its own religion. Undoubtedly the tendency of the majority was at first in favour of Mithra. But later on, as a result of the sinking into oblivion of the true origins of the ceremonies and observances, and on account of the lapse of centuries, the Christian claim to originality found general belief.

interesting to note that the Mithra-Cult spread so far and wide in the Roman Empire, that in most of the lands under Roman suzerainty, the Mithra-Temples were built in a very large number. Even to-day a large number of the ruins of such Mithra-Temples are to be seen in the whole of Europe, Africa, and Asia and specially on the side of river Rhine. A very good example of such a ruined Mithra-Temple we find to-day in Rome itself.

THE TEMPLE OF MITHRA AND THE DESCRIPTION OF ITS APPEARANCE.

The temples of Mithra, which were named Mithraum or Mithraea, are constructed in vaults underground or in a cave, because the eternal bull was sacrificed by the hands of Mithra in a cave. Generally, the statue of Mithra is seen there, throwing the bull beneath his feet and sacrificing it. On each of his right and left (Cautes, Cautopates), a boy is standing with a torch. The torch on the right-hand side is held up, while the one on the left is upside down. This is symbolical of the rising and the setting of the sun. Under the front and hind legs of the bull a snake and a scorpion are seen. In front of the statue, there is a fireplace, in which the holy fire must always burn like the fire of the Zoroastrians. The carvings and figures of the temple are not limited to these; a variety of different forms are present, and every one of them carries a meaning. A description of all these would prolong this discourse. Taking the images and carvings as the basis, the Belgian savant, Cumont, has given us a description of Mithra, which accords with the belief of the Romans, as also with the description found in the Pahlavi book, Bundahishna, and says: 'Mithra is supposed to have been born out of hard stone. On his head is a helmet of Phrygian (the present city of Konia) style while his dress is of Iranian style.' In one hand there is a dagger, and in the other a torch, to remove darkness. The shepherds who witnessed the miracle of his birth, prayed unto him, and they offered him their newly-born lambs and calves and other fresh tributes. As Mithra was a young bold man, and was nude, during the occurrence of a fierce wind-storm he hid himself behind the branches of a fig tree. He cut the fruit

with his knife and fed on it, and out of its leaves he prepared his dress. The first god against whom Mithra tried his strength was the sun. On this account, the Sun understood the eminent position of Mithra, and bestowed the rays of light round his head. Since this day onwards Mithra and the Sun have joined hands, and support each other in every action. The fight of Mithra with the bull above alluded to, points to this meaning. The bull who was the first creation of Jupiter Oromazdes, used to graze freely on the top of the mountain. Mithra's attention was drawn towards this, and holding his horn, he wished to ride him. The excited animal bolted. Mithra fell to the ground but he did not give up. He hung himself on to his horns and was consequently dragged to some distance until the bull was tired and submitted. Then Mithra caught hold of the hoofs of his two legs, and pulled him on to his shoulders, and with great difficulty, he carried him down to his home in the cave. This description is but an allegory of the endeavours and troubles of man in this world. Again, Mithra freed the bull and he freely wandered on the face of the earth. Then Sun sent his messenger, a raven, to Mithra and commanded that he should catch the bull and sacrifice him. However, Mithra was not willing to abide by such an order and he pitied the animal. Yet, there was no other remedy but to obey the heavenly command. He had to chase the bull unwillingly with the aid of his dog, and soon captured him, for he had sought shelter in a cave. With one hand Mithra held the nostrils of the bull and with his dagger in the other, he pierced his abdomen. At that instant, the dying body of the animal produced a miracle. Healing plants grew up, in such a way that the whole land became green. From bits of the back of its skull, grains grew up, and from its blood, creepers like grapes, which gave wine to the holy, at the time of the performance of the religious ceremonies. The evil principle (Ahriman), in the hope of benefiting by the opportunity, sent forthwith his filthy creations like the serpent, scorpion, and ant, towards the dying animal, so that they may poison the source of its life and may devour the elements of creation and progeny of the beneficial animal and drink its blood. But the effort

was fruitless. They were not able, on the day, to withhold the miracles. The moon purified the seed of the bull and preserved it. Several kinds of useful animals were born from it. The soul of the one, which was preserved through the faithful dog of Mithra, ascended to the heavens, and there it became the guardian of the herd and flock, in the name of Silvanus. Through this sacrifice unto the court of God, Mithra renewed the life of the world. The famous picture of Michael Angelo 'The Last Supper' is exactly the same like one we find in Mithra Temple and Michael Angelo seems to have taken his inspiration from there.

THE ELEMENTS OF MITHRA-CULT APPROPRIATED BY CHRISTIANITY

There were seven stages of holiness in the Mithra-Cult. For being admitted into each of the stages, special baths were necessary, and this is the very source of the baptismal wash of the Christians. On each day of the week, thanks were offered from a certain place in the temple to the star connected with that day. Sunday, which belonged to the Sun Mithra, was considered sacred. The greatest feast of Mithra was on the 25th of December, this corresponds to the famous Mehergan feast of Iranians, which was conceived to be the birthday of Mithra, i.e. the shortest day of the year was the festival of Mithra. During these times, the Phoenicians also used to celebrate the feast of their God Melkart. Apparently, they held special feasts in particular seasons of the year. In the spring about the month of Farvardin or Ardibehisht, on the same occasion when at present the Christians celebrate the Crucifixion and the Ascension of Christ, a holiday was customary with the worshippers of Mithra. The women did not participate in the religious assembly honouring Mithra. Instead, they joined in the gathering honouring Magna-mater, who had taken the place of Anahita, the goddess of water, and her feast was incorporated as an additional custom of Mithra-worship. Undoubtedly, Magna-mater represented the Mother Earth. Her believers called themselves sisters, just like the brethren of the faith of Mithra.



On the occasion of the praise and the singing of the hymns of Mithra, the playing of music was also necessary, and on particular occasions, bells were rung. For instance, after performing the ceremony, when they desired to exhibit Mithra's face by lifting up the veil, the bells chimed in order to prepare the believers. Even now, a bell is hung in the fire-temples, and it is struck on particular occasions. Also kneeling posture during the prayer was common. In the Zoroastrian religion, the priests used to consecrate bread and water, mix it with Haoma, Sanskrit Soma, and used to eat it during certain religious ceremonies. Also this ancient custom of the Persians accompanied Mithra into Europe. But as there was no Haoma plant in Europe, so that a particular extract could be squeezed out of it, the extracted juice of the fresh twigs of vine was used. A few round loaves of bread and a cup of water were also kept ready at the time of ceremonies. On these, the priests pronounced grace. Gradually, the juice of the fruit of vine, i.e. wine was substituted for the pressed juice of the twigs of the vine-tree. Even now, Haoma is common among the Zoroastrians, and it is used in the religious ceremonies with the said sacred water and bread. In Avesta, this water is named Zaothra, and this day, it is called 'Zor'. The round loaves of breads, which were used in the religion of Mithra, just as it is common amongst the present Zoroastrians, was either four or six in number. The Avestan word for the bread is Draona, and its present form is 'Darun'. All these ceremonies were transferred from Mithraism to Christianity, and they still remain therein. The holy water is one of the most important adjuncts of the Christian church. The Christian term 'Eucharist' means the wine and bread used in the ceremonies and considered as the blood and flesh and the soul of Christ. They are the very Hom and Darun of Mithra, and merely the names are changed. Similarly, while performing the religious rites, the Mithra worshippers used to hold 'Barsum', i.e. twigs of a tree used in ceremonials in their hands, like the Persians, just as it is customary with the Zoroastrians. Of course, the first priests of the religion of Mithra were the Magis. Later, they were called Sacerdos. They used to dress themselves like the Magis and to say their prayers thrice every day: in the morning, noon, and evening. During morning prayer, they turned to the east, during noon towards south, and in the evening towards the west. From the smallest things, just like bells, to the highest beliefs, such as Christ sacrificed his life for the sake of the salvation of mankind—all these are taken from the Mithra-Cult. From the remnants of the engravings of Mithra we can generally observe that he turns his face towards the sky at the time of sacrificing the pristine bull and performs the sacrifice unwillingly and with difficulty. But the salvation of the world is in this sacrifice, which Mithra on account of this reason supports and performs this difficult task.

The appropriation by Christianity of the customs and ceremonies of Mithraism which prevailed for centuries and had become deeply rooted in the life of the people of the Roman Empire was considered quite expedient. By this method, the new religion was made suitable to the ways of the people of the time. Christianity had to resort to such engraftings. The people clung to their holiday on Sunday which was appropriated to the sun (Mithra) and the 25th December which was the feast of his appearance. Till, at last, the 25th December had to be declared the birthday of Christ as late as nearly four centuries after him. In some of the paintings in the churches of the Catholic Christians, belonging to the life, birth, and ascension of Christ, we see a close resemblance with the engravings and ruins of the temples of Mithra. They tell us about the appearance and work of Mithra. Besides, the Christians consider Sunday as the day of Resurrection of Christ and his Ascension to the heavens; likewise with the worshippers of Mithra also this was considered as the day peculiarly special to Mithra. It is not my object to reckon all the customs and rites of the religion of Christ, as those of Mithraism. For, firstly the intolerance, above referred to, regarding the traces of Mithra-Cult has not as yet vanished so as to enable us to consider side by side all the principles and rites of the two faiths together. Secondly, the comparison is likely to lengthen unnecessarily this discourse. From a few paras. described above, we can realize that many of the rites and customs of the

Christian nations remind us of the exactly similar rites of Mithraism. This applies especially to the Christians of Asia-Minor and Armenia, the very places where Mithra had been worshipped from very ancient times. Even during this twentieth century, some of the bigoted Christian scholars persistently labour, like the Christians of the third and fourth centuries, to conceal the truth. But some of the learned and impartial authors, who consider all knowledge and science as sacred, and to whom all knowledge is esteemable, as any prophet of angel, have not hesitated from telling the truth. They openly write that some of the principles, and most of the formal rites of the faith of Christ, are derived from Mithraism. In the fourth century, when the Cult of the sun-god in the West was on the wane, another religion arose in Persia. It contained the principles of Zoroastrianism especially those of Mithraism. It spread into Europe, rivalled with the religion of Christ, and nearly shook its foundations. That religion was Manichism, which had come into existence in the time of Shapoor in Third Century A.D.

Till the Thirteenth Century A.D. its followers in Europe were engaged in sanguinary struggles against the Christians, the old foes of the Mithra worshippers.

II.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(Continued).

By the Vice-President.

V. The Untadhura Pass.

For travelling north of Milam, a change of transport is ordinarily made by the substitution of the half-bred yak, the hardy jhibu, for the laden coolie. The change is effected without difficulty, since there are ordinarily plenty of jhibus available at Milam; and for the drivers, of whom one is needed for each pair of jhibus, tents are also to be found there. beast of burden in high places, the jhibu must be hard to beat. Unaffected by exposure, amenable and imperturbable, he will quietly follow the correct route in a blizzard as severe as the 'tourmentes' of Highest Savoy. On a bitter night, with no covering and a temperature below zero F., he quietly dozes or nuzzles the snow away and grazes, undisturbed by storm or cold. Mr. Hugh Rose in the early autumn of 1931, finding rinderpest among the jhibus, travelled with mules, which were found to be much less satisfactory, and ultimately involved him in a very long detour in order to return to the Indian side of the Himalaya. He and his party deserve great credit for getting their mules back safely; but they had to go a long way to do it; and although their ultimate success may show that this bastard animal of another parentage is also able to display remarkable endurance, the mule is not to be recommended as a beast of burden in the high Himalaya.

If anybody desires to make the 'Tour of Nanda Devi,' to descend the Girthi valley and go straight to Joshimath, he must not hope to take laden animals down the Girthi valley. The tour would be interesting, and free from any real difficulty, if the assistance of jhibus were taken from Milam to Topidunga; but coolies ought not to be asked to carry heavy loads over the high pass. Dr. Kurt Boeckh crossed the pass with coolies, making very short marches; but Arnold Mumm was mistaken in thinking that after Dr. Boeckh had once reached

the other side, his passage of the Girthi valley was a specially remarkable feat. This is a regularly travelled route; but owing to the steepness of the gorge, it is not a route for laden animals. Starting from Milam, an easy march of about ten miles, by the banks of the stripling Goriganga, leads to the exiguous camping ground at Doong. Opposite Shillong, halfway to Doong, a comparatively broad valley opens out on the east, with a beautiful pyramidal snowy peak at the head of it, which is a good valley for baral. Doong (13,720) is at the parting of the ways, where the small stream, following the course hitherto taken, leads to the old traditional pass, while the route to Untadhura turns towards the NNW. The placename given on the map marks no permanent human habitation of any kind; here and henceforth on this side of Tibet the names merely mark places where nomads have an opportunity to halt on their march. These place-names, whether they are followed by the letters E.G. or not, merely indicate a compar atively flat spot, about the size of a drawing-room carpet, on which small tents may be pitched.

The more easterly branch of the Goriganga, which leads to the Lessar Sira watershed, marks the route to the Johar Pass of tradition, perhaps the route to which Traill referred, which the Raja made passable at fabulous expense. The route by the Untadhura Pass is much travelled; but it is certainly difficult, being long and fatiguing, involving the crossing of two more high passes, of 19,340 and 18,300 feet, before Tibet is reached. When Traill said that the Johar Pass was the most difficult, he may possibly have been referring to the old pass, as well on to the stage of being a mere mountaineer's pass; but he may on the other hand have been referring to the route by the Untadhura. Mr. Hugh Rose set out from Doong last year to discover the old traditional pass, accompanied by Mr. G-Chaldecott, and reached an altitude of 18,000 feet; but he was finally stopped by deep crevasses and dangerous snow, for which his party was not equipped, though he thought that he had seen a practicable pass over the ridge at about 20,000 feet.1

From Doong a journey of about ten miles, over ice and glacier debris, leads to the Untadhura Pass. The ascent is gentle; but much of the going is hard, like walking on a pebbly beach, where the pebbles are fairly large, but all rounded and slippery. I think that it is probable that the surprise of the Schlagintweits at discovering to what degree exhaustion could supervene after 16,500 feet when the effects of diminished pressure were aggravated by fatigue was felt on the Untadhura Pass, where the ascent from Doong is so gentle as for most of the way to be practically imperceptible to anybody who has been climbing and descending for weeks; but the going is bad and tiring, with occasional climbs over steep moraine, followed by steep descents; and the fact that on this bad going the traveller has ascended about four thousand feet will probably be brought to his notice before he reaches the top of the final slope which leads to Untadhura. The pass is under snow for something over eleven months of the year; but in the summer, when the snow below is firm, there is no special difficulty on account of it, nor in the monsoon, though fresh snow may often then be found, which may be troublesome; but the air is comparatively warm, and the days are long. For a brief period, from near the end of September until the middle of October, the pass is completely clear of snow; and the snow-level on the northern side is high, the slopes being clear for the most part up to about 19,000 feet.

On the northern side of the Himalaya, the traveller enters an area where the air is surprisingly dry and bracing, where if he may have felt trouble over crossing Untadhura, he will feel none in ascending to nineteen thousand feet or higher. But although the air is so dry, and remains so dry, there is some danger of storms, which must not be disregarded. The slight snow-storm, of two or three hours' duration in the evening, is not a source of danger. The snow vanishes, as if by magic, without first melting on the ground, leaving the ground as dry as it was before the snow fell, which is not in accordance with our ordinary experience in the matter of the disappearance of snow. Eighty years ago, Hooker, observing this phenomenon in the same area, but farther east, remarked that the humidity

was something under one per cent. and that the snow was merely evaporated into the excessively dry air. But when a really heavy fall occurs, the snow will not disappear in this manner: the pass is likely to become more and more difficult to cross, and must be crossed quickly. A heavy snow-storm, which near the head of Untadhura on the northern side is like the dreaded tourmentes of Mont Blanc, is comparatively mild a thousand feet below; and on the Indian side of the pass, fifty or even twenty feet down, the thing becomes nothing more than an ordinary snow-storm.

We re-crossed Untadhura in such a 'tourmente' in the October of 1930. We were running to avoid the obvious wrath to come, because the jhibu drivers were in a panic (not unreasonably): we were overtaken by it very quickly; but halting about six hundred feet below the pass there appeared to be nothing in particular to trouble us. Snow was falling very heavily, and the temperature was 10° F., slightly lower than that to which it ordinarily falls there when on a bright day the sun is obscured by an obstructing peak, not dangerously cold. But as the approach to the pass was mounted, it grew colder and colder, and the storm grew fiercer, so much so that near the top of the pass conditions looked quite dangerous, comparatively low though the altitude might be. The change on crossing to the Indian side was remarkable; snow was still falling heavily twenty feet below the crossing, but the driving gale was no longer felt, and the air by comparison seemed warm. A storm at 17,600 feet in an exposed position in the autumn is not to be treated lightly, and we were fortunate to get through with no casualties.

On the descent to the Girthi river from the Untadhura Pass, there is a view of startling beauty, of glaciers coming down from 22,400, headed by two great towers, apparently of pure ice. The glaciers are short and steep, and very heavily crevassed; but the moraine on the western side affords the easiest possible going up to about 18,500 feet. Farther west is the beautiful glacier whose scanty outfall leads down to the spot which in the survey map bears the name of Girthi.

The Topidunga camping ground (14,830) is situated im-

mediately below the glaciers with their great ice pinnacles; but a better camping ground, a little higher, is found by going about two miles farther on, and crossing the Girthi torrent. It is cold here in the early autumn; the Girthi torrent is frozen every night, and the temperature touches zero F. by 7-30 P.M.: but the curiously dry air is remarkably exhilarating. Baral abound on the hills to the north, whose pursuit is less fatiguing than might be expected from the altitude: and the elusive snowleopard will be wandering round the camp at night. dry cold air induces hunger, and a craving for fatty foods: the frozen butter becomes the most important part of a meal: and a tin of butter does not go far. Climbing is pure joy (I can only speak of it up to 19,000 feet); unless one should be going down the valley, it is not possible to move at all without climbing, but no trouble from shortness of breath need be feared, nor any consciousness of the fact that the air is rarified, except when rapid movement may be made in pursuit of game.

I mentioned in the first of these articles how the early travellers in the Himalaya suffered from the effects of altitude at heights which we should now consider moderately low; how reviewers suggestion that ridiculed Colebrooke's Dwalagiri was over 26,000 feet because at that height the air could not support clouds; and how James Baillie Fraser realized that neither he nor Moorcroft could have actually been over sixteen thousand feet, because he knew that at that altitude the rarified air could not expand the lungs. Humboldt had long before climbed higher; his exploits were apparently doubted. Mr. F. S. Smythe, in his account of the ascent of Kamet, gives some interesting comments on what he calls the bogey of altitude, the bogey to which he himself has given such damaging thrusts. He is probably correct in attributing the strength of the bogey in early years to the fact that the ascent of Mont Blanc was in those days the great mountaineering feat. The course was by the Grands Mulets, a fatiguing journey always: but in those days to reach the summit of Mont Blane was something like arriving at the North Pole; those who reached it attributed their natural fatigue exclusively to the effect of altitude; and it was assumed that

in doing it they had touched the utmost limit of human exertion in high places. To the Schagintweits, visiting the Himalaya many years later under the auspices of Humboldt in his old age, the height of Mont Blanc could not have been a bogey, because they knew that Humboldt had climbed higher half a century before. Their curt remark in their official report, that for the generality of men the influence of height begins to be felt at 16,500 feet, ought to have pushed the bogey higher up the mountain. The trouble from 16,500 to 20,000 feet was only felt as aggravating fatigue: they felt some trouble above 20,000 feet, attributing it to deficiency of oxygen in the atmosphere. Mr. Smythe now puts the second stage, at which all climbing becomes fatiguing, at something over 23,000 feet.

I would say that nobody who has been accustomed to active exercise on his legs ought to expect trouble short of 20,000 feet. Our personal servants, men of the plains from Bettiah, past their first youth, but well-built, slim, healthy and fit, found no discomfort from altitude in 1930, except on the last five hundred feet of Untadhura, approaching it from the south, the natural result of a fatiguing journey. Re-crossing it from the northern side, they perceived no lessened power at all.

In India, where traditions die hard, the bogey of altitude still haunts the hill-stations, where the ordinary fatiguing effect of heat is still attributed to height. The human body is very adaptable; there may possibly be at 7,000 feet some reduction of capacity for exertion; but in a healthy man the practical effect is negligible. The Schlagintweits' distinction between the cause of aggravated fatigue at over 16,500 feet and the cause of shortness of breath at over 20,000 was probably fallacious; the main cause of each experience was probably deficiency of oxygen in the atmosphere, whatever may be contributed by the possible deficiency or excess of its other elements. The work of the blood, in carrying to the tissues oxygen to replace that which has been consumed by muscular exertion, must necessarily become more difficult as the quantity of oxygen in the atmosphere decreases; and adequate rest is

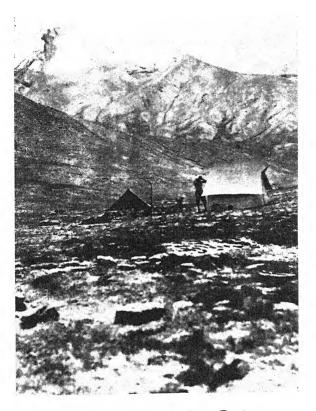
necessary at high altitudes if that work is to be properly performed. We reach a stage where rest is actually needed between steps taken; and that stage may be reached as low as 17,000 feet in a person tired by long exertion: but at that low altitude the effect is only temporary, and it will pass away after normal rest, giving the blood time to repair the waste.

However that may be, 'altitude deterioration' need not be feared at these comparatively low levels; where recuperation follows normally on sufficient rest. For the jaded denizen of the plains of India, who fortified in spirit and rendered capable of making full use of his bodily powers by joy of the mountains, enters into the delectable region on the northern side, the reward is great. Whether he comes as a devout Hindu, traversing the Holy Land of Kumaon in order to approach the Abode of the Gods, or whether he is merely seeking a remedy for the enervating effects of a semi-tropical climate, he will not traverse this region without acquiring a deeper understanding of the springs of the real Hindu religion. whose founts are in Kumaon and in the land to the north where are Kailas and Manasarowar. He will also be renewing the springs of life at their founts, perhaps incidentally, like the sick man of the story, set by his doctor to search for the healing herb in the mountains, and recovering health and strength in the process. The beautiful verse from the Vulgate, the cry of pilgrims to high places in another holy land, may well be echoed by all who enter the inner region of this part of the Himalaya.

I have lifted up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.

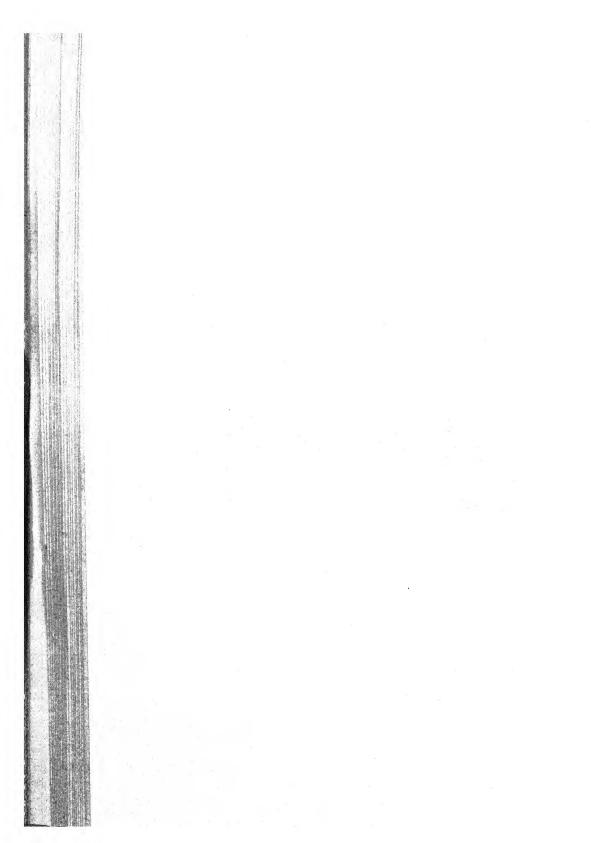
Note.—In the map of routes to Phurkiya and Untadhura, for the preparation of which I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Williams, Deputy Director of Surveys, B. and O., the altitudes given are based on the latest calculations made in the Geodetic Branch of the Survey of India. Some slight alterations from those hitherto accepted will be observed; Nanda Devi is 25,645: Trisul is reduced from 23,406 to 23,360: Trisul East from 22,360 to 22,320: and Nanda Kot from 22,530 to 22,510.

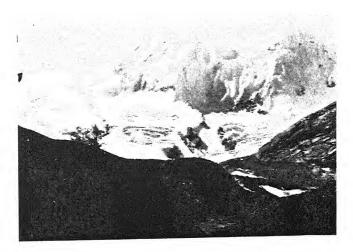




Topidunga, on the bank of the Girthi river at 14,800 ft.

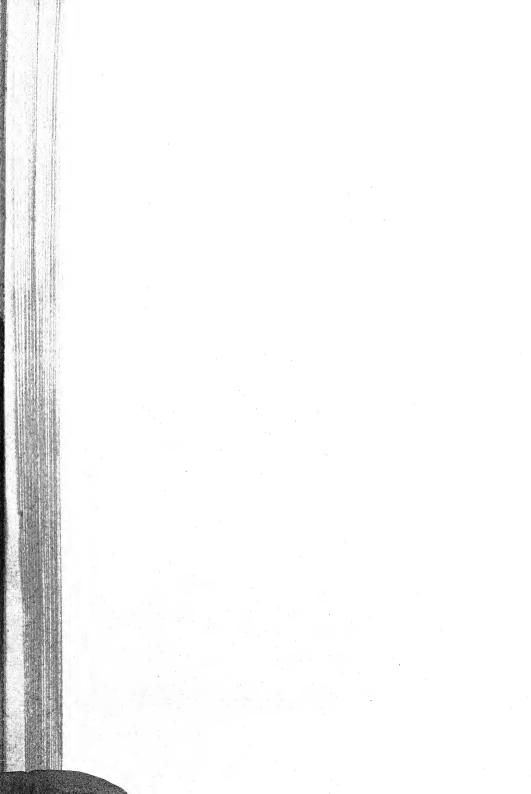
J. B. O. R. S., 1933.

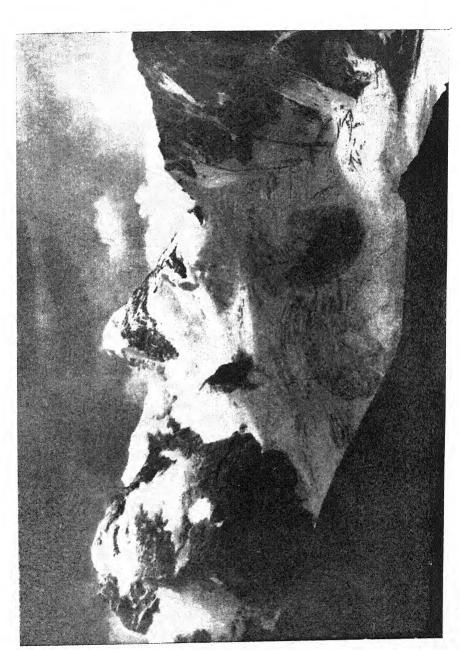




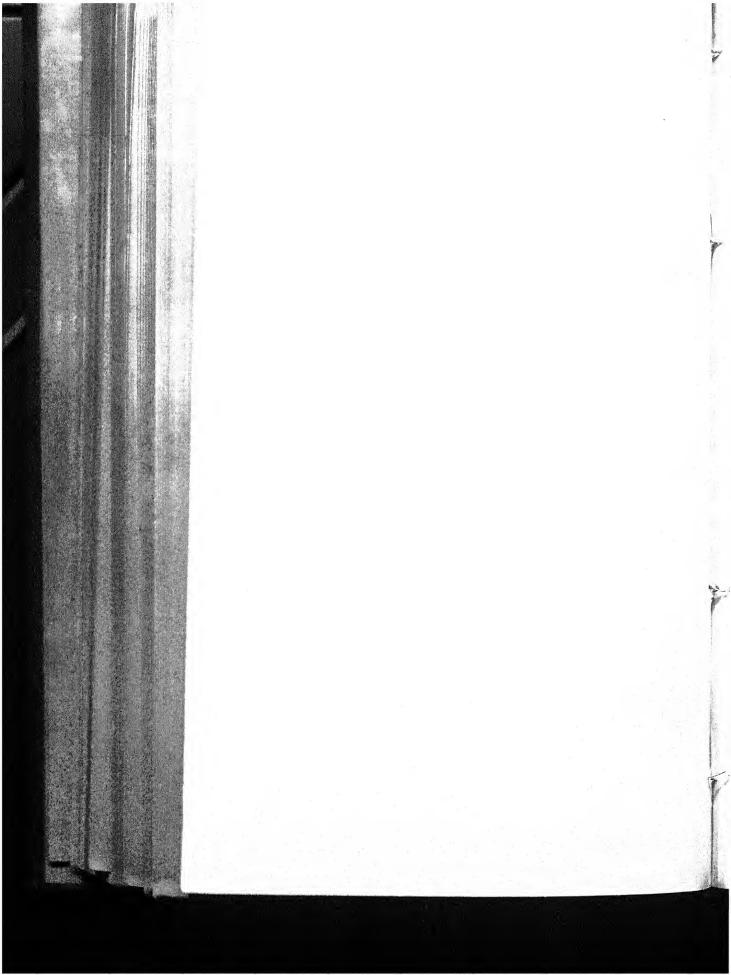
Glaciers near Topidunga, and 22,400.

J. B. O. R. S., 1933.





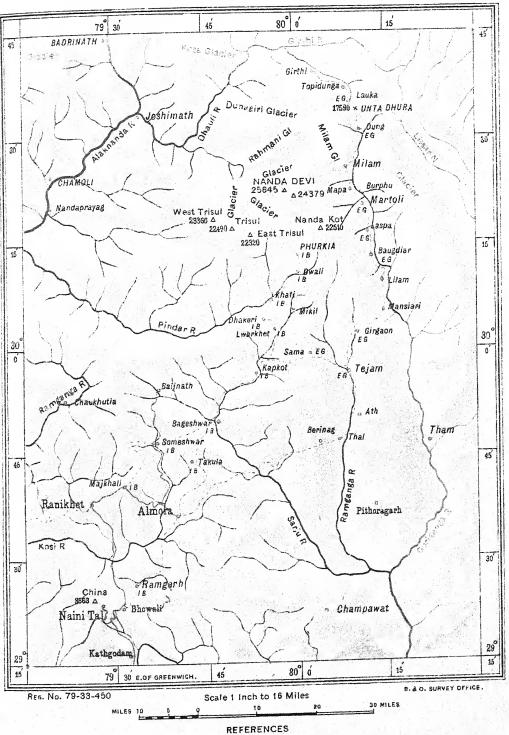
The Girthi Glacier, and 23,220.



Sketch map

of

The routes to Phurkia and Unta Dhura from Almora.



Metalled road....



III. APPENDICES TO HISTORY OF INDIA, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Read at p. 34, l. 4, Nāgabhatṭa instead of Nāgadatta.

Add to f.n. l at p. 51: See plate in Banerji's History of

Orissa, i. 113, of coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, which were
found, 112 in number, in a hoard
along with 170 Puri Kushan
coins, in Mayurbhanj, Orissa.

Statement about 'Meghas' at p. 87, l. 25, has been corrected in App. D; and that at p. 113, §111, and f.n. 3, about the 'first Gupta King' has been modified in App. F.

Read at p. 142, l. 11, with the family of Nāgabhatta instead of with the Nāgadatta.

" p. 206, l. 31, Ayodhyā instead of Ajodhyā.

" p. 210, l. 20, Guptas " Gupta.

APPENDIX D.

Bhīṭā Excavations on the Hindu War on the Kushans

and

On Vākāṭaka Seals and Inscriptions.

I.

Kushans at Bhīţā.

Bhīṭā as exposed by the spade¹ offers itself as an epitomé

Two attacks on the city.

of Indian history for at least sixteen centuries, if not more. The site had been occupied from about the Tenth Century B.C. to the Tenth Century A.D. In these two millennia, we are here concerned with the remains of the Kushanto-Gupta Period. Sir John Marshall found that the site discloses two military attacks on it, both of which fall within our period. To quote his words: (regarding the fourth stratum)

- (a) 'That the house was hurriedly deserted, owing to some 'catastrophe, in the Kushana period, and afterwards suffered to fall 'to ruin, seems manifest from the coins and other articles left lying 'on the floors, and by the subsequent accumulation of débris in the 'rooms and court, but how long the edifice had been standing when 'this happened, it is impossible to determine with any degree of 'certainty.'
- (b) [Regarding the fifth stratum] 'This second evacuation, which 'took place in the early Gupta epoch, seems to have been as precipitate as the first and to have resulted from some hostile attack on 'the city; for many missiles, such as catapult and sling balls, were found in the houses and lanes and most of the houses themselves 'were burnt, while in the house which I am describing, even the 'sacred images of the gods were abandoned to their fate'?
- 1 'Excavations at Bhītā' by Sir John Marshall, A.S.R., 1911-12, pp. 29 ff.
- ² Ibid., p. 34. Cf., p. 37, 'Like the houses of Nagadeva and Jayavasuda, this one must also have been deserted hastily in the Kushana times, as indicated by the minor objects found on the floors' [re-Building No. 23].

The exact period of the first attack is indicated by the Attack in the Bhāra-siva Period.

Attack in the Bhāra-the fourth stratum which is to be distinguished from the débris above reaching

the fifth stratum. Seventeen copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were found on the floor of the fourth stratum and three clay sealings [Nos. 19, 20, and 73], the characters of which are in the early Kushan script. The débris were three feet deep when a new building thereon was constructed. Sir John has given the date of this construction as the end of the Third Century A.D. We can be certain that this new construction was done a short time after the date of the seal of Nagadeva (No. 5), which Sir John Marshall has described as having late Kushan script. This was found two feet above the floor of the fourth stratum (p. 48). The débris, according to Sir John, had accumulated in the natural course (p. 34). A further and still more positive datum is afforded by the fact that in the excavations although no Kushan coins later than those of Huvishka were found, a mould (No. 35, p. 65) for minting gold coin of Vasudeva was discovered. This shows that the sack must refer to the early years of Vāsudeva, not a single coin of whose reign has been found there. We might note here that seventeen coins of his predecessor, Huvishka, seven coins of Kanishka, and three coins of Kadphises II were found in different parts of the excavations. In the period after the sack, we have such names as Nāgadeva [about 200 A.D.] and Amātya Nāgadāma [No. 40, cir. 200 A.D.]. A large number of 'anonymous Kosam' coins were recovered but they have not been published. They may include coins of the Bhārasivas. The seal of Amātya Nāgadāma closely agrees in script with that of the Bhārasiva coins. The title Amātya, which is on several seals of the period, denotes a reversion [by the Bhāraśivas] to the old Hindu system of government. It seems that in the Bhāraśiva period the town was under their Amātyas.

The second military operation against the city in the early Gupta epoch must refer to the first Āryāvarta War of Samudra Gupta in the first few years of vol. xix. pt. iii] app. (d) on bhīṭā, and vākāṭaka seals 293

Rudrasena who has got one coin only (No. 100) to his credit in the excavations.¹

Bhīṭā is 10 miles S.S.W. from Allahabad.² It is on the southern bank of the Jumna. The City Position of Bhītā. stood at the gate of the Chedi country. We find it fortified before the Maurya time, according to the excavations. The name of the place was Sahajāti, which is found in a terra-cotta seal matrix in the house called by Sir John Marshall the 'House of Guild'. It is seal No. 1 which is the oldest record found at Bhītā. It is in Māgadhī and reads Śahajātiye nigamaśa. Every letter of the seal is at least a century older (if not earlier still) than Asoka's letters. Sir John's reading (Sahijitiye) is incorrect. The town of Sahajāti is mentioned in the Vinaya Pitaka (Chullavagga, Chap. XII) where at the time of the Second Council (about 100 years after the Buddha's death) the Venerable Revata is approached by the brethren of Vaiśālī who reach it by a boat. Sahajāti was in the Chedi country and it was so in the time of the Buddha's disciple Chunda.4 Numerous seals, found in the house of the President of the City Corporation, from Government Civil Officials and Military Officers and a Vākāṭaka prince [see below] prove that it was probably a military station in the Bhārasiva and the Vākātaka period, as it evidently had been before. The seals would have been attached to government orders and also probably to orders for drawing money from the President who acted also as the State bank. The seals cover several generations. The city had grown as a commercial station, being situated almost at the terminus of the Jumna,

¹ His son Prithivishena has also only one (No. 73).

² Cunningham, Vol. III, p. 46.

³ Rāhula Sānkrityāyana, *Buddhacharyā*, pp. 559 and 561, where the identification has been suggested.

There is no warrant for Sir John's supposition that the old name of Bhītā was Vichīgrāma of which a sealing (not seal-matrix) was discovered in the excavations. A matrix (No. 11) with the personal (man's) name Vichī found in another place proves only this that a man of the name of Vrischi lived there.

⁴ Anguttara Nikāya, VI, 5, 4, 5; X, 1, 3, 4; X, 2, 4, 5.

and serving as the internal port for transport between the Doab and Central India via the ancient Deccan Road.¹

II.

Vākāṭaka Seals at Bhīṭā.

The period of peace after the overthrow of the Kushan Importance of Sahajāti power is a gradation from 150/200 A.D. [the period of the Amātya administration] to the next century which is marked by a different class of officers under the Vākāṭakas to whom the Empire passed from the Bhāraśivas. Documents from princes of the blood, governors, generals, and the emperor come into evidence, showing that Sahajāti had risen into importance and that it was then in close touch with the then imperial capital of the Vākāṭakas.

In a script of about 250 A.D., 'in northern characters of the Mahārājādhirāja's Seal.

The letters of this seal, No. 29, are not Kushan and are distinctly pre-Guptan. They are a class by themselves. They read: '..taka mahārājādhirāja'.² The 'ja' is just like the Kushan letter, and 'ra' with a small scriph is still straight, while 'ka' has a straight cross-bar. The 'ha' assumes a form approaching that at Jaggayapetta and it is yet distant from the Allahabad pillar form. It is thus, on the whole, a writing of the latter half of the Third Century A.D., marking a period of transition. A distinct character, however, is given to it by the first letter ta which, curiously enough, has

¹ Bhadanta Sānkrityāyana has drawn my attention to the other two towns in the Chedi country occurring in the Pāli Canon, namely, Bhaddavatikā and Sahañ-chanikā. Bhaddavatikā is Ptolemy's Badraotis which falls in Chedi. Is Sahañ-chanikā the same as Chanakā of the Purāṇas?

² Sir John Marshall's reading '...raka Mahārājadhirāja' is inaccurate with regard to the first letter, which can never be 'ra' in any period of Indian palæography. The vertical which he took to be a 'ra' turns with a loop towards the cross-bar of the next letter 'ka' which it almost touches [below the left end of the bar], and there is a box-head like a 'ta' attached to the top of the letter

a box-head. It is the earliest specimen of the box-headed Vākāṭaka writing. The beginning of the legend is broken. Considering the shape of the seal, there seem to have been two more letters as Sir John Marshall has assumed. The first two missing letters, in my opinion, were Vākā (and not Bhatta- as suggested by Sir John Marshall). The whole legend gave ' [Vākā]taka-Mahārājâdhirāja'. 'Mahārājâdhirāja'—a new title—appears here for the first time. It was a Hindu rendering and adaptation of the 'Shāhānushāhi' title of the Kushans which denoted their imperial position. Pravarasena I alone could be the Vākāṭaka sovereign to assume this title, which after his four asvamedhas expanded into that of $Sa\dot{m}r\bar{a}t$. The seal, like the coins of Pravarasena, is dated. It bears numerals of a type which must have become archaic in his time: 30, 7 (=37). Like the other records of this king we have to take it to be in the era counted from the foundation of the family, i.e. his father's coronation, 248 A.D. We have already seen (ante p. 79) that the reign of Vindhyaśakti covers 36 years, and the seal being dated in the 37th year, it must refer to the second year of Pravarasena's reign. The second face of the sealing bears the bull figure which becomes the chief emblem of the dynasty and is stamped on all the seals of high State-officials and generals of the period [see below] and on the Pallava documents. It becomes the crest of the Vākātaka Government. This seal was found 18" (eighteen inches) above the Kushan level and eleven feet below from the top, which works out to be the level of the Third Century A.D.

The next important document is the seal of GautamiSeal of Gautamiputra.

Putra (No. 25) which was discovered in the débris below the floor built in the Fourth Century A.D. The seal of Gautamiputra is artistically the best seal of Hindu India and Sir John Marshall rightly observes: 'In respect of execution the seal excels any object of this class which has yet been discovered in India' (p. 51). On account of the title Gautamiputra, Sir John Marshall thought that the ruler in the seal was an Andhra king. But it is not correct. The system of being described by the mother's name

was prominent in Brahmin and Kshatriya families (more prominent in the former), e.g. in the inscriptions of the Śunga time (at Ayodhyā, Pabhosā, etc.). The Āndhra Sātavāhanas who were Brahmins similarly followed the custom. The Vākātakas, who were Brahmins originally and assumed their Kshatriya rôle under the imperial influence of the Nāgas and on account of marriages into their family, would naturally observe that custom. That Gautamīputra Vākāṭaka assumed it as his official name is a fact attested by the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. His name stands out with the implicit claim that he was from a Brahmin mother. There are several facts which establish the identity of the Gautamiputra of the seal with the Gautamiputra of the Vākātaka inscriptions. The Andhras never employ Sanskrit while all the known Väkätaka inscriptions, like the seal, are in Sanskrit. The Andhras were not vrishadvaja ('having in their banner Śiva's bull'). The dynasty of the Gautamiputra of the seal is different from that of the Sātavāhanas. He is called here 'The Increaser of Śrī Vindhya Srī-Vindhyabardhana-Mahārājasya 1 'the Mahārāja who is the increaser (of the family) of Śrī Vindhya, which may be compared with Cheti $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ - $Va(\dot{m})sa = vadhanasa$ of the Hathigumphā inscription]. It means that he belonged to the family of Sri Vindhya, i.e. of King Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka family and grandfather of Gautamiputra. On the coins of Rudrasena and Prithivishena the same hill symbol appears which is to be found in the middle of this seal and which from the later seals of the Śivalinga of Kālañjara (No. 15) is to be identified as the Vindhya Hill. The Vākāṭaka coins have got the Vrisha of Śiva on which Śiva is seated in Rudrasena's coin. That corresponds with the 'Vrishadvaja' of this seal. The Vākāṭakas, according to the inscriptions, were Saiva, and in the seal the prince claims that his royalty had been dedicated to Maheśvara (i.e. Lord Siva) and his son Mahāsena. Probably the original Ishtadevatā of

¹ The whole text of the seal (running round the margin) is: Srī Vindhyabardhana-Mahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsenātiśrishṭa-rājyasya vrishadvajasya Gautamiputrasya. It is slightly misread by Sir John Marshall as Srī Vindhyabedhana°. There is neither any horizontal e mark, hor any room between the ligature ndhya and ba for such a mark.

Vindhyaśakti was the famous Śiva $K\bar{a}la\tilde{n}jara^1$ who is apparently the same as $K\bar{a}le\acute{s}vara$ appearing in a later seal (No. 14). The Andhras never had Śiva as their Ishtadevatā, nor had they the title of $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$ which the owner of this seal bears.

According to the Vākātaka inscriptions, Gautamīputra was the son of Pravarasena I and father of Rudrasena I, and in the Vākātaka plates he bears the same appellation Gautamīputra (without any personal name) as here. He seems to have been a Mahārāja (governor) under his father who was Mahārājādhirāja. The letters are consciously moulded with the aim of perfect symmetry, and the forms adopted are all square which makes the scribe adopt some archaic forms (e.g. of ha and ma). They are slightly later than the letters of the seal No. 29 in their general tendency in spite of the older forms.²

In this seal (No. 25) we find not only a document of Gautamīputra but also the name of the first king of the family [Śrī Vindhya].

Seal No. 27 gives the name of Bhīmasena. It was found among the débris accumulated above the Kushan floor (pp. 32 and 51) and Sir John Marshall rightly assigns it to the Second or Third Century A.D. This Śrī Bhīmasena is identical with the Śrī Bhīmasena of the Ginja inscription discussed above (ante p. 108), of the year 52 of the Vākātaka era, from which his date is fixed (300 A.D.). It has a standing Nandi-bull and the figure of Gaṅgā (compare it with the more distinct figure in seal No. 26, discussed below). The writing closely resembles the writing at Ginja (E.I., Vol. III, pl., p. 305). The bow-and-arrow mark which is on the seal is not an exclusive Southern Indian

¹ The god Kālañjara has two later seals, discovered at Bhīṭā (viz. 15, 16). Both Kālañjara and Kāleśvara probably signify the same deity.

² See the *i*-mātrā on m in Gautami°.

³ Where on Vākātaka seals or coins, e.g. on Rudrasena's coin or Bhīmasena's seal, the Vrisha or Gangā or both face or point towards the standard, it means that the standard is Vrishadhvaja and that it bears these symbols on it. The device is obvious, for it would be too cumbersome to depict these figures inside a banner on such small objects as seals and coins.

device. It is also found in seal No. 73 which bears Kushan characters. Bhīmasena was the actual governor of the area in the year 300 A.D. which is conclusively proved by the neighbouring Ginja record. In the seal his mother's name is also given, he being called Vāsishṭhīputtra, not Vasasuputtra as read by Sir John Marshall. The whole legend reads: Rājño¹ Vāsishṭhī-puttrasya Śrī-Bhīmasena[sya]. He is called mahārāja at Ginja. It seems that he also was a son of Pravarasena I, from another wife who belonged to the Vāsishṭha gotra.

Seal No. 26 belongs to another Vākāṭaka governor and was recovered from the same stratum as the Seal of Sivamāgha. seal numbered 27. The legend is in similar characters but slightly later in date : ' $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja~Gautami$ putrasya Śrī Śiva-māghasya'. It has the same crest of the Nandi bull and the Ganges as on the seal of Bhīmasena, and the title Mahārāja. The figure of the Ganges standing on a makara is clear here. Her left hand is on the hip in both the figures and the right hand points to a standard. Mahārāja Śivamāgha² is known from a stone inscription at Kosam inscribed during his rule (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 159, pl. No. ii). He was actually the Governor of Kauśāmbī in the beginning of the Fourth Century A.D. He seems to have been dead or transferred by the Vākātaka year 86 3 (334 A.D. which falls within the reign of Pravarasena I) when another governor Mahārāja Śrī Bhadrama .. was ruling at Kauśāmbī.

Thus we have these further records of the time of Pravarasena I:—

Vākāṭaka-Mahārājâdhirāja (Seal No. 29) [Year 37=285 A.D.]

Mahārāja Gautamiputra (Seal No. 25).

¹ It was read by Sir John Marshall as 'Rājña'.

² Sir John Marshall was doubtful about the vowel-force to ma and he has read doubtfully m[e]gha. But $m\bar{a}$ is clear both here and in the Kosam inscription. I take this opportunity to correct the statement, ante page 87, § 76, where I assumed the reading of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani (Siva-m[e]gha) and his view, that they were Gupta governors, to be correct.

³ E.I., XVIII, 160, pl. No. 3. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani read the date as 88.

Rājā Bhīmasena (Seal No. 27) [at Ginja, 'Mahārāja', year 52=300 A.D.].

Mahārāja Śivamāgha (Seal No. 26).

Mahārāja Bhadrama..(Year 86=334 A.D.).

Seal No. 30, of *Mahādevī* Rudramatī, with Nandi bull (couchant), is the latest royal document of the Vākāṭakas. We do not yet know whose queen she was. We have nothing later here than the time of Pṛithivīsheṇa. It has letters of the Fourth Century A.D. and was found in the pre-Guptan level.

These seals and other Vākātaka seals of officials (to be discussed presently) prove the universal employment of Sanskrit in the Vākātaka Court from the very beginning, and the existence of a high stage of art and culture which is in no way inferior to that evidenced by the Gupta coins.

We have quite a number of sealings of officials belonging to the period. They are clearly distinguishable on account of the distinctive royal Vākātaka emblems on them.

Seal No. 33 is of Jayanta, a cavalry officer (aśva-pati). It has the Väkätaka wheel-mark. Seal Officers' Seals. No. 36 belongs to Amātya Īśvarachandra. This also has the Vākāṭaka wheel-mark. Seals Nos. 37 and 38 of Amātya Dharmadeva may or may not belong to the class as the Vākātaka royal marks are absent thereon. Seal No. 44 is distinctly Vākāṭakan in script and symbols. It has the Nandi bull and a wheel. The owner was a general-Dandanāyaka Śrī Śankaradatta. Similarly seal No. 45 has a (couchant) bull and also probably a wheel and is from Dandanāyaka Grāmabala. Seal No. 46 is similar to seal No. 45 and is from Dandanāyaka La... Seal No. 48 (not reproduced) appears to be similar to the above seals and is from Dandanāyaka Yajña-vī.... Seal No. 49 has a couchant bull; 'Dandanā [yaka] Umasya'. No. 51 is exactly similar to No. 44: a standing bull with a mark of the sun between the horns, similar to the figure on No. 44: Dandanāyaka Va. No. 52 of Pratihāra... Viśākha Rudradāma. It has the couchant bull as in No. 45 but more artistically done. No. 54 is similar where the name is Gangadeva. No. 57 has a powerful representation of the bull

facing the figure of Gangā which stands between the bull and the standard of Śiva's trident-and-battleaxe (cf. seal No. 14 of Kālañjara). No. 78 has a couchant bull with Rudrasimha in characters of the fourth century (a little later than those described above).

The bull-figures may be compared with those on the Vākātaka coins and the Pallava seals. Majority of the bull figures on the seals exhibit great art and so does their lettering.

APPENDIX E.

Paikuli Sassanian Inscription (293/4 A.D.) and its bearing on the Vākāṭaka Period of Indian History.

The (Kurdistan) Paikuli Inscription, edited by Prof. Ernst Herzfeld in Forschungen Zur Islamischen Kunst (Series No. III) under the title Paikuli Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire (in two volumes), Berlin, 1924, has a bearing on the period of Indian History discussed above. It refers to the Ābhīras, the lord of Avanti, 'Satraps', and the Kúshán king.

The inscription was discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson who made an eye-copy of it in 1836. It was edited by Thomas in his 'Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins' (JRAS., 1868). Prof. Herzfeld undertook several journeys to Paikuli and recognized that it was a bilingual record. His work could only be published by the generosity of Sir Dorabji Tata and through the kind interest of Prof. Browne of Cambridge. Out of gratitude to them the German scholar has published his work in English.

The inscription was engraved by the order of King Narseh, and the subject is the war between him and Varhrán III.

Pápak, son or descendant of Sásán, flourished as a vassal chief near Shíráz whose son Ardashír became the founder of an empire and assumed the title of Sháhánsháh i Érán (emperor of Erán) on April 28th, 224 A.D., on the defeat of the Arsacidan suzerain Ardaván. On the eastern side of his empire he included therein Khorásán, with the result that the Kúshán Sháh, the next neighbour, amongst others, sent his envoy to declare his allegiance. This account is taken from Tabarí, which stands confirmed by the coins of Pápak and his son Sháhpuhr, elder brother of Ardashír I, and of Ardashír I (originally published by Thomas and Cunningham; Paikuli, i, 36). Ardashír's son, Sháhpuhr I, ruled in 241-272, who called

himself 'Emperor (King of kings) of Érán and non-Érán (anérán)'. The next sovereigns Hormizd I (272-273) and Varhrán I (273-276) were short-lived. Varhrán II (276-293) was greatly harassed (283 A.D.) by the Roman Emperor (M. Aur. Carus) and by the rebellion of his own brother Hormizd in the east (289 A.D.). On the death of Varhrán II a dynastic war broke out (293 A.D.) between Varhrán III (son of Varhrán II) and his grand-uncle, Narseh. Narseh proved successful and reigned from 293 to 302 A.D. in which year he was succeeded by his son Hormizd II (302-309 A.D.). The Paikuli Inscription relates to this dynastic struggle of 293 A.D.

In this civil war the 'lord of Avantī' [Avandikán xvatávya] took the side of Varhrán III. And according to the inscription, 'all kinds of Satraps' (Sátrap gónak gónak) congratulated the new king (Narseh) on his victory. So also congratulated him 'the king of the Ābhīras' [Abírán Šáh].

It is noteworthy that these princes are 'all enumerated as independent princes' (Herzfeld, p. 43). Prof. Herzfeld's surmise that they had been subject to the Sassanian throne up to the war is not supported by the inscription. Had they been subject, they would not have been treated as independent by the victorious emperor. The Avantikas had aided as mere allies Varhrán III who had been governor and ruler of Sīstān. The German scholar has been influenced by the unproved theory of Dr. Vincent Smith of a supposed 'unrecorded' Sassanian invasion of India [Sindh, the Punjab, etc.].

I cite below the passages having bearing on India from the Paikuli Inscription. The text is bilingual—Pársík and Pahlavík; where the original text is given the language is indicated by (Pr.) or (Ph.) In line 24 we read:

'straight to the country of Asúristán they do not 'come.....with that army come together.....own.....

After him the succession is: Sháhpuhr II (309-379); Ardashír II (379-383); Sháhpuhr III (383-388); Varhrán IV (388-399).

'Sakánsháh (i.e. the rival of Narseh), and Vahunám 'until....TANDY, and by (?) them (25) the lord of 'Avantī [Avandik(á)n xvat(á)vya, (Ph.)¹ the Sakán-'sháh, and Vahunám.....TRAN I arrive' (pp. 105, '107).

It is thus clear that the lord of the Avandikán was a chief ally of Varhrán (III) the Sakánsháh. Line 29 says that Vahunám was captured and bound and was brought on a donkey (after being paraded) to the royal Porte.

Lines 44 to 47 enumerate the kings and rulers who recognized the new king (pp. 117, 119) after the victory—an event which may be dated in or about 294 A.D., the year following the battle. The text is as follows:

'And the king of the Kúshán $[Ku\check{s}(\acute{a})n\ \check{S}\overline{A}H-(Ph.)]$, 'and to us the Cæsar $[K\acute{e}sare-(Pr.)]$, and the Roman $[hr\acute{o}me-(Pr.)]^2$...

- '(45).....(42) and the king of Khwárizm, and Zámásp the...pat of the Kúshdán, and Dígpambak(?) [the..., and Sayyidí, the Shaikh of the Arabs [Harváník (Pr.), Arváník (Pl.)], and Pak, the eunuch, and Béruván, son of (?) Spandorát, and the king of the Páradán, and Varáčgurt the king, and the king of Žand-Afrík, and the king of Makúrán, and X. the king of, and Tírdát the king, and 'Amru, the descendant of the Abgars,.....and the king of Ábhíra [$\bar{A}b$ írán Š $\bar{A}H$ -(Pr.)], and Síká-.....
- '(46).....(43').....—VRYN YPPT that their BYTAK.....—satraps of all kind, (Vará)zgirde, the lord [Xvatáy (Pr.) xvatávya (Pl.)] of the Sakhúričán, and Khvarasmán, the lord of the Mókán, and Bagdát, the lord of the Zúrádián, and MitrÁLasén, the [lord of the] Bóraspičín, and Bátí, the lord of the Zúradatčín, and X. the lord of the [Ap]réšumičán, and Márwak [the lord of] the Ishtakvín, and.....the lord of the Térakhčín....
- '(47)..... the lord [of the...], and the other princes our instruction they become, and the whole Empire

¹ The Pársík text has decayed here.

² Read 'the Roman Cæsar's': 'and' in the text is wrong.

anew (?) I wish (?) (or: they congratulated me) and some came personally to our Porte, others envoys.....PAKR....., and by(?) him the Empire, and the place....., and to our service they come.....he holds, on him [they] say.....End.'

The Kúshán Sháh who is put on par with the Roman Kesar (Cæsar) was the Kushan king. The word KÚSHÁN in the inscription has been treated as a territorial unit; evidently the dynastic name (after the name of the first king Kushana) gave the territorial designation of Kúshán to the Balkh-Badakshan region. The Kúshán Sháh here must be the Kushan emperor, to be mentioned even before the Roman emperor. The group of kings headed by these two emperors (lines 44-45 of the Pársík text, and lines 41-42 of the Pahlavík text) are undoubtedly independent kings.

It is noteworthy that the Abîrán Šáh or the king of the Ābhīra country is in that list of kings. We know that the first Ābhīra king—Īśvarasena—founded the Ābhīra kingdom about 240 A.D. (§164 above). The Ābhīras before him were republican (§164). They appear again as republican in 350 A.D. in Samudra Gupta's time. The Ābhīra king in 293-294 A.D. was thus one of the descendants of Īśvarasena whose records are dated in his own royal years and not in the Śaka era. The Ābhīra king up to 294 A.D. was an independent sovereign ruling over a part of Aparānta (insc. at Nāsik) and the neighbourhood. He must have sent his envoy to Narseh like other kings (line 48). In the reign of Pravarasena I (284-344 A.D.) who is followed by Samudra Gupta, the Ābhīra kingdom must have been suppressed, evidently soon after 294 A.D.

The king of the Páradán is the king of the Pāradas of Sanskrit or Pāladas of Asoka. I have shown elsewhere that these Pāradas were a northern nation, in north Afghanistan, and their modern representatives are the Bārad-zái. The existence of a king of the Pāradas in 293-294 A.D. proves that the community ceased to be republican which they had been in the days of Asoka, and that the Pārada king was independent

¹ IA, 1933, p. 121, ('Places and Peoples in Asoka's Inscriptions').

and not under the Kúshán Sháh, who thus does not seem to have had the whole of Afghanistan under him.

The second group of 'all sorts of Satraps' is taken by Prof. Herzfeld to be an Indian group. He identifies them ('twelve') as Indo-Scythians. He is mostly influenced by V. Smith's view that Kathiawāḍ and the territories upwards were under the Śakas up to the reign of Chandra Gupta II. He also identifies the lord of Avanti as a Śaka Satrap. When Prof. Herzfeld counts 12 Śaka Satraps, he evidently includes in them the lord of Avanti and the king of the Ābhīras, for the 'Satraps of all kind' text has only 10 rulers. The view that the group of the Satraps is all Indian is not accurate; nor can the Ābhīra king come under the Indo-Scythian class. But a few of them are certainly Indian.

The lord of Zúrádián is certainly the lord of the Surāshtras, as pointed out by Prof. Herzfeld (p. 43). The Surāshtras had been republican in the time of Kautilya. Soon they came under the imperial rule of Chandra Gupta Maurya and Aśoka. Then they came under Rudradāman who was elected by them their king about 150 A.D. In 293-94 A.D. they are under a ruler (xvatávya, not necessarily a 'Satrap') whose name BAGDAT may be identified as BHAGADATTA or BHAGADATA. Now we know all the Kshatrapa names from 150 A.D. to 332 A.D.—in practically an unbroken succession (Rapson, C. A. D., cliv-clvii), and no name having the slightest approach to Bhagadatta is found in that list. Prof. Rapson has pointed out in connection with the name ISVARADATTA. that the DATTA-ending is foreign to the Kshatrapa family (p. cxxxiii). Surāshtra had been the seat of the Western Satraps. The appearance of Bhagadatta in Surāshtra in 294 A.D. confirms the conclusion already advanced in our History (§§81, 164) that Surāshtra had been won back from the Western Satraps before the Gupta time. Bhagadatta seems to belong to the confederacy of the Abhīras, cf. the name 'Abhīra Śivadatta'. The Saurāshtras are described as a republican community at the rise of Samudra Gupta by the Bhagavata Purana, that is, they had been so in the time of the VAKATAKAS also (§82). It is likely that this Bhagadatta was a republican chief, which is

evidently suggested by the Paikuli term 'all sorts of Satraps'. If they had been only of the class of 'Śaka' Satraps such a description was not needed. The description is constitutional; several constitutional classes of independent, though small, rulers are intended.

Prof. Herzfeld identifies Mókán as the district around Quetta. Its lord was Khvarasmán. The learned scholar thinks that MitrALasén (the lord of Bóraspičín) was a Śaka Satrap. But the Śaka Satrap at the time was Mahākshatrapa Bhartridāman (289-295 A.D.) with his Kshatrapa Viśvasena (294-304) and his predecessor was Viśva Simha (Rapson, p. clvi). We have a total absence of the Mahākshatrapa's family in the Paikuli list. It is thus evident that they were not free to have diplomatic dealings and they must have been represented by the Kúshán Sháh. The independent Indian sovereigns mentioned in the list were Hindu rulers, who at the time existed, according to the Purānic data, in Avanti, Ābhīra, and Surāshţra (§§ 73A, 74, 81, 145 ff.), probably forming a confederacy. MitrALasén may be a leader of 'the Three Mitra' Republics (Pushymitra, Paţumitra, and Padmamitra), and Bóraspičín is probably from Vāravatī, capital of the Vāravatya Yādavas who were near Valabhi, and whose rulers bore the title of Pushpa.., according to the Manju-Śrī-Mūlakalpa (ch. 53, p. 625). It is not possible to identify any of the other names as Indian, except perhaps MARWAK as MALAVAKA, which is discounted by the unknown Ishtakvin.

The data of Paikuli admirably confirm the Purānic data for 293-294 A.D. The date falls within the first ten years of the Vākātaka imperial time under Pravarasena I. We have noted above (p. 87) that the province of Malwā, where these free communities of the Avantyas and the Mitras had been ruling, seems to have been acquired about 300-310 A.D. by the

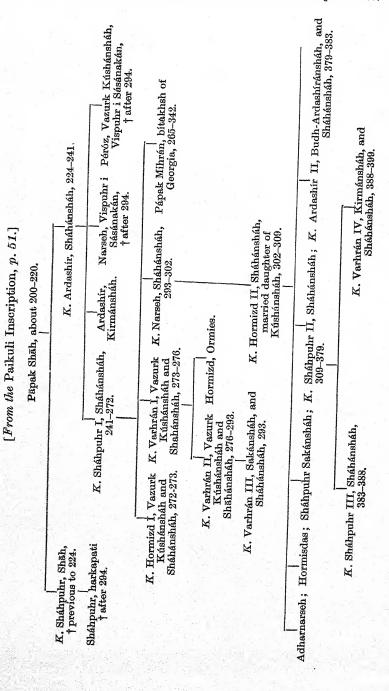
¹ Pushpa-nāmo tato proktā Vāravatyām purodbhavaḥ | Valabhyām * * * * * anantā nripatayo proktā Yādavānām kulodbhavāḥ | Cf. ĀMMK., p. 604 where Vāray(v)atyāḥ are Yāt(d)avāḥ.

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Vākāṭakas as their over-lord. Just before that they appear to be absolutely independent. It must have been they and the Saurāshṭras who drove the Śaka Satrap out of that part of the country. The Purāṇic history of the Ābhīra kingdom (rise about 248 A.D., §164, p. 170 above) stands confirmed by Paikuli which records the Ābhīran Šáh as an important sovereign in 293-294. Their appearance in the time of Samudra Gupta (350 A.D.) as a republic shows that under Pravarasena I the Ābhīra monarchy came to an end, about 300-310 A.D., when the Province of Malwa came under the Vākāṭaka House. Their individuality was preserved in the form of their republican government. This history leaves no room for a Śaka Satrap in Konkaṇa, Kathiawiḍ, Gujarat, and Malwā in 293-300 A.D. The Śaka had been pushed out to Cutch-Sindh before 293 A.D.

THE KUSHANS AND THE SASSANIAN EMPIRE.

Certain Sassanian coin-legends, and titles, noted by Muhammadan historians, throw light on the condition of the Kushan emperors in the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭaka period. The former were already available from Cunningham and other numismatists, and the latter have been collected from literary sources by Prof. Herzfeld, who has prepared the following chart exhibiting the titles (I have inserted K. before the names of kings):



The rise of Ardashir, the first Sassanian king (224-241), falls in the Bhāraśiva period. Before his rise the Bhāraśivas had already driven the Kushans from the Gangā-Yamunā Doab, that is, Ardashir found the Kushan emperor weakened and he took advantage of it. According to Tabari, Ardashir took away Khorásán but according to the Armenian historian whom Nöldeke prefers, his empire did not include Balkh. In any case, he did reach the borders of the Kushan home-province and exercised some sort of superiority over it. He seems to have threatened to invade the Indian dominions of Junah who opened negotiations from Sirhind (§38, p. 50). But it is not until the time of Hormizd I (272-275) that the Sassanian king calls himself GREAT (Vazurk) KÚSHANSHAH in addition to SHAHANSHAH, which is repeated by Varhrán I (273-276) and Varhrán II (276-293). This title is given up by Narseh (293-302), though temporarily revived by Péróz some time after 294 A.D. The title denoted over-lordship on the Kushans. In 302-309 A.D., Hormizd II married the daughter of the Kushan king (Kábul Sháh) and the Kushan position improved.

Thus from 272 up to 292, for 20 years, the Kushans got the protection of the Sassanian king and assumed the position of a vassal king. In that period the Bhārasivas and after them Pravarasena I would have operated against the Kushans in India. After 293 A.D. they must have been more pressed by Pravarasena, who may be regarded to have broken their power in India, whereon the Kúshánsháh shifted himself into Kabul. The Sassanians were hard-pressed by the Romans and could not be of assistance to the Kushans. The final suppression of the Kushans, who revived in 302-309, is to the credit of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. There does not seem to be any room in history for a conquest of the Sassanians over North-West or Western India. That the Sassanian rule extended over Sistan is proved by their title SAKANSHAH and is confirmed by Kālidāsa who places the Pārasīkas next to Sindh in the invasion of Raghu: sthala-vartmnā, through the Bolān Pass, as opposed to the sea-route from Aparanta to East Persia.

APPENDIX F.

Vākāṭaka Emperor and Gupta Family.

Prabhāvatī Guptā on the constitutional status of Early Guptas.

A Vākātaka document—the Riddhapur plates now in the

Prabhāvatī Guptā on constitutional status of Gupta Kings. possession of the Mahant of Rithpur, Amraoti, Berar, and published by Mr. Gupte in J.A.S.B., 1924, 53¹—gives a piece of information which contradicts the

statement of the Gupta inscriptions regarding the beginning of the Gupta family. Mahādevī Prabhāvati-Guptā, the authoress of the record and mother of Mahārāja Damodarasena-Pravarasena, who issued the grant from Rāmagiri (Ramtek, near Nagpur) in the 19th year of Mahārāja Pravarasena II, was at the time probably the oldest living member of the Gupta family.² She says that Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha was the first king of the Gupta dynasty (Guptānāmādirājo Mahārāja-Śrī-Ghaṭotkachah).³ This statement contradicts that of her grandfather Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar that Śrī Gupta was [the first] Mahārāja. This claim is not accepted by the Vākāṭaka family. It seems that the first prince

1 Plates reproduced are unfortunately in the negative. They have to be read with the help of a mirror.

⁸ The same import is to be found in the other grant of this queen (E.I., XV, 42) in 'Guptādirājo' qualifying [Mahārāja]=Ghatotkachaḥ, where its bearing could not be clear owing to the uncertain reading before Ghatotkachaḥ. [My footnote † at p. 113 ante has to be modified according to the Riddhapur plate.]

² The translation and reading of line 11 [J.A.S.B., XX, 58, 60] need correction: in 'sāgra-varshasatadivaputra-potrā', one anusvāra on di' is missed; dimva=dinva. Sāgra-varshasata has no reference to the Queen who has been taken to have been 100 years old by the editor of the plate; it refers to the 'son and grandson' [or sons and grandsons]—'whose son and grandson are men (endowed) with fully centennial happiness'. Such a wish was appropriate especially when she had already lost her eldest son prematurely.

recognized by them was Ghatotkacha, who must have been a contemporary of Pravarasena I. In this contradiction between the statements of the grandfather and granddaughter there is a contradiction between the two dynasties, which discloses historical hostility.

Historical hostility and The titles of her paternal ancestors constitutional claims. are given by her thus:

- Mahārāja Śrī Ghatotkacha (E.I., XV, 41; J.A.S.B., 1924, p. 58).
- 2. Mahārāja Śrī Chandra Gupta (I) (both plates).
- 3. *Mahārājâdhirāja* Śrī Samudra Gupta (E.I., XV; in J.A.S.B., 1924, '*Mahārāja*').
- 4. Mahārājâdhirāja Śrī Chandra Gupta II (both plates). Against this we have Samudra Gupta giving the following titles to his forefathers and himself:

Mahārāja Śrī Gupta. Mahārāja Śrī Ghatotkacha. Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra Gupta. Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudra Gupta.

In the 13th year of her first son Divākarasena she gave her grandfather the title of Mahārājādhirāja, but about 40 years later, when her father was gone, she called Samudra Gupta only 'Mahārāja' and recognized her father only as the Mahārājādhirāja. All this connotes the historical constitutional position of each Gupta ruler in the eyes of the Vākāṭaka House. The latter (1) did not recognize Gupta to have been a ruler at all, (2) and did not recognize Samudra Gupta as a rightful Mahārājâdhirāja, as he had begun life as a Vākāṭaka subordinate and as a Mahārāja, and it was only as a rebel that he killed Rudrasena I, while Chandra Gupta II was the first recognized Mahārājādhirāja over the Mahārājas of the Vākāṭaka House. The Vākāṭaka House (3) never recognized Chandra Gupta I as a Mahārājādhirāja; in the time of Pravarasena I such a claim was unthinkable, and Chandra Gupta's assumption of such dignity would have been then and always considered by the Vākāṭakas as an act of sedition.

APPENDIX G.

On Further India and Insulindia, 150 A.D.-350 A.D.

The subject of Further India and Indian Archipelago has been touched upon in pp. 154-158, ante. Here it is proposed to discuss the colonial history mainly with reference to the home-land for the period 150 A.D.-350 A.D.

The State of Champā (Annam), according to Chinese authorities, was founded in 137 A.D.1 Champā seems to have been mentioned under the name Angadvīpa by the Vāyu Purāņa [ch. 48]. The name Champa was adopted by sanskritizing the ethnic name of the local population Cham. The Kaundinyas who founded the State were, as pointed out above, the Kaundinyas brought from Northern India to the South by the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhanas were a naval power: they marked their coins with the figure of a ship, they were always anxious to keep the maritime provinces of the West-Coast and the East-Coast under them. Kaundinyas were intimately connected with the Chutu Sātakarņis by ties of relationship. It may be assumed that their migration to Annam and foundation of a kingdom, which defied the Chinese empire and established its independence, must have been politically connected with the Sātavāhanas. Kin-lien, which seems to be the Chinese rendering of Kaundinya, successfully attacked the southernmost districts of the Chinese empire, and in 138 A.D. the Emperor contracted peace with him under which Chinese territory was evacuated by him. krit inscription of Vō-chanh (now in the Hanoi Museum) lends confirmation to the Chinese data. It is in Sanskrit and resembles the script of Rudradāman. One of the descendants of Śrīmāra (whose name is lost in the inscription) records that in the Assembly he publicly declared that whatever moveables

¹ Chavannes, Les religieus éminents, p. 203; Vogel, Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman, p. 188; Majumdar, Champā, pp. 17, 21.

and immoveables he had given (visṛishṭa) to his brothers and sons, etc., were to be respected as their personal properties after his death. The script of the inscription is of the Second or Third Century A.D. It seems that this king was not very far removed from Māra, the founder. The original Brahmin caste (Brahma-Kshatriya) and the family name Kaunḍinya are given in two later inscriptions of the dynasty in which dates in the Śaka era are given: chaturshu varshaśateshu Śakānām vyatīteshu¹ and 579 respectively.² The employment of Sanskrit points to a contemporary revival of Sanskrit in the Mother-Country of the Kaundinyas.

The Kaundinyas kept up a continuous war of aggression against the Chinese empire from 248 A.D. They seem to gather strength about that year. In 248 A.D. they made a naval attack, defeated the Chinese fleet which had been sent against them, and took the capital of Hanoi, whereupon a treaty was concluded by the Han emperor who ceded the whole of Cheoling. The name of the Hindu king ended in Varmā (Chinese Fan). The next king spelt by the Chinese as Hiong (270-280) A.D.) extended his kingdom of Champa to the north at the cost of the Chinese emperor who concluded a treaty with him in 280 A.D. His successor Yi was again a powerful king; he died in 331 or 336 A.D. He sent an embassy to the imperial court of China (284 A.D.). The next king maintained the vigour, but about 359 A.D. there was a reverse and a period of depression up to 377 A.D. Bhadravarman revived the offensive in 380-413 A.D. He and evidently his family had borne the Pallava title Dharma-Mahārāja.3

It will be seen that the history of the colony of Champā follows the curves of the history of the Mother-Country. The Purānas mark a victorious point of time with 248 A.D. which

 $^{^1}$ Mīs'on stele. Finot, B.E.F.E.O., III (1903), 206–211 ; IV (1911), 264 ; Majumdar, $Champ\bar{a},$ No. 7.

² Finot, B.E.F.E.O., IV, 918, Majumdar, No. 12.

³ The Kaundinyas established also a kingdom in Poli. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources, Verh. v.h. Bat. Gen., xxxix, 1880, p. 81, cited by Dr. Vogel in his Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, p. 194, n.

is the beginning of the offensive and successes of Champā against China. The Vākāṭaka-Pallava dynasty had a set-back about 350 A.D. And then there is another imperial age in India about 370 A.D. under the consolidated power of the Guptas when we find that the colonies attorn to the Gupta House. It is impossible not to perceive the effects of the changing history of the Mother-Country on Champā during the period we are concerned with.

The script of Bhadravarman's inscriptions is Pallava and his title is also Pallava. It seems that after 248 A.D. when the kings of Champā adopt the Pallava dynastic name ending in varman they come under the system of the Pallavas in accordance with the march of history in the main-land.

From the Sanskrit Inscriptions of King Mülavarman, found on four Yūpa (sacrificial) posts of stone at Koetei in East Borneo, edited by Dr. Vogel, we find that before 400 A.D. a dynasty was founded in Borneo, the third king of which performed the Vedic Yajña bahusuvarnaka,2 and gifted lands, kine, a kalpa-vriksha (gold-tree), and money to Brāhmaņas in the island. His father's name was Asvavarman and grandfather's name was Kundunga. Aśvavarman was the founder (vanśakartā) of the dynasty in Borneo. The verses are in anushtubh and āryā metres. The Yajña was performed at Vaprakeśvara, evidently a Śaiva sacred place in Borneo. The script of Mulavarman is closely the Pallava script. The name Kuṇḍuṅga is a Southern Indian name, cf. Kuṇḍu-kūra in the Pikira grant. We have instances of Aryans in the South adopting Dravidian names. It is almost impossible to hold the theory advanced on the strength of this name by the Dutch Indologists that the family was probably native of Borneo and was Hinduized. To suppose that in the second generation

¹ Brids. Kon. Inst., 1918, pp. 167-232 (with plates). *Cf.* IA., IV, 355; Dvivedī Commemoration Volume [Hindi, Benares, 1933], p. 220 (with good plates).

² Śrī Mūlavarmma-rājendro yashtavā bahusuvarņakam tasya yajñasya yūpoyam dvijendrais samprakalpitah (p. 213).

they could be so much and so rapidly Hinduized as to perform Vedic sacrifices and make such intimate Hindu gifts is a hard demand on probability. Kundunga does not seem to have flourished in Borneo as the founder was Aśvavarman.

The script at Koetei, after a very able and exhaustive treatment, has been dated by Dr. Vogel in the middle of the fourth century, 'a somewhat earlier date than that proposed by M. Finot who has assigned them to approximately 400 A.D.' Now a generation before 350 A.D. will bring us about 325 A.D. which is the time of the Pallava King Skandavarman II, the Conqueror ('Vijaya'), whose date we have ascertained to be C. 297-332 A.D. (p. 195 above). The script agrees with the script of the time of this Pallava king and his successor Simhavarman I.1 We know that in the time of Vijaya Skandavarman Sanskrit became the language of the Pallava inscriptions. It seems that the kingdom in Borneo was founded in or about the time of Vijaya Skandavarman, who firmly got established at Kāñchī and had a long and prosperous reign. The sacrifices of the orthodox Pallava type, and no performance of an asvamedha, and the name-ending in imitation of the Pallava designation, would lead us to infer not a peaceful local venture of an individual, but an undertaking directed by the Pallava emperor or under his ægis.

Similar is the case of the Hindu kingdom of Java. The earliest inscriptions in the island are of Pūrņavarman, and they are in Sanskrit. They have been edited by Dr. Vogel in Oudheidkundigen Deienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-35 (with plates) under the title "The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java". They are four in number and are all in the western part of Java, in the province of Batavia, inscribed on rocks. The Chi-Arutön (spelt also Tiaroeten or "teun) inscription is a dedication of two foot-marks (padadvaya) evidently as a memorial to the dead king. The capital of the king is called Tārūma-Nagara. It reads:

(1) vikkrāntasyâvanipateh,

¹ The script should be compared with the inscriptions of Mayūraśarman on stone discussed above (pp. 167, 221).

- (2) Śrīmataḥ Pūrnnavarmanah,
- (3) Tārūmanagarendrasya,
- (4) Vishņoriva padadvayam.

A similar record in Śragdharā with foot-prints is at Jambu, in the middle of a stream near a confluence, which is rightly explained by Dr. Vogel as the cremation place of the king. There the inscription mentions the king as having flourished before (purā) at Tārumā. The Chi-Arutön Inscription is in my opinion a similar funeral memorial, probably at the place of his Śrāddha. The Jambu foot-prints are called padavimba-dvayam, which reminds us of the custom still living amongst the Bengal Hindus of taking actual foot-prints of a dead elder before cremation. The third inscription is (at Kebon Kopi) to commemorate a favourite elephant of the king which bore the name Jayaviśāla. Evidently on its death the memorial was given by the king, like the memorials to noted or favourite horses in the Mughal times. The fourth record is at Tugu (Běkasih). It is in five stanzas of anushtubh. It registers the excavation or deepening of two streams, one (nadi) called Chandrabhāgā which had been 'dug' first by the Guru, father of king Pūrņavarman. This ancestor is called rājādhirāja:

- $(1)\;$ purā rājādhirājena Guruņā pīna-bāhunā, khātā khyātām purīm prāpya
 - (2) Chandrabhāgârṇṇavam yayau ||

The Rājādhirāja had excavated the stream and brought it to the capital and thence it (the Chandrabhāgā) reached the ocean. The other stream was cut by King Pūrņavarman in the 22nd year of his reign. Its name was Gomatī. To a length of 6,126 bows (dhanus), i.e. either 7 or 12 miles (Vogel, p. 33) it was cut or deepened (khātā) in 21 days (dinais siddhaikavinśa-kaih)—from the 8th Krishņa Phālguna to the 13th Sukla Chaitra (i.e. in amānta system). This stream had destroyed the camping-ground (śibirāvanim) of the king's grandfather, a rājarshi (royal sage). The king made a gift of one thousand kine to Brāhmaṇas on the completion of the work. The inscription bears the mark of a triśūla on its top.

The script of the three inscriptions is exactly Pallava,

while that of Chi-Arutön is Vākāṭakan. The inscriptions have been executed with great skill, showing a practised hand in writing and a practised chisel familiar with Sanskrit lettering. In other words, they are the workmanship of Hindus. This remark equally applies to the Koetei Inscriptions and the Champā Inscriptions. Intimate affinity is noticed in the scripts of Bhadravarman (Champā), Mūlavarman (Borneo), and Pūrnavarman (Java). They are all within a century or so amongst themselves. The system of amānta year-reckoning is South-Indian.

The title of Pūrṇavarmana's father, rājādhirāja, is comparable with the identical Gupta title and the Gaṅga title of Mahādhirāja. It is certain that the family of Java was Śaiva and had come into existence in the Pallava time, and that it knew the influence of the Guptas which is indicated by the title of the king's father and the Vākāṭaka script at Chi-Arutön which is accompanied with a shell writing—an essentially northern writing—between the big toes of the foot-prints. Taking the date of the inscription c. 450 a.d. as suggested by Dr. Vogel, the time of the grandfather of Pūrṇavarman will be about 375 a.d., and the time of the foundation of the family about the same as that of the Borneo dynasty of Aśvavarman. The names of northern rivers (Chandrabhāgā, Gomatī) should not be a matter of surprise, as the Pallavas themselves were northerners and their whole court and subordinate rulers were northerners.

Hindu Colonial States in the Archipelago and Further India were thus established facts in the Vākāṭaka-Pallava period, and they seem to have been connected politically with the Mother-Country. With the advent of Samudra Gupta as the Indian Emperor having stepped into the shoes of the Vākāṭaka Emperor, those colonies in Insulindia and Further India—as an already organized system—transfer and render their allegiance to the Gupta Emperor, who notes the easy fact.

The evidence of the Guptan influence has been already noticed. The reference to Vishnu (Vikrānta) at Chi-Arutön is probably another index of the new influence of the Guptas. We know the description of Sumatra from FaHien who found it almost a completely orthodox Hindu land like Guptan India.

Insulindia was thus fully connected with the political and cultural changes in the main-land.

Champā was probably the earliest colony, it being a key to the Chinese trade and the point from which the islands of Java and Borneo were easily accessible. The great naval activity and attainment in navigation by the Hindus in the Far Eastern Seas are attested by the Champā history in Chinese, by FaHien, and Champā inscriptions which mention her naval wars. The trade of the Far East seems to have been in the possession and control of Andhra, Kalinga, and Bengal (from where the Mahānāvika, the great sea-captain, Buddhagupta [from Raktamrittikā, Rakta-māṭi in Bengal] marked an inscription in Malay before 400 A.D.).

The Vāyu Purāṇa gives a full description of Simhapura, a capital in Further India, evidently in Malaya. It notes the fact of islets of very small dimensions and mentions their groups (anudvīpas) as attached to bigger islands. Its detailed knowledge of the islands proves the intimate connexion of the Insulindia with Samudra Gupta's India, which is borne out by his own inscription and the inscriptions noted above.

¹ Vogel, Yūpa Inscriptions of K. Mūlavarman, p. 185.

IV.—Report of Anthropological Work in 1931-32: Some Interesting Aspects of Orissan Ethnology.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year I made several tours for Anthropological investigation among the tribes and castes of Chōtā-Nāgpur Districts and the Ōrissā States, and among the Korwās and Khāriās of the Jashpur State in the Central Provinces, and the Musahars of the Patna District. I also visited the Ajanta Caves in the Nizam's Dominions and attended the First session of the Historical Congress at Bombay and presided over its ethnological section.

The Sociology of Ōrissā presents points of particular interest to the ethnologist. As regards the important aboriginal tribes whose ethnology I have been particularly investigating, separate monographs are under preparation. I shall here briefly refer to a few interesting points relating to the sociology of the Hindu castes of Ōrissā which incidentally came to my notice in the course of my investigations among the aboriginal tribes. The following notes do not pretend to be either exhaustive or of general application. I shall begin with a classified list of the castes and tribes of Ōrissā.

Like Hindus in other parts of India, the Oriyā Hindus are divided primarily into four broad divisions of (1) Brāhmanas, (2) Kshatriyas, (3) Vaisyas, and (4) Śūdras; and the Śūdras, in their turn, may be further subdivided into (a) Clean Śūdras, and (b) Unclean Śūdras. Besides these Hindu castes, there is, in Orissā, particularly in the States attached to it, a large number of pure aboriginal tribes of whom some are Hinduized or semi-Hinduized and others still stand outside the pale of Hinduism, although Hindu influence has more or less infiltrated even into those communities.

In the Bengal Census Report of 1901, Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait grouped the Hindu castes of Ōṛissā, in the order of social precedence as follows:—

Group I.— Brāmhans.	2	1. Shāsan Brāmhaņs 2. Paṇḍa or Deulia Brāmhaṇs 3. Māstān Brāmhaṇs				
Group II.— Castes of Twic born Rank. (Dwija.)	1. Khatri 2. Rajput 3. Karan		4. Khandāit 5. Vaisya, Gan- dha-Baniya		Daita Baru (Sarua ?).	
Group III.—	Sub-Groun	o (a)	Sub-Group (b)			
Clean-Sudras (i Sudras fro whose hands t higher castes m take water a pākki food.)	1. Chasa 2. Māli 3. Rāju 4. Sudha		1. Guria 2. Barhi 3. Kāndra 4. Kāmār	6. 7.	Gaura Pātra Darji Bhaņḍāri.	
Group IV.— Unclean-Śudr (i.e. Śudras who touch does n defile but fro whose han higher castes ma not take water).	s. Sonari 4. Sankhai 5. Kansari (Kers	nśi ri	6. Thathari 7. Kharura 8. Kachra 9. Tanti 10. Thoria	12 13	. Gola . Dogra . Kanta- budiya . Tulabhina.	
Group V.— Castes who touch defiles.	1. Teli 2. Kumhar 3. Rarhi 4. Niari		5. Kewat 6. Kaibartha 7. Kartia 8. Khodal	10. 11.	Bhāt Jyotish Jogi Sundi (Sunri).	
Group VI.— Castes that eat fowls and drink spirits.	Sub-Group (a) 1. Siyal 2. Chamar	1. Dl 2. Ba 3. Ta 4. Gl 5. Go	uri 7. Khatia ula 8. Sanai usuria 9. Nulia	84	Sub-Group (c) 1. Ahir (Gawar) 2. Kela 3. Kandra.	

Group VII.— Beef-eaters and Scavengers.	1. Mahuria 3. Pān 2. Dom 4. Hāṛi.	-
Group VIII. Outcaste or Mixed Groups.	 Shagirdpesha (or Sagarpesha). Chhattarkhias Chokars (or offspring of prostitutes). 	-

Sir Edward Gait's grouping of Ōrissā castes according to caste precedence, had, as we are told in his *Census Report*, 'received the unanimous approval of the caste committees who reported on the subject'. (*Bengal Census Report*, 1901, pp. 375-377.)

The aboriginal tribes of the Orissā States (and there appear to be no additional aboriginal tribes in the British Districts of Orissā) are classified in the order of their social precedence in the Bengal Census Report of 1901 (Appendix VIII, p. lxii) as follows:—

Group I.—1. Bāthuri, 2. Bhũiyā, 3. Bhumij, 4. Dharua, 5. Goṇḍ, 6. Kandh, 7. Khāria, 8. Kōl, 9. Muṇḍā, 10. Orāon, 11. Savar, 12. Sahar, 13. Santāl.

(Of this group it is noted that 'Within the group, they may be all taken as of equal rank. All these tribes are influentially connected with land in some place or other, and still hold high rank where they are strong in numbers'.)

Group II.—1. Khaira, 2. Nahura, 3. Lohar, 4. Ghantra, 5. Gondra, 6. Malhar, 7. Tamāria.

(Of this group it is noted that they have the 'position of artisans in Hindu Society and that these are all artisans and as such may be taken as of equal rank'.)

Group III.—1. Jhora, 2. Girgiria, 3. Bauri, 4. Ghani, 5. Ghāsi.

(Of this group it is noted that they have the 'position of fishermen in Hindu Society', as 'all these castes catch fish'.)

Group IV.-1. Juang, 2. Patua, 3. Kela.

(Of these tribes it is noted that they are 'wandering tribes without any fixed habitation and living chiefly on jungle produce' and that their 'savage condition and want of influence' make their position so low in the group.)

Group $V.-P\bar{A}N$ —(It is noted that this caste 'follows the most degrading occupation of skinning dead animals and takes beef'.)

This classification would appear to be, on the whole, correct, although a few of these originally aboriginal tribes are now classed among Hindu castes.

I shall in the present paper note a few interesting points about certain Hindu castes which I incidentally jotted down while investigating the ethnology of the aboriginal tribes of the Ōrissā States.

The Śāsanī Brāhmaṇas are reputed to be the descendants of the one thousand Brāmhaṇs who had been brought by Yayāti Keśarī, King of Ōṛissā (474 to 526 A.D.) from Kanouj to perform a Yajña (sacrificial rite) at the Daśāśvāmedha-ghāṭ at Jājpur. The name 'Śāsanī' is derived from the fact that their ancestors received Śāsans or copperplate grants of villages from the Rājā. They have several gotras or clan names, such as Bharadvāja, Parāśara, Kautsa, Ātreya, Gautama, Kaunḍinya, Vaśiṣṭha, Jāmadagni. Among other gotra or clan names of Utkala Brāhmaṇas may be mentioned Kāśyapa, Kṛishnātreya, Gargiyaso, Bāchhasa, Lohityāna, Mudgala, Dallabhya, Saunilya. Bhārgava, Vatsa or Vatsasa, Agastya, Maitrāyana, and Śānḍilya.

All their gotra names are derived from those of Vedic Rishis or sages whose names they bear. But it is interesting to note that the gotra names of most Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇas are also identified by them with the local names of some birds or beasts or other natural objects. Thus, Bharadvāja is spoken of as the name of the Blue Jay bird, Parāśara as the name for the pigeon, Gārgiyasa and Saunilya are also identified with different birds,

¹ It appears that 'Patua' (leaf-wearer) is another name (applied by the Hindus) for the Juang tribe, and 'Sahar' is a variant of the tribal name 'Sawar'.

Kāśyapa is taken to stand for 'Kachchhapa' or the tortoise, 'Bāchhasa' for 'Bāchhā' or a calf, Gautama for a cow, Krishnātreya for the black deer, Parāśara for a pigeon, Lahityāna for the fire, Mudgala for a ring, Dallabhya for the monkey, Kauśika for the owl, Bhārgava for a species of tree, Kaundinya or Kowninnya for the deer, Agastya for a pot, Maitreya for the frog, and Śāndilya for the bull.

And with regard to these birds or beasts or natural objects most Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇas of the respective clans observe restrictions of the nature of totemistic taboos.

As an explanation of the identification of the gotra names with eponymous Rishis as well as with certain animals and birds, the following story is sometimes related: - Daksha Prajāpati, the father-in-law of Siva, held a great Yajña or sacrificial ceremony to which he invited all the Rshis except his daughter Satī or Pārvatī and his son-in-law Śiva. Śiva. on being pressed by his wife Satī to permit her to go to her father, at last relented and let her go. But on going to her father, Satī was so mortified by the abuses and taunts hurled by her father at her husband that out of indignation and sorrow, she threw herself into the burning Homa flames and expired. When Siva heard this he was so incensed that he rushed to the scene of Sati's self-immolation and in his wrath hurled his trident all around him, and the Rshis fled in dismay from the Yajña in the disguise of different beasts and birds. And this is why the Oriva Brahmanas now reverence those beasts and birds and observe taboos and other rules generally associated with totemism.

Risley referred to this in the following passage in the first volume of his Tribes and Castes of Bengal (p. 161):—"I may draw attention to the remarkable fact that among the Brāhmaṇas of this part of the country (Ōṛissā) unquestionable traces may be found of a survival of the totemistic beliefs which are common among the Dravidian and semi-Dravidian groups. Thus the Brāhmaṇas of the Bātsasa gotra revere the calf as their original ancestor; the Bharadvāja claim descent not from the Vedic Rshi but from a bird bearing the same name; the Ātreya are the offspring of a deer, and will not eat

that animal or sit upon its hide; the Kauchhasa trace their lineage to a tortoise; and the Kaundinya commemorate their descent from a tiger by refusing to sit upon a tiger skin. No attempt can be made here to account for the prevalence of these superstitions. They may be a survival of ancient Aryan totemism; they may be due to the adoption by the immigrant Brāhmaṇas of Dravidian beliefs and observances; or, lastly, they may show that the Brāhmaṇas of Ōrissā are themselves Dravidians or have undergone a considerable infusion of Dravidian blood."

It is, however, not permissible to draw any ethnic inferences from such stray cultural coincidences or cultural loans.

Borrowing of cultural elements by communities of a higher culture from those of some neighbouring communities of lower culture and different ethnic origin is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence which we find in almost every part of India. Moreover, it may be noted that in the Rigveda we meet with such names of families or clans as Matsya (fish), Gautama (ox), Vatsya (calf), Śunaka (dog), Kauśika (owl), and Mandūka (frog). The father of Samvarana (the ancestor of the Kuru clan) is called a riksa or bear.²

As regards the Māstān Brāhmanas, whose status in Ōrissā appears to resemble closely that of the Bhuinhar Brahmanas in Bihār, the following tradition is related by some Orivās, but it is repudiated by the Māstān Brāhmaņas themselves:—Mahārājā Purushottama Deva (1478-1497 A.D.) of Puri was over-lord of the principality of Kanchi on the river Cavery. He was to wed Padmāvatī, the daughter of his Feudatory, the King of Kānchi-Cavery. Padmävatī was actually brought to Puri by her father to celebrate her marriage. But when he saw Mahārājā Purushottama Deva sweeping with his own hands the floors of the Jagannātha Temple, he felt shocked and changed his mind and declared he would not marry his daughter to a person who sweeps with his own hands, and returned to his own country with his daughter. Thereupon Mahārājā Purushottama attacked Kāñchi-Cāvery, defeated its ruler, captured Padmāvatī and retraced his way homewards. While encamping on

² Vide, A. A. Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, p. 153.

the banks of the Godavari, the King of Kanchi-Cavery suddenly appeared and attacked his troops. Finding no effectual means of resistance against this surprise attack, Purushottama Deva made all his soldiers (some of whom were real Kshatriya Khandāits and some drawn from other fighting castes) put on the sacred thread and marshalled them along with a long line of cows in front of the Kanchi-Cavery troops. The Kānchi-Cāvery King, who was a pious Hindu, finding himself thus opposed to cows and (as he supposed) Brāhmanas gave up all attempts at rescuing his daughter. This is one of several traditions, sometimes reported, about the origin of the Brāhmaņa rank of the Māstān Brāhmanas. Another tradition among the Māstān Brāhmanas is that they are descended of Balarāma, brother of Śrī Krishna. They therefore describe themselves as Balarāma gotrī Brāhmanas. This mythical origin is obviously meant as an explanation of their taking to the un-Brāmhanical occupation of agriculture. A third tradition asserts that the Māstāns were first called 'Brāhmaņas' by a Rājā of Ōrissā who wanted to deceive the Subadar of the Emperor of Delhi into the belief that his lands were mostly held by Brāhmanas and were therefore rent-free. And a fourth tradition asserts that the Māstāns were originally an agricultural caste and that during the great struggle for supremacy between the Buddhists and the Brāhmanas, the Brāhmanas represented them to be their own caste-fellows in order to show their superiority in number over the Buddhists. These traditions may, for aught we know, have little or no historical value.

As for the *Devala* Brāhmaṇas or *Paṇḍās* they are not, I am told, entitled to *namaskāra* (or bowing salutation) from Śāsana Brāhmaṇas, nor will a Śāsana Brāhmaṇa eat cooked food at the hands of such a Brāmhaṇ. Sir Edward Gait suggests that "their ancestors might have been Buddhist priests or the representatives of the earlier Brāhmaṇa settlers who mixed more freely with the people of the country than those who came later".

These $Pand\bar{a}s$ or Devala or $Deuli\bar{a}$ Brāhmaṇas would appear to have been the original priestly class of $\bar{O}riss\bar{a}$ who officiated and still officiate as priests at the temples. It may be noted

that whereas the Śāsana Brāhmaṇas have such distinctive surnames as Miśra, Mahāpātra, Raut, Tripāṭhi, Satpati, Sārāngi, Nanda, Tewāri, and Hotā, most of the surnames of Māstān Brāhmaṇas, such as Senāpati, Sāhu, Mahānti, Padhān, and Santrā, are common to them and to some other castes lower in the caste hierarchy.

Turning from the Brāhmaṇas to the next class of Hindu castes, we find that the Kshatriyas are divided into at least three clans or gotras, namely, Kāśyapa, Gārga, and Bātsasa; and the Karaṇs or writer caste have such gotra names as Bharadvāja, Parāśara, Nāgasa, and Sankhasa. And, like the Brāhmaṇs, the Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa gotra observe, with regard to the tortoise (Kachchhapa), those of the Gārga gotra with regard to the Gārgi bird, and those of the Bātsasa gotra with regard to the calf (vatsa) or cow, the same taboos and customs and entertain the same feelings of reverence or religious respect as most Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇs too do in respect of the birds or beasts which have now come to be somehow associated with their eponymous gotra names.

As regards the Daita or Daitapati Brāhmaṇas, the very name Daita appears to be a corruption of Daitya, probably an ancient Hindu name for the Indian aborigines generally or a section of them. Tradition traces their descent to an aboriginal Savara, named Bāsu Savara, who is said to have first found the Hindu god Śri Krishna or Viṣnu in the jungles of Nilāchala near Puri on the site of the present Jagarnāth Temple and secretly worshipped him in the form of a blue stone image. It is worth noting that the aboriginal Khārias of the Simli Pāl Hills of the Mayurbhanj State, as I found, claim descent from the said Bāsu Savara.

The Karans (who appear to be the Ōṛiyā analogues of the Kāyasthas of Bengal and Upper India) also appear to attach a double significance to their gotra names. Thus the Karans of the Bharadwāj gotra, whose eponym is the Rishi of that name, are to observe or at one time observed with regard to the blue Jay, those of the Parāśara gotra (whose eponym is Parāśara Rishi) with regard to the pigeon, those of the Nāgasa gotra (who have Nāgasa Rishi for their eponym) with regard to

the cobra ($N\bar{a}ga$), and those of the Śańkhasa gotra (who have for their eponym a Rishi of that name) with regard to the Konch-shell (Śańkha), certain taboos and customs similar to those observed by totemistic communities with regard to their respective totems. Thus, the Karans of the $N\bar{a}gasa$ gotra, it is said, refrain or used to refrain from beating, killing or otherwise ill-treating the cobra. It is even said that for the worship of his tutelary deity ($Ista-Devat\bar{a}$) who is named Ananta (the king of snakes) a man of the $N\bar{a}gasa$ gotra is required to use some earth from an ant-hill which is a favourite dwelling of the cobra. These taboos are now more or less disregarded.

It appears reasonable to infer that culture contact may be mainly responsible for such a custom among these higher Hindu castes of Ōrissā, as it has been responsible for other cultural loans among other peoples in India and elsewhere.

Turning to the third division of Hindu castes, the 'Sat Śūdras' or 'clean Śūdras' we find that the great agricultural caste of Chosa (Chasa) for example, has such gotra names as Gajasa (the elephant,) Nāgasa (the cobra), Kaśyapa, and Sāl-Rishi. The elephant, the cobra, the tortoise, and sāl fish may not be beaten, killed or otherwise ill-treated by men of their respective gotras. Some, it is said, bow to them when they see them, and make offerings to them of $\bar{a}tap$ (sun-dried) rice and water mixed with turmeric, for they are regarded as their respective tutelaries (Ista-Devatā). It is interesting to note in this connection that the Chasās or Koltha Chasās have also a number of hudās or subdivisions designated by such titles as 'Shāhu', 'Paridā', 'Mājhi', 'Behārā', 'Biswal', 'Nāik', 'Swāni', and 'Pātra'. Each of these subdivisions is further subdivided into two or more of the gotras or clans named above.

Similarly, the pastoral Gour caste in each of its different sections such as Gopapuria, Mathurāpuria, Magadhā, Dumal, etc. have such gotra-names as, the Nāgasa (cobra), Bāghasa (the tiger), Kachchhapa (the tortoise), Bhadālia (a kind of bird and also a tree), and Sānrh (the ox). As among totemic communities, a Gour may not ill-treat, beat, kill or show any disrespect to his gotra or clan-totem. An additional point of

interest in their totemism is that on the occasion of a marriage of a Gour of the Nāgasa clan, a handful of earth is said to be taken from an ant-hill (which is a favourite haunt of the cobra) and used for the worship of the family tutelary (Iṣṭa-Devatā). So also on a similar occasion and for the same purpose a Gour of the Kachchhapa or Tortoise clan is said to take a handful of earth from a pond (which is, or is supposed to be, the abode of the tortoise), a Gour of the Bāghasa or Tiger clan is said to take earth from a forest which is the home of the tiger, a Gour of the Sānrh or Ox clan is said to take earth preferably from a spot which oxen dig with their horns, and a Gour of the Bhadālia clan is said to take earth from under a Bhadālia tree.

With regard to the Gour caste it is interesting to note that although each section of the caste is divided into several clans as noted above, there is no bar against marriage within the clan, the only recognized restrictions to marriage being the bar against direct relations within three degrees both on the father's side and on the mother's side. Similarly although the Sudha caste owns two clan names, namely, Nāgasa (the cobra) and Kachchhapa (the tortoise), identity of clan is no bar to marriage, but only near blood-relationship is.

Some of the clean Sudra tribes have only one clan name. Thus, the Moira or Guria (i.e. sweetmeat-maker) caste in some of the Orissā States has, so far as I have been able to find out, only one clan name, namely, Nagasa or the Cobra; and the Tanti or weaver caste, two, has generally one, namely, $\bar{A}d\bar{\imath}sa$ (lit., the original Deity, also named as $\bar{A}d\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ or $Durg\bar{a}$) for their clan name. But in some parts, such as in the Bonai State, I have found the Gūriās recognizing a few other gotra names such as Kāśyapa, Madhukula, and Ambasisa. These are probably later loan-names of gotras borrowed from the Brāhmanas. As a matter of fact, in the States of Orissa I have found that several of the $\dot{Su}dra$ castes (such as the $Loh\bar{a}r$ or $Nuh\bar{a}ra$ caste) recognize only one gotra or clan name, namely, the $N\bar{a}gasa$ or Cobra; and necessarily the clan, which is co-extensive with the caste, is endogamous, and the clan name has no concern with marriage regulations. In such castes the only bar to

marriage is direct blood-relationship both on the paternal and on the maternal side up to a few generations, generally three or five.

Coming lower down the social scale we find that many $S\bar{u}dra$ castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginal tribes, again, though recognizing more than one clan division, generally permit marriage within the same clan, but interdict marriage within the same family designation or $Hud\bar{a}$, known also as $Samj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$, or within families having the same title known as Padavī or Padit. Even the Jyotish (Astrologer) caste appears to have such clan names as Nāgasa (the cobra), Pipalasa (the pipal tree), Kāśyapa or Kachchhapa (tortoise), and Bharadvāja (the Blue Jay). They have also samjñās or family titles, such as Nāhak or Nāyak, Pātra, Dās. Besides these there are titles given by the local Rājās who are both territorial Chiefs and social heads. Such titles are Parichhā, Mahāpātra, Senāpati, Mahārāṇa, Behārā, $P\bar{a}nigr\bar{a}hi$, $Kharsudh\bar{a}$, and $\bar{A}min$. In many families these too have come to be family designations. The real exogamous limit in such castes is now not the gotra or clan but the $samj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ or family designation. Thus a Das may not marry a Das, or a Pātra may not marry a Pātra, although their gotra names may be different, whereas a man may marry a woman of his own gotra provided their family designations are different.

In some castes the samjñās and the gotras constitute a medley. Thus, the Teli caste has such samjñās as Behārā, Dās, Shāhu, and Khuṭiā. The Behārā and Shāhu sections have Nāgasa or the Cobra for their totem, the Dās section has Bhadālia for their totem, and the Khuṭiā section has 'Bāghasa' or the tiger for their totem. Now, a Behārā cannot marry a Behārā but may marry a Shāhu although of the same gōtra, but a Shāhu may marry a Shāhu or at least has been found to do so without protest. But, in any case, there can be no marriage where there is direct blood-relationship within three generations, either on the father's or on the mother's side of either party.

One exception to this rule is the custom of $Bh\tilde{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a}-d\tilde{a}n$ or the bestowal of one's daughter in marriage to his sister's son $(bh\tilde{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a})$ which is in vogue in some \bar{O}_{r} iyā castes and tribes.

The castes which practise this custom regard it as the most desirable and honourable form of marriage. In the $Bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a}$ - $d\bar{a}n$ form of marriage (which is really a form of crosscousin marriage) the maternal uncle not only gives his daughter in marriage to his sister's son but generally also bears all the expenses of the marriage ceremonies and marriage-feast, and does not accept anything either in the form of bride-price or otherwise from the bridegroom or his people. It may be noted, however, that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, namely, the marriage of a man's son with his sister's daughter is not permissible. Another custom worthy of note in this connection is that among $\bar{0}$ riy \bar{a} communities where $Bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a}\text{-}d\bar{a}n$ is practised, the $bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a}$ (sister's son) and $bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}ji$ (sister's daughter) are held in especial ceremonial regard. Neither the maternal uncle nor his wife will permit the $bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a}$ or the $bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}ji$ to take $j\bar{u}th\bar{a}$ or the leavings of food from their own plates, nor will they even sit close to their $bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{a}$ and $bh\bar{a}\tilde{n}ji$ when taking their meals together lest their juthā (or particles of food from their plates) touch their bhānjā or bhānji's plate.

To return to the social divisions of Ōriyā castes and tribes. We have so far noticed that the Ōriyā Hindu castes have, besides the Brāhmanical gotra names (and, in the case of some of the higher castes also Pravara names), totemistic clan names and practices, as well as certain family-titles or Samjñās indicative of social rank. Each clan has also its own clan tutelary or Iṣṭa-Devatā.

Besides these distinctive labels by which different sections of each caste and tribe are marked out from one another, we find in Orissā another system of distinctive insignia of each different caste and tribe. This is called the Santak. This word would appear to be a corruption by metathesis of the Sanskrit word Sanketa or 'Sānketika', meaning 'sign' or 'symbol'. Another, but less probable, derivation noted in the Census Report of 1901, is from the Oriyā word 'Santha' (meaning 'lesson') 'which might formerly have meant writing'.

It may be noted that the Feudatory Chiefs of Orissa though literate, did not formerly put their signatures to any document but had their Santaks or sign-manuals inscribed on them.

Thus the Chiefs of Mayurbhañja, Keonjhar, Daspalla, and Baud States have each the figure of a peacock for their Santak; the Chief of Dhenkanal uses the drawing of ' $m\bar{\imath}naketana$ '—a fish and a flag—for his Santak, the Chief of Bonai uses that of a Kadamba ($Nauclea\ Parvifolia$) flower, the Chief of Narsingpur uses that of a scorpion, and the Chief of Kālāhāṇḍi that of the Cobra as his Santak or sign-manual.

Whereas in most other parts of India, illiterate persons affix in lieu of signature a mark in the shape of either a dash or a cross or a circle or some other mark common to the illiterate of all castes and tribes in that particular Province or District, we find in Ōṛissā almost every caste and tribe having its own distinctive Santak generally indicative of the special occupation of the community, and, in the case of the illiterate, these Santak marks are drawn and affixed to documents as substitutes for signatures.

Thus the priestly caste of Brāhmaṇas has the Kuśabatu (ring made of the sacred Kuśa grass which must be worn by the priest at certain religious ceremonies) and the military castes of the Khanḍāit, the Rājput, and the Khetri have the dagger (kāṭāri) for their respective Santaks; some Khanḍāits also use the sword (Khanḍā, Saveph) or the bow (tīr), or the bow and arrow (dhanurbān), and some have now adopted the Lekhan or stylo, for their Santaks.

The trading castes of Baniyā (trader), Gandhavaņik (spice-seller), and Sonāri (goldsmith) have the scales or nitti for their Santak and the Kāchrā (glass-bangle-seller) has the Narāju or the weighing beam and scale with a single pan, and the Kansari (brazier) has the weighing yard or balance as their respective Santaks. The Karaņ or writer caste of Ōrissā has the iron stylo (lekhan) for its Santak. The religious-minded Vaishnava has the finger-bead (kara-mālā) and sometimes the Asabāri (the peculiar stick used by a Vaishnava) for his Santak. The Barhi or carpenter has the hammer (mūgūr) for his Santak, the agriculturist Chasā has the harrow (mahi) for his Santak; the cultivating Gōlā has the damplā or packing-needle for his Santak; the painter or Chitrakāra caste has the painting brush (tuli) for its Santak; the tailor caste or the Darji has the scissors

(kāṭūri or kainchi) for its Santak; the pastoral and milkman Gour caste has the goad-stick (naun) or the rope with which a cow's hindlegs are tied during milking (chhedā) and also the milk-churner (khua) for its Santaks; the Pātra who sells silkcloth has for his Santak the Patrānkura or Patscuna which is an iron hook for weaving ties and stringing necklaces; the village-schoolmaster caste of Khitibanśa has both the chalk (khari) and the cane (gouri-bet) for its Santaks; the potter or $Kumh\bar{a}r$ has the potter's wheel $(ch\bar{a}k)$ for his Santak; the $Gar{u}riar{a}$ or sweetmeat-maker and vendor has for his Santaks—the $Ch\bar{a}lu$ or wooden-ladle as also the $jh\bar{u}mk\bar{a}$ or iron-ring which has a number of smaller rings inserted into it to make a jingling sound to attract customers; the Jyotish or astrologer caste has for its Santak the palm-leaf Panji or almanac which the Jyotish carries in his arm-pit; the begging caste of $J\bar{o}gi$ has a bottle-goured bowl (thālā) for its Santak; the $K\bar{a}m\bar{a}r$ or blacksmith has the hammer (hāturi) for his Santak; the professional musician caste of $Mah\bar{u}ria$ has the musical instrument called mahūri for its Santak; the Rārhi whose profession is to parch rice into chirā and sell it has for his Santak the Dhenki-munda or the hammer-end of the ricepounder; and the Teli who grows turmeric has the turmeric bulb (haldi-munda) for his Santak.

Of the so-called depressed castes, the Mōchi or cobbler has for his Santak the Chāmdāṭā or a knife for cutting up leather; the Pān who is a professional drummer has the drum-stick (Chop-kāṭhi) for his Santak and in Angul also the arrow (Kanḍa); the weaving caste of Tānti has the weaving shuttle (māku or nob) for its Santak; the Hāri who is by occupation both a sweeper and village musician has for his Santaks the jhāru or broom-stick as also the chōpkāṭī or small drum-stick; the basket-making Ōṛiyā Chāmār has for his Santak the Bindhāni or Phōdāni which is the awl used in making and repairing basketry; the Dōm who makes bamboo-baskets and mats uses a bamboo-cutting knife (kāti) for his Santak; the Dhōbā or washerman who is also employed in wood-splitting has for his Santaks the axe (Kurhāri) and also the Y-shaped wooden instrument called parkhāna which is used in washing

clothes; the Gokha fishermen has the fishing spears known as Tentā and Gagar as his Santaks; the Tiyar fisherman has the fish-trap (bājākāthi) for his Santak; the fishing castes of Tiyar, Baghuti, and Gōkhā also use the fish-trap known as salua for their respective Santaks; the fishing caste of Kewat has for its Santak the saringā which is a shuttle for weaving fishing-nets and in some places also the Bentuā which is a wooden vessel used in washing boats; the Bhandari or barber has the nailparer (nahurani) and in some cases the Darpana or lookingglass for his Santaks; the bird-catching Kela has for his Santak the gummed rod known as nal-kāthi used in catching birds; the Tanti has the shuttle (kanda-kathi) for his Santak; the $K\bar{a}ndr\bar{a}$ who is generally employed as a village Chowkidar and a day-labourer and is probably a semi-aboriginal has the arrow (khanda) as well as the stick (bāri) for his Santaks; the Ghāsi field-labourer has the scythe $(d\bar{a})$ for his Santak; the $G\bar{o}l\bar{a}$ has the dāmphā or packing-needle for his Santak; the Nuliā sea-fisherman has the $ah\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ or oar for his Santak; the Tulā-bhinā or cotton-carder has the bhinā-kāthi or the carding bow for his Santak; the toddy-drawing Siyāl has the kātha-bāri for his Santak; the wandering Kelā has for his Santak either the Peri or a bamboo-box in which snakes are kept or the wind instrument called nageswar or a mattock (gāintā) or a nala or bamboo-tube for catching fish.

The females of all castes, both Hindus and Musalmāns, generally use the bracelet (Kankana) for their Santak. Some low class Hindu females have also the mūdi or finger-ring for their Santak. Some Kewat women in the Puri District have for their Santak either a kind of broom used in frying rice (Bhajubhaji Kharika) or the pedal for cleansing rice (Chura-khutā dheñki). A Vaiṣṇava female uses the finger-bead or kara-mālā for her Santak. It is also interesting to note that the Ōṛiyā Musalmān generally uses the dagger (kāṭāri) for his Santak. These Musalmāns, it may be noted, trace their descent to the Paṭhān soldiers who came to the country in the army of the Musalmān invaders a few centuries ago, and still call themselves Paṭhāns.

It is interesting to note that some castes, particularly the artisan castes, actually pay divine honours to the tool or weapon which constitutes their respective Santaks.

The affixing of the *Santak* mark to a document is deemed to be as binding as a special oath or swearing by one's occupation.

Turning, last of all, to the aboriginal tribes of Orisso, we find that, just as among the Brāhmaṇical castes eponymous gotras now exist in conjunction with totemic clan names, so too some of these tribes have in conjunction with, and partly in supersession of, the older social totemic clan divisions, have now come to recognize other modes of differentiation of social groups evidently under the influence of their Hindu neighbours and Hindu Rājās. Such a borrowed social division is that into samjñā (lit., designations) of aggregates of families bearing the same title. These samjñā divisions have now in some tribes supplanted the function of the kili or gotra or clan divisions in relation to exogamy. The term 'Pāris' is also sometimes employed for 'gotra', and 'huda' for 'Samjñā'.

A Hinduized aboriginal of the Tortoise clan or the Cobra clan or any other gotra, may, in many of these Ōrissā tribes, now freely marry in his own gotra or clan, and the former taboo against endogamy within the clan group has now been transferred to endogamy within the $sa\dot{m}j\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ group. In a few aboriginal tribes quite a medley of such modes of group-differentiation has arisen. Thus among the Bāthudi or Bāthuri tribe in the State of Mayurbhanj I found that they now recognize three modes of grouping of the families. Each Bāthudi family has what it calls its Pāris or 'gotra' (the Hindu word for a clan), its khili (probably a corruption of the Munda word 'kili' also meaning totemic clan, though the Bathudi has for his khili name that of some totem different from that of the gotra), and it has also its $samj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ or title or honorific designation; and either each samjñā group or each clan group has its own Iṣṭa-devatā or tutelary, and the tribe has its own tribal Santak.

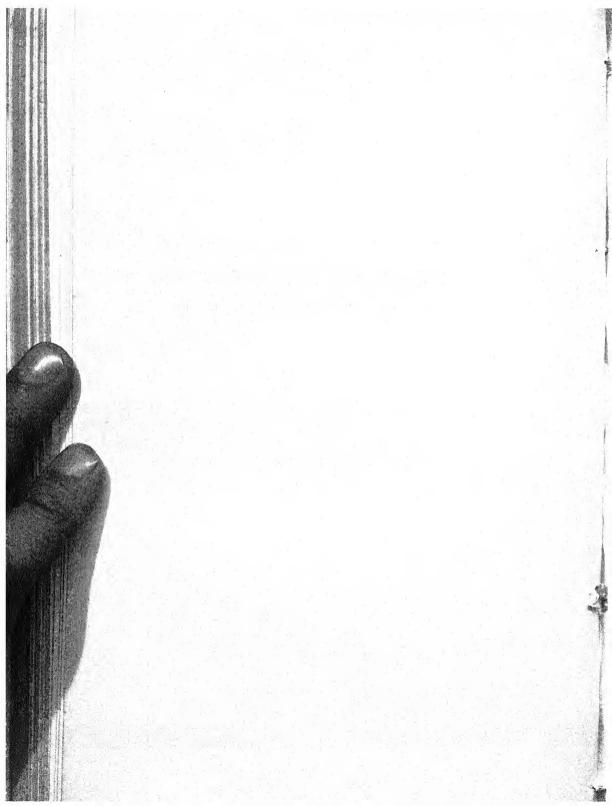
It is worthy of note that among the aboriginal tribes who have long been in Ōrissā, though most of them still retain some totemic clan names, some no longer retain or observe the taboos and other customs that we still find associated with clan totems among their fellow tribesmen or allied tribes in Chōtā-Nāgpur and the Sāntāl Parganās.

Among some of the Orissa tribes, such as the Bhuiyas

of Kuira Parganā of the Bonāi State, I found that instead of clan exogamy, they observe what may be called local exogamy. The villages are classed as *Bandhu* villages and *Kulumba* villages to one another. And a Bhūiyā of a village may take a mate only from one of the villages that constitute his *Bandhu* villages and not from any of his *Kulumba* (or agnatic) villages.

Lastly, the aboriginal tribes of \bar{O}_r issā, like the different Hindu castes, have each its own respective Santak. Thus, the $Bh\bar{u}mij$, the $Ju\bar{a}ng$, the $M\bar{u}nd\bar{a}$, the $H\bar{o}$ or ' $K\bar{o}l$ ', and the $K\bar{a}ndh$ or Khondh have each the arrow ($k\bar{a}nder$) for their Santak; the $S\bar{a}nt\bar{a}l$ has the bow and arrow as also the $Theng\bar{a}$ or stick for his Santak; the Sahar (Savara) tribe uses for its Santak the ghumera drum and also the jamuki string; and the labouring Taonla tribe has the goad-stick ($p\bar{a}nchan$) for its Santak.

It may be noted that in Chōṭā-Nāgpur and the Sāntāl Parganās some of the castes and tribes have similar Santak marks, though much less elaborate than in Ōṛissā. There appear to be reasons to believe that there have been down to comparatively recent times racial movements and also cultural intercourse between Chōṭā-Nāgpur and Ōṛissā and between Chōṭā-Nāgpur and the Sāntāl Parganās.



V.—Ajapura of Skanda Gupta, and the area round Bihar.

By P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S.

During my last Cold Weather Tour of the Subdivision of Bihar in the district of Patna, I happened to arrive one evening at my camp in the Bihar Thana. The original programme had been to camp at Kathanpura, but I found that my tent had been pitched on the level top of an extensive mound situated to the south of a magnificent expanse of water which was certainly not the Kathanpura I had expected. As I sat outside my tent in the twilight I learnt that the place was an adjoining village called Ajaipur.

The name savoured of the Sanskritic age. I enquired and learnt that there were several large tanks and a 'Garh', but could not elicit any historical or legendary information. It was just before the Christmas holidays and I found myself extremely busy disposing of case-work before the end of the year. I therefore postponed the idea of further investigations.

Soon after my return to Bihar in January, 1932, I received the following note from Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, President of the Patna Museum:—

'Please refer to Skanda Gupta's record on the pillar now here and formerly in your compound. Can we trace Ajapura in some village name in Bihar or near about?'

The Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta was discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw and a note about it appeared in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (Vol. VIII) in 1839. It is described in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, by Dr. Fleet who has given a rendering of the text and a translation. From lines 24 to 30 the second part of the inscription runs as follows:—

24.

25.	[mahârâjâdhirâja-śri-Skandaguptaḥ] [vai] shayik-Âjapuraka-sâ (?) mai (?)—
26.	grâka
	[ak]shaya-nîvî grâma-kshêttram
27.	kṛi
	uparika-kumârâmâtya-
28.	ngikula (?) ḥ (?) vaṇi [ja*]
	ka-pâdit-ârika-

29.[â]grahârika-śaulkika-gaulmik-âsanyâṁ śra (?)-

30.vâs [i] k-âdîn=asmat-prâsâdôpajîvinaḥ.

Dr. Fleet's translation of the above is :-

'—[I], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Skandagupta, issue a command]
......of the Town of Ajapura in the....vishaya.....a
perpetual endowment.....a village-field.....the
Uparika, the Kumârâmâtya.....acquired by the merchant
.....in the seat (of office) (?) of the Âgrahârika, the Śaulkika,
and the Gaulmika....and others who subsist on Our
favour.'

The modern village of Ajaipur is situated at Lat. 25° 15'; Long. 85° 25'. I visited it again last spring. When approached from the south-west it is clear that the village is situated on an elevation. The 'busti' stands on a large mound which is called as usual the 'Garh'. The 'Garh' must have originally covered an area of about 15 acres but on about 9 acres of it, on the northern and eastern sides, the 'busti' has now grown up. A compact block of lands represented by survey plots 2635 and 2634 is still unoccupied. About a little over an acre of land to the south of this area (plot 2640) had been levelled down and a saltpetre factory was established by some of the landlords. Soon after the end of the Great War the factory was closed down and even now a large collection of saltpetre is lying about in huge cauldrons. I learnt that a large number of earthenware and small terra-cotta figures had been found but as no one appreciated their value they were either thrown away or disappeared. At the time of my visit the

villagers made a search and produced several broken pieces of mediæval pottery. After the debris and earth had been cleared and the place levelled two ancient wells had been discovered and found to contain a good quantity of water. The smaller well measured 8'9" in circumference and the interior masonry consisted of earthen cylinders. The large well measured 10'6" in circumference and the water was fairly deep. The interior masonry consisted of bricks and about eight feet below there was a large brick with an inscription on it. The landlord, Maulvi Abdul Rab, was kind enough to arrange for scaffoldings and had the brick taken out for me. It has since been deposited in the Patna Museum. It bears traces of an inscription in early Devanāgarī script.

Adjoining this saltpetre factory is the extensive mound comprising survey plots 2635 and 2634. Traces of bricks were noticed all over and in many places overburnt bricks (Jhāmā) were found embedded. About the middle of the mound is a small mud enclosure about 12 feet square in area with a dilapidated tiled roof. Inside this on a raised platform has been collected about a score of broken pillars, portions of images, pieces of chaityas, etc. which appeared clearly to belong to the Pala period. Some of these were executed in Gaya blackstone, so popular a material with the Pāla sculptors. Two little images were of crude design. The villagers called this place neither Devasthan nor Mahadevasthan as is commonly done, but simply Rājā Jaipāl. The tradition is that there had originally been a temple at this spot erected by a Rājā Jaipāl. Maulyi Abdul Rab informed me that sometime ago a sculpture in polished blackstone with three heads—a Trimurti—had been dug up in the north-eastern portion of the 'Garh'. He had given it to a local Brahman, Ragho Pandey. I tried to find out this relic but Ragho Pandey stated that he had lost it.

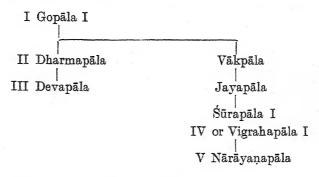
Mention must now be made of the series of tanks. There are as many as six tanks at Ajaipur. These are interconnected by canals and completely enclose the village on the north and east. There is evidence of the fact that the tanks previously received their water from the river Paimār on the west. The largest of these is the 'Rājā Pokhar' comprising an area

of about 17 acres. The villagers ascribe its excavation to Rājā Jaipāl. About 12 years ago one of the landlords started to re-excavate its western portion adjoining the compound of his house as it was getting filled up. He discovered a pucca staircase extending to a depth of 5 yards. Several bricks were brought to me from the masonry. It was not possible to extract an entire brick. They appeared to have been of about the same size as the brick bearing the inscription. They however differed in thickness: some of them were 3" to 4" thick while others $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to 2".

Dr. Fleet in his translation has described Ajapura as a town. The text however does not seem to give any warrant for this. The Bihar Pillar Inscription merely mentions Ajapura as being within the territorial limits of a 'vishaya' The Indore Copperplate Inscription of Skanda Gupta refers to a 'vishayapati'. A 'vishaya', according to Dr. Fleet, would appear to be a subdivision of a desa or mandala. Unfortunately in line 25 of the Bihar Pillar Inscription, wherein Ajapura occurs, several letters are missing. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, it may be noted in passing, had also given a tentative reading of this inscription (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXV, p. 272 f.). He did not however discover the name of Ajapura in the text. Ajapura is also mentioned in the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāladeva described by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XVII). Here Ajapura is mentioned as a 'naya' which is interpreted to mean a subdivision falling within the vishaya of Rājagriha. I find that Dr. Sastri had also identified this Ajapura with the modern village of Ajaipur. He does not however refer to the Bihar Pillar Inscription in this connection. The term 'vaishayika' in the Bihar Pillar Inscription apparently refers to Ajapura as pertaining to the vishaya of Rājagriha and Dr. Sastri's contention that 'naya' is a territorial unit such as a subdivision appears to be correct. It is noteworthy that in the Nalanda copperplate the word 'pratibaddha' occurs with reference to 'Ajapuranaya'.

I have noted above that the collection of relics on the 'Garh' appeared to belong to the Pāla period. The local people speak of a 'Rājā Jaipāl' and this may have some important

significance. Mr. R. D. Banerji has given the following list of the early Pāla Emperors in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 62:—

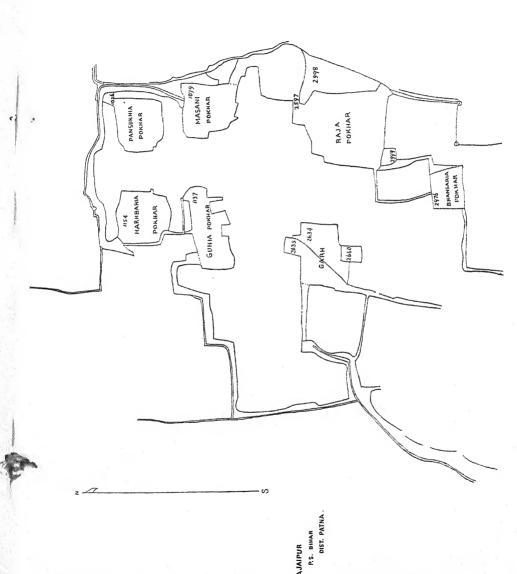


According to Dr. Kielhorn, Sūryapāla probably was a brother of Devapāla and Vigrahapāla I was son of Jayapāla and grandson of Vākpāla, a brother of Dharmapāla (Ep. Indica, Vol. VIII, app. I, pp. 15 and 17). Dr. Hoernle differed from this view and held that Vigrahapāla was a son of Devapāla and not a nephew. Whatever the relationship might have been, it is clear that Jayapāla was not a mere legendary figure: he is definitely mentioned in the fifth śloka of the Nārāyaṇapāla Copperplate Inscription (Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV, p. 325). It may be interesting to note that Mr. A. M. Broadley, my predecessor in office in the 'Seventies, had found a figure of a Buddha which bore an inscription of Vigrahapāla—though it is not known whether it referred to Vigrahapāla I or II-at village Rahui in Bihar Thana (J.A.S.B., Vol. XLI). Rahui is situated at a distance of seven miles from Bihar on the north while Ajaipur is seven miles away to the west. At Rahui, about which I have collected some notes and which I hope to publish, I found the same extensive mounds and series of tanks-it is well known that the Palas were great builders of tanks—and broken images and pillars of the Pāla period. As a 'Yojana', -that is 7-8 miles,—was the prescribed distance for a Royal March [vide Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, ed. Shamashastry, p. 439], was Rahui also the headquarters of another 'naya' of the province of Dandabhukti of which the ancient town of Bihar-Uddandapura—was the capital? It is not unlikely that both

Jayapāla and Vigrahapāla, who were not in the direct line of succession to the throne of Gopāla I, had served as Royal Princes in charge of 'nayas'. It may be noted here that in the Nālandā Copperplate Inscription Ajapura is mentioned as situated in Śrinagarabhukti.

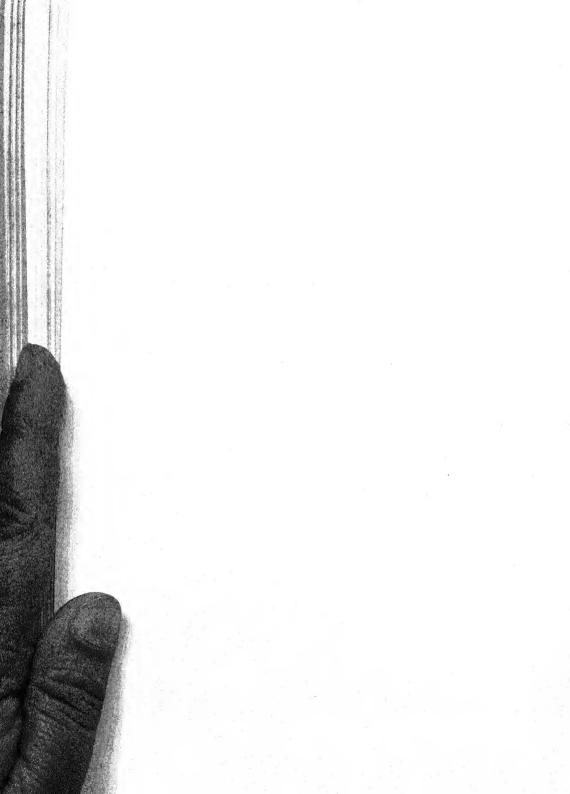
We have therefore evidence of the importance of Ajaipur in two different periods,—the Fifth and the Ninth Centuries A.D. I am convinced however that the history of Ajaipur can be traced back to much earlier periods if the site is excavated. The evidence of bricks found in situ lends support to this contention. Sir John Marshall has supplied the standard dimensions of bricks of the Maurya age as approximately $16'' \times 10'' \times 3''$ (A.S.R., 1913-14, p. 4). The brick with the inscription measured $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 9\frac{3}{4}" \times 2"$. Codrington, however, in 'Ancient India', p. 17, has pointed out that much has been made of the large size of bricks found in low strata but no law can be laid down on this point. In Mauryan levels at Bhita the bricks measured $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and $17'' \times 11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. At Sarnath the size of bricks round the base of the Asokan column was $16\frac{3}{4}" \times 11" \times 2\frac{3}{4}"$. I have visited scores of ancient places in Bihar and have been struck by the immense size of the bricks of the sites known to have been connected with early Buddhism.

Ajaipur is thus an interesting site and deserves further investigation. Its importance is enhanced by the fact that it was probably the headquarters of an administrative unit. It must have been carefully chosen on account of its strategic position. It was within a day's march from Bihar. [I should like to note in this connection that the value of 'Yojana' as 7-8 miles is confirmed by the distances which I have calculated from Bihar of important ancient villages and sites such as Ajaipur, Barhgaon, Nanand, Tetrawan, Ghosrawan, Jiar, and Rahui.] Lands of great fertility surrounded it on all sides. The river Sāsi flowed on the east a short distance away while on the west lay the river Paimār, both important rivers even now. I was told that a battle had been fought in Mohammadan times at the north-western boundary of the village. Apparently its strategic importance was recognized until quite recent times. It is



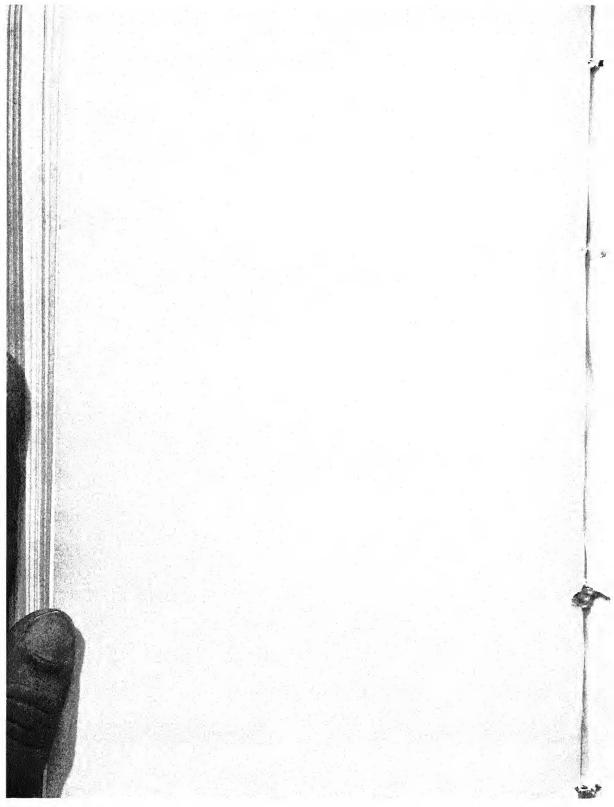
AJAIPUR

Ajapura of Skanda Gupta and the area around.



doubtful if any monastic remains will be found at this site, but it is certain that future research here will throw further light on the administrative organization of ancient and mediæval Magadha.





REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

By the Editor.

KARANJA SERIES.

- Sāvaya-dhamma-dohā: This is an apabhramsa work of the tenth century by Lakshmi-chandra in 224 dohās. dohā completes one idea in itself. They are moral sayings relating to Jaina philosophy and religious ideals. The work has been edited by Mr. Hiralal Jain, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, King Edward College, Amaraoti, who is the general editor of the Karanja Jaina Series; and published by the Karanja Jaina Publication Society, Karanja, Berar, 1932. In 125 pages, 7" × 5". the editor has very carefully edited the text and given a translation in Hindi, a glossary of the words occurring, and notes on difficult words. We welcome the volume as a valuable material on the beginnings of modern vernaculars, the importance of which was pointed out in this journal when these Jaina texts were brought to light by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII, p. 30). The price Rs. 2-8 seems to be a little too high.
- 2. $N\bar{a}ya$ - $Kum\bar{a}ra$ -cariu of Pushpadanta: This has also been edited by Mr. Hiralal Jain, the publisher being the Balāt-kāra-Gaṇa Jaina Publication Society of Karanja. This text was also noticed by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal; and has been now (1933) ably edited in 210 pages $(9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}'')$. It is a Jaina romance making Nāga-Kumāra its hero. The author wrote this apabhramśa kāvya at Mānyakheta in the latter half of the tenth century, and a commentary on it was composed about 1055 A.D. Mr. Jain has made his study almost exhaustive.

The language is Nāgara-apabhramśa. The word Nāgara is intimately connected with the Nāgas, like the Nāgara architecture and Nāgara script (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX, pp. 55-60). For the connection of the Nāgabhāshā with Gujarat see the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, p. 233 (Nāgānām cha yathā Lāḍī vāchā hyuktā manīshinī).

The price Rs. 6 is high. I recommend to the Jaina Societies to price their publications with the liberality characteristic of them, to make them more easily available to scholars.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS.

3. The $Rgved\bar{a}nukraman\bar{\imath}$ of Mādhavabhatṭa: $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$, pages 93+159 Appendix, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, 1932. Price Rs. 3-8: The text has been edited from six manuscripts. The Anukraman̄ı is a part of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the Rig Veda which has been quoted by Sāyaṇa and others. Dr. L. Sarup has already dealt with the personal history of the author who seems to have flourished in the early part of the tenth century.

Dr. Raja has done well in publishing these Kārikās of Mādhava on the Anukramaṇī section separately. Mādhava shows originality in explaining the arrangement of the Rig Veda and a sense of critical judgment in determining the authorship of the Sūktas. His Svarānukramaṇī or the Treatment of Accents will probably be found very useful.

- The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (collected till 1923) and Outlines of Political History by Robert Sewell: The late Robert Sewell devoted nearly half a century to the study of the history of Southern India which is almost entirely based upon inscriptions. Although Mr. Sewell could not see the publication of this present volume (1932), but Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, whom the Madras University appointed to edit the work, has taken every possible care to bring it out 'as it emerged from the hands of the late Mr. Sewell'. He has added a few footnotes wherever necessary. The volume (pp. 405, $11" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$) has a map of Southern India with inscriptional places noted thereon. It is not necessary to discuss the Outlines of Political History as presented by Mr. Sewell: the subject of the Pallava, Ganga, and Kadamba history has been already discussed in this journal by me. The list of the inscriptions, bringing as it does all the results together, would be always found useful by historians.
- Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India,
 by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: This volume (pp. 379,

 $9\frac{1}{2}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$; Price Rs. 6), is a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Aiyangar as Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1929-30. The author has attempted to gather political ideals from the Kural, the Pallava Inscriptions and Chola Inscriptions. The materials on the local administration in the Chola time are remarkably rich, which have been available for sometime and have been already ably commented on by Mr. Havell. Dr. Aiyangar has given some supplementary information. The Pallava inscriptions, however, give very little help; and no picture, even partial, can be constructed from them. The Pallava system is wholly Northern and was probably an exact copy of the Northern constitution. Dr. Aiyangar's attempt will stimulate further research and reconstruction.

- 6. The Mauryan Polity, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Lecturer in Indian History, Madras University (pp. 373, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$; Price Rs. 6): This is an excellent volume on Mauryan polity. The author has corrected several mistakes of Dr. Law and others, and presented a clear and thoughtful study. His judgment is sound, and appreciation of facts reliable.
- 7. The Chronology of the Early Tamils, by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai (pp. 265, $9\frac{1}{2}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$; Price Rs. 5, 1932): This is a good analysis of the Sangam Literature, out of which Synchronistic Tables of Kings, Chieftains, and Poets have been constructed for 50 B.C. to 200 A.D. The author has taken pains to co-ordinate his results. The dates may be liable to a little shifting, but probably not much. The Sangam Literature has been subjected to a process of extracting historical data therefrom by various Tamil scholars; Mr. Pillai seems to have been more fortunate in adopting his method.

Publication of the Calcutta and the Punjab Universities.

8. Brahmanical Gods in Burma, by Nihar Ranjan Ray (pp. 88 with 23 plates, $9\frac{1}{2}"\times 6\frac{1}{4}"$, price not given, Calcutta, 1932): There is definite evidence of the introduction of Indian culture into Burma in the early Gupta period. The Brahmanical sculptures found there are, however, of a much later period; none can go back beyond the sixth century and the majority

belongs to mediæval times. In this volume images of Vishņu, Śiva, and Brahmā and some minor deities have been discussed. The materials utilized are all from published books. They have been conveniently brought together, but the plates are not very good. Burman chapter of the Hindu Colonial history had been long neglected. We welcome the beginning made by Mr. Ray.

- 9. Studies in Indian Antiquities, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1932 (pp. 192, $8\frac{1}{4}$ "× $5\frac{1}{4}$ ", price not given): This is a collection of fourteen papers, three of which are in Bengali. There are some important points discussed by Dr. Raychaudhuri, e.g. the Besnagar inscription and its connection with a Mahā-Bhārata passage. The view of the author on the age of Janaka (p. 32) is not acceptable, the fallacy of which has been demonstrated by Prof. Vanamalī Vedāntātīrtha in his article in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIII, pts. iii and iv, 1932, p. 307. The author's geographical views are not acceptable.
- 10. Trivandrum Plays of Bhāsa translated into English, by Dr. A. C. Woolner and Dr. Lakshman Sarup, published by the University of the Punjab, 1930 (pp. 200, 9\frac{2}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"; Price 9s.): Dr. Woolner and Dr. Sarup have translated all the thirteen plays published by the late Gaṇapati Śāstrī. The translation has been made after a critical study of the texts. In some places the reading has been distinctly improved. It may however be pointed out that the translation of 'prakāśa rājarshināmadheyo vedākshara-samavāyapravishto Bhārato vamśah in Act II of PY., is not accurate: 'The Bharata dynasty, with its long roll of famous royal sages and its tradition of deep learning' (p. 21), misses the real import that the dynasty is mentioned in the Veda (Rig. III, i. 23, 2). I have not the least hesitation in agreeing with the conclusion of Dr. Sarup that the dramas are by the same pen and are to be treated as authentic.

PUBLICATION OF INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS.

11. An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, by Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, published

by the Oxford University Press, 1932 (pp. 174, $9\frac{3}{4}" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$, with 12 plates; Price Rs. 10): This is a book on Tantric Buddhism of the Vajra School. In Chapter VIII a history of the teachers (Mahāsiddhas) has been given. Saraha was the first teacher, his date is given as 633 A.D. This initial date needs correction. Luipā was a Kāyastha official of King Dharmapāla (c. 800 A.D.), according to the works of the hierarchs of the Sakya Monastery of Tibet (Sa-Skya-Bkah-Hbum, Vol. Ph, pp. 212 B to 217 A and 243 A; see Rev. Rāhula Sānkrityāyana, in the Hindi monthly Ganga, Bhagalpur, January, 1933, p. 224). Hardly one generation passed between Saraha and Luipā, for Saraha's pupil Sabaripā was the teacher of Luipā. Again Haribhadra who received a monastery from King Dharmapāla was the teacher of Buddhajnana, a co-disciple of Saraha. The time of Saraha, therefore, is the time of Dharmapāla. The date 669 A.D. for Luipā (p. 69) cannot be maintained in view of the exact data brought to light by Rev. Sānkrityāyana. Chapter XI gives the procedure of worship. Chapter XIII, on the Pantheon, is the best in the book and is illustrated with good plates with some of which the author had already familiarised us. The date of Santideva (=Bhusuka), p. 123, is the reign of King Devapāla, not 695 to 730 A.D. [See Gangā, January, 1933, p. 249.] The date of the Manjuśrimūlakalpa is c. 800 A.D. which is evident from its historical section (See the August issue of the Modern Review). date assigned to it by Dr. Bhattacharya is far too high. These matters, however, do not affect the merit of the book. Dr. Bhattacharya's book is a good text-book on its subject.

12. A Primer of Indian Logic, by MM. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī, I.E.S., Vidyāvāchaspati, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (pp. 364, 7½"×4¾", price not given), published by P. Varadachari & Co., Madras, 1932: The volume though primarily a translation of the Tarkasamgraha, the Hindu primer of logic which almost every student of Sanskrit has to read in India, is more than what its title denotes. The exposition by the learned author (Prof. Kuppuswami Śāstrī) is masterly. It is exact in its language. Nearest or identical modern terms have been adopted. It

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draws on the entire philosophic literature of Hindu India. It is clear; and at places, historical. A mistake of Prof. Keith on avinābhāva has been corrected at page 261. A manual like this on Hindu logic has been a want. I should add that the date of Nāgārjuna (p. xvii, 'Third Century A.D. circa') is not acceptable. The Mañju-Śrīmūlakalpa places him in the fifth century after the Buddha.

Vibhramaviveka of Mandana Miśra, edited by T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Vedāntālankāra, Professor of Vedānta. Sanskrit College, Madras (pp. 18+15 Introduction, 8½"×5½"; Price As. 12), published by the Journal of Oriental Research. Madras, 1932: Mandana Miśra, the great mīmāmsaka of his time and once the rival of Sankara is a household name in India. It is to the great credit of the Southern scholars that they are bringing out his works. His 'Brahma-siddhi' is promised by MM. Kuppuswami Śāstrī. Meanwhile his Vibhramaviveka has been published. There are 162 Kārikās in the Vibhrama-viveka. Though it has been edited from one manuscript the lacunce have been filled up with the help of the Brahma-siddhi and Kumārila's Śloka-Vārtika. An Introduction by Prof. Kuppuswami Śāstrī deals with the general Advaīta theory. Khyāti Vāda is the subject of the Vibhramaviveka.

14. India's Outlook on Life, by J. C. Chatterji (pp. 75, 9½" × 6"; Price 2 dollars), published by Kailasa Press, 200 West 57th Street, New York City, 1931: In this little volume, Mr. Chatterji gives in a popular form the main features of Upanishadic philosophy. His exposition is lucid and shows a clear grasp of his subject. It never becomes obscure or pedantic.

15. Inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal (pp. 230 with plates and an archæological map of the C.P., $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 5\frac{1}{4}"$; Price Rs. 3), Second Edition, a publication of the Central Provinces Government: This is the best inscriptional gazetteer yet published in any province. The information which a general reader as well as a technical reader would require is to be found in the volume with remarkable accuracy and conciseness. The map enhances the value of the book, and the Genealogies and the Chronological Charts in Appendix

I, as well as the dynastic lists in Appendix II, are of great value.

16. Canons of Orissan Architecture, by Nirmal Kumar Bose (pp. 186, with 46 plates, $9\frac{3}{4}$ " × $6\frac{1}{4}$ "; Price Rs. 10), published by Mr. R. Chatterjee, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1932: The author has taken up a manual on architecture called Bhuvanapradipa which is a current authority in Orissa and has studied it with the help of living tradition amongst Orissa artists. He has illustrated all the technical points with excellent pictures of monuments in existence and diagrams. Mr. Bose has thus transferred the study of Hindu architecture from the domain of personal impressions and opinion to that of an applied science. He has drawn on the knowledge as it obtains in the practical builder and sculptor. A similar attempt for Northern India is much desirable. I have met artists in Central India who can expound the whole subject in vernacular technical terms current amongst them. tradition is also living in Southern India up to Ceylon where a Tamil gentleman has constructed a temple in our days according to those traditions at a cost of nine lakhs. The author must have devoted great labour and time in producing the present volume.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on Sunday, the 30th July, 1933.

PRESENT.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the Chair).

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 19th March, 1933.
- 2. Passed the monthly accounts from March to June, 1933, and the annual account for 1932-33.
- 3. Considered the proposed budget for 1934-35. Amended the estimate of Rs. 350 for the Library to Rs. 500, with a consequent change in the total to Rs. 7,283 with a closing balance of Rs. 745-1-11½.

Resolved that all figures in the budget be expressed in round numbers to the nearest rupee.

Passed the budget for 1934-35 as amended.

- 4. Passed the revised budget for 1933-34.
- 5. Elected the following new members:—

Mr. Swami Vedanand Tirtha, Aryasamaj Mandir, Dinga.

Mr. Madan Mohan Nagar, B.A., Curator, Sarnath.

Khan Bahadur Gulam Muhammad Munshi, Bar.-at-Law, Rajkot.

Mr. J. Rahman, Bar.-at-Law, Patna.

6. Considered the advisability of placing 'The Journal of the Assam Research Society' on our exchange list.

Resolved that the Council regret that the exchange cannot be made.

7. Sanctioned the payment of the following Baptist Mission Press bills:—

							Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Bill	No	. 4593,	dated	19-5-1933	 	78	13	0
2.	,,	,,	4624,	,,	26-5-1933	 	1,636	11	6
3.	,,	,,	4625,	,,	**	 	21	11	0

8. Read the circular letter from the Local Secretary, VII Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda.

Nominated the following members as representatives of the Society:—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

- 9. Read letter No. 1283/111C-5/E, dated the 18th June, 1933, from the Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association.
- 10. Resolved that Dr. Buchanan's Patna-Bihar Report be sent to the Calcutta Oriental Press for printing, the cost to be met from the Huthwa Fund and His Excellency the Governor's donation.
- 11. Read a letter from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham of the 6th July, 1933.

Resolved that the Society will be very glad to accept any of the old blocks of the *Indian Antiquary* which may be to spare.

12. Read a letter from Mr. Rahul Sankrityayan presenting the Society with 21 cases of books.

Resolved that a committee, consisting of Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary General Secretary be formed to consider the storage of these books.

> J. L. Hill, Honorary General Secretary.

2nd August, 1933.

Annual Statement of Accounts, 1932-33.

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S. BAHADUR, Honorary Treasurer.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY DECEMBER, 1933.

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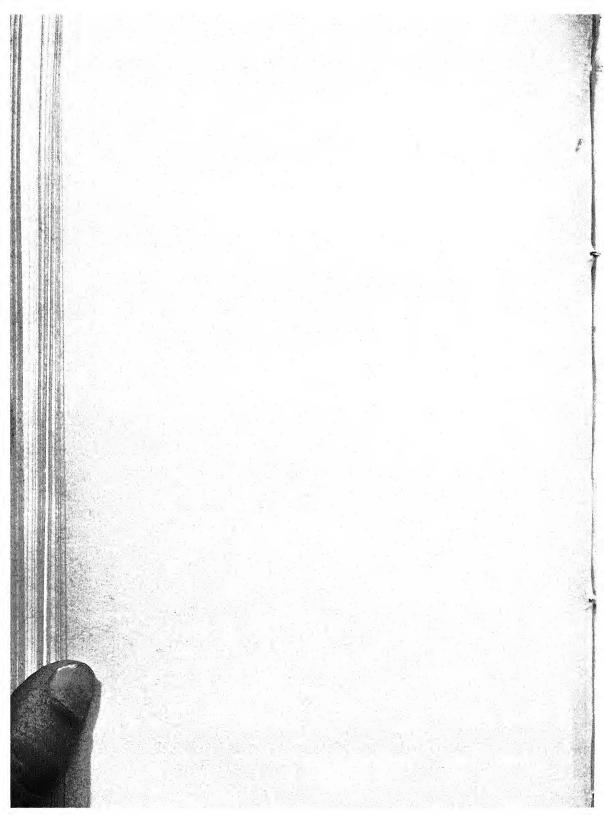
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Reviews and Notices of Books

By. K. P. Jayaswal.

- 1. The Story of Kālaka, edited by W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania.
- 2. Kātyāyanasmritisāroddhāra, edited by P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Bombay.
- 3. Gāthā of Zarathushtra, edited by Jotindra Mohan Chatterjee, M.A.
- 4. The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art, by Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers, Brill Ltd., Leiden.
- 5. History of the Rāshtrakūtas, by Pandit Bisheswar-nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.



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[PART IV.

Leading Articles

Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1793 By D. B. Diskalkar, M.A. Curator, Historical Museum, Satara.

In the Historical Museum at Satara in the Bombay Presidency there are about 4,000 English papers very useful for the history of the early British period in India. A majority of them are of the time of Lord Macartney, who was Governor of Madras from 22nd June, 1781 to 8th June, 1785. These papers were purchased by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, a well-known worker specially in the field of Maratha history, from an auctioneer of old mss. in London.

- 1 Some account of the public life and writings of Macartney by Barrow.
 - 2 Proceedings of the meetings of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm., vol. V, p. 96.
- 3 The Keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum, London, writes to me in his letter dated the 14th June, 1932, thus—'I may say that though we have many Macartney papers here, there are considerable portions of the collection elsewhere. At least two lots of them have recently been offered for sale by auction in London, but I do not know whether they were bought or by whom. There are many papers of Macartney in the Madras Record Office'.

All these Macartney papers have now been classified and arranged. They have been found to relate not only to the period of Macartney's Indian administration, but to his subsequent career.4 Among the papers of the latter period are found about a dozen papers which relate to China. reason why papers relating to China are found in the Macartney papers, is that eight years after his retirement from service as Governor of Madras, Macartney "being a man of noble birth and distinguished merit was appointed His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China with the object of removing the ill opinion of the Chinese against the English merchants, who often being of a low class had by their passions and caprices exhibited such scenes of excesses and irregularities as were peculiarly disgusting and offensive to a people whose minutest actions were controlled by specific regulations.5 Macartney must have naturally studied all the papers of the time relating to China before he went there in 1793.6

One of these papers contains a list of ten letters in a packet sent to Lord Macartney from the East India House on the 17th May, 1793 as follows:—

⁴ A peep into the Macartney papers in the Satara Museum, Calcutta Review, April, 1932.

⁵ Macartney's Embassy to China, 1797, vol. I, p. 15.

⁶ Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records in the India Office, London, kindly gives me the information that Charles W. Wason, a former student at Cornell University, New York, after a lifetime spent in commerce with China gathered some ten thousand books and manuscripts relating particularly to the commercial and diplomatic relations between China and the world. Upon his death the whole library was left to his alma mater. The chief manuscript collection consists of papers of the Earl of Macartney, of which there are thirty-six volumes. Of these twenty-one volumes are extracts from the East India Company's records prepared for the use of Lord Macartney upon his Embassy to China. These were transmitted to Macartney by the E.I. Company on September 8th, 1792. They were purchased by Mr. Wason from the famous collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps in September 1913. Then there is a collection of ten volumes of manuscripts purchased for the Wason Collection from Mr. C. G. Macartney in 1915. There are 448 documents in the collection, most of them being letters to Macartney by Francis Baring and Henry Dundas.

SECRET

List of the packet to His Excellency Lord Viscount Macartney etc etc., per Earl of Abergavenny.

No. 1 Duplicate—Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to His Excellency dated the 11th May, 1793.

No. 2 Duplicate—Copy of a clause respecting the Trade to China intended to be inserted in the Bill on the renewal of the Company's Charter.

No. 3 Duplicate—Copy of General Letter from Bengal in the Political Department dated the 14th October, 1792 respecting the Rajah of Napal.

No. 4 Duplicate—Copies of Letters from the Rajah of Napal to Earl Cornwallis.

No. 5 Duplicate—Copy of Letter from the Rajah of Napal to the Resident at Benares.

No. 6 Duplicate—Copy of Letter dated the 15th Sept., 1792 from Earl Cornwallis to the Rajah of Napal.

No. 7 Duplicate—Copy of Letter dated the 17th Sept., 1792 from the Resident at Benares to the Rajah of Napal.

No. 8 Duplicate—Copy of Letter from the Rajah of Pootlah Laussa to Earl Cornwallis.

No. 9 Duplicate—Copy of Letter dated the 25th Sept., from Earl Cornwallis to the Dalia Lama at Pootlah Lessa.

No. 10 Duplicate—Copy of Translation of a Paper forwarded by the Resident at Benares.

East India House

17th May, 1793.

Only four (Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 8) of the ten letters in the packet mentioned in the paper could be traced among the papers in the Museum. I wrote to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta and of the India Office and British Museum, London, with a request to see if the remaining letters in the packet can be traced in their collections. Mr. Abdul Ali, the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India very kindly traced four out of the remaining six letters required by me viz. Nos. 3, 7, 9 and 10 and supplied me with their copies. The Superintendent of Records⁷ in the India Office, London, kindly supplied me with copies of the same

⁷ I express here my thankfulness to both these officers for the trouble they have kindly taken in tracing the documents and supplying me with their true copies.

four documents. Unfortunately the letters Nos. 1 and 2 mentioned in the paper can nowhere be traced.8

I could find in the Museum collection one more important paper⁹ which being of a later date could not have been mentioned in the list referred to above, but which bears on the same subject and gives the result of the war in the words of the Teshoo Lama of Tibet himself, who came out successful in it. Subsequent search in the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta, and at the India Office, London, has brought to light ten more documents bearing on the same subject. These letters refer to a war that was going on between Nepal and Tibet from 1788 to 1793. It requires to be noted that practically very little is so far known about this war. A Nepalese writer named Gen. Pudma Jung Bahadur gives the following account of the war in his Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal.¹⁰

In 1791 a dispute arose between the Tibetans and the Nepalese merchants at Lhassa. The Grand Lama referred the matter to the Chinese Emperor, Keen-lung, while the Nepalese appealed to their Home Government. The Nepalese king wrote to the Court of Pekin remonstrating against the high-handed conduct of the Tibetans, but the Celestial Emperor stooped not from his empyrean height to consider a terrestrial letter from the "Robber King," as he styled the Nepalese monarch. Exasperated by this insult, the Gurkhas sent an army of 9,000 under the command of Ranjeet, who marched through the Kutipass to Dingarcha, which he laid under fire and sword. The Chinese Emperor also despatched a formid-

⁸ The Superintendent of Records in the India Office writes to me in his letter dated the 4th April, 1932 thus—No copy of the letter of the 11th May, 1793 to Macartney has been traced in the Records of this office, although references to it have been found. It was probably of a private and confidential nature and if it is still in existence it may be with the collection of Macartney papers sold at Sotheby's in 1915.

⁹ No. 18 below, from the Teshoo Lama, received by the Governor General on the 28th June, 1793.

¹⁰ See p. 6 of the preface of the Life edited by A. C. Mukherjee, M.A., Allahabad, 1909, D. Wright M.A., in his History of Nepal 1877, p. 51 and Sir Francis Younghusband in his India and Tibet only make a vague reference to this war.

able force of 70,000 in two divisions under Dhuring and Putung Toong Thong, and Ranjeet, conscious of his own inferiority, thought it prudent to make a retreat to Dhaibung, where he proudly stood at bay and gave battle. The fight was long and bloody, and about 4,000 men were killed on either side. The loss inflicted a heavy blow on the Nepalese, who were greatly inferior in numbers. Still undaunted. Ranjeet retreated further, and made another stand in the mountains of Panchmanay, whence with his reduced force he directed a night attack upon the enemy in a manner that reminds us of Hanibal. He fastened flaming torches to the horns of several hundred cattle which were driven in one direction, and in another he hung lights on every conspicuous bush and tree; while he himself marched silently in the dark and attacked the enemy in the rear, leaving the front open. The enemy, pressed in one quarter by an actual attack, and seeing lights on their right and left, fancied they had been caught in a trap, and so made their best haste to flee from the destruction which they feared was about to follow. They fled pell-mell, throwing down their arms, and leaving their camp to be plundered by the Nepalese. This happened on the 19th of September, 1792 and the scene of the victory has since been called by the new name of Jitpur Fedi. A treaty was concluded between Nepal and China.

But the eighteen¹¹ letters published below for the first time will be seen to give a more accurate and detailed account of the war, though more correspondence on the subject referred to in these very letters is unfortunately not forthcoming. They show how both Nepal and Tibet represented their case to the British power in India without success. The origin of the war is given thus: The Teshoo Lama of Tibet was on very friendly terms with the British. Warren Hastings sent an ambassador (Bogle) to the Lama to cement the friendship. The Emperor of China, who was the overlord of the Lama, did not relish this idea and invited the Lama to his court where the

¹¹ No. 4 in the packet mentioned above contains copies of two letters from the Rajah of Nepal, one received on the 22nd Aug., 1792 and the other on the 5th Sept., 1792. Hence the total number of letters there is 10,

latter met a mysterious death. Sumhur Lama, the brother of the deceased Lama, went to the king of Nepal and instigated him to invade the country of Tibet. This he at once did some time in 1785. He went to the distance of twenty eight days' march from Nepal (to Shugghar?) and forced the Teshoo Lama to pay him a tribute of three lakhs of Rupees. The Lama, thereupon, applied to Sir John Macpherson, the then Governor General of India, for help against the king of Nepal. But Macpherson declined to give it as the British were also on friendly terms with the king of Nepal (No. 12).

In the month of Ramzan i.e. June 1788, the Gurkha king again sent a large army of 18,000 men against Tibet and took by violence "the several forts in the country of Boot, which is in the vicinity of Nepal, such as Daam Jung, Kutty, Keesung, Runga Low, Mindan, Shukkha, Legur, Rungsheer, and massacred the inhabitants of these places" (No. 3). The Teshoo Lama thereupon deputed two Kashmirians named Mahomed Rajab and Mahomed Wallee with presents of honour to Lord Cornwallis and requested him to help him against the Gurkha king. The Tibetan Vakils arrived in Calcutta on 22nd December, 1788 and were received with due hospitality. But Cornwallis wrote in reply on 27 February 1789 to the Lama declining to interfere in the matter firstly because it would be very expensive to send the Indian army to Tibet, secondly because the Gurkha king had given him no provocation and thirdly because the Emperor of China with whom the Company was carrying on a great trade would not like the interference (No. 6). The Lamas of Tibet thereupon asked the help of their overlord, the Emperor of China, who at once sent a large army with a Commander named Sund Fo to punish the king of Nepal (Nos. 12 and 18). Seeing the combined armies of the Emperor of China and the Dalai Lama and the Teshoo Lama of Tibet advancing towards him, the king of Nepal wrote successively at least three letters to Lord Cornwallis, requesting him to help him against Tibet. His first letter referred to in No. 9 below is not discovered. In his second letter received on 22 Aug. 1792 (No. 9) he wrote thus:

"I request that your Lordship will be kind enough to dis-

patch for this quarter ten guns, together with ammunition and ten young Europeans versed in the management of artillery. No Englishman has to this time come into the country; yet in consideration of the ancient friendship subsisting with the Company's Sircar I have as the means of adding strength to our friendly connection made this request." In the third letter sent immediately after this he wrote—"In like manner as your Lordship shews kindness to the Nawab Vizier, I hope you will be friendly to me and issue an order to the Commanding Officer at Denapoor for two Battalions of Europeans and two of Sepoys with military stores and a suitable number of Guns to be sent to my assistance. I will transmit a Bill for their Expenses," (No. 10).

Cornwallis had already received a letter¹² from the Dalai Lama of Tibet dated in March, 1792 and received on the 3rd Aug. 1792 with several articles in token of friendship in which he represented his own case and requested the Governor-General not to be influenced by the false representations of the king of Nepal which would fracture the amicable relations of the Tibetans and the British. He stated in his letter, "The Rajah will write lies and calumnies that the Emperor has detached a large army against him, and that therefore he requests aid; that should your Lordship not depute a force to assist him the Emperor will rise up hereafter against your Lordship's Government as he has against his," (No. 8).

Lord Cornwallis was placed in a very delicate position on this occasion as he had clearly shown in his letter to the Court of Directors (No. 17). The British had only lately concluded a commercial treaty with Nepal and the king had made friendly advances to them. It was incumbent on them therefore to endeavour to preserve him and his country from destruction. At the same time they could not enter into hostilities against the Lamas with whom they had held amicable correspondence

¹² Two letters were received from the Lamas of Tibet and one from the Commander of the Chinese army named Janoojoun (No. 14). From Nos. 15 and 17 it is seen that several letters in the Tibetan characters accompanied by a Persian translation were received.

or against the Emperor of China between whom and the Company commercial connection had long subsisted.

Cornwallis accordingly replied to the king of Nepal on the 15th September, 1792 (No. 13) declining to interfere but offering to depute a man of his confidence, who would try to reconcile him to the Lamas of Tibet. "The English Company," wrote he, "have nothing more at heart, than to maintain the most cordial and friendly terms with all the Powers in India, and particularly with those whose countries be contiguous to their own and sensible of the Policy and Wisdom of this conduct, they are careful not to infringe the rules of Friendship by interference in a Hostile manner in the disputes of others except when self defence or Wanton attacks oblige them.

A compliance with your request to assist you with a Military Force against the Lassa who is a dependant on the Emperor of China, would be not only an Infringement on the General Policy of the English Government, but also a measure inconsistent with the connection that has so long prevailed between the Company and the Emperor."

On the 25th September he replied to the Dalai Lama at Pootlah Lassa with almost the same contents (No. 15).

Cornwallis soon sent Col. Kirkpatrick with an adequate staff¹³ under him on a mission of mediation to Nepal. By the time however Kirkpatrick was of any use to the Nepalese king, the united armies of Tibet and China arrived "in the height of the Rains in the Neighbourhood of Nipaul, some severe engagements took place and Numbers of the Rajah's men were killed, many places of his country came into possession of His Majesty's army. The army had advanced to within one days March of the Rajah's capital.¹⁴ When at length the Rajah finding himself unable to contend sued for peace" (No. 18). The treaty was concluded probably in the beginning of 1793.¹⁵

¹³ See paragraph 12 of Letter No. 17.

¹⁴ See also the concluding portion of No. 12 which gives an account of the war till 4 Sept. 1792.

¹⁵ The Gurkha king seems also to have tried to extend his territories to the south and west of Nepal, but there even he met with a failure

THE LETTERS

No. 1

Letter from the Raja of Nepal.

خط راجـه نيپال بنام نواب گورنر جنرل مستـر جان منفرس بهادر *

بعد گذارش بندگی رنیاز تمنا رحصول خدمت فیضدرجت می پردازد نوازش نامه کرامت آمود در باب موضع اشرف برطبق نوشته مسترگران صاحب شرف ر رود یافته معزز ر مسرر ساخت صورت این است که موضع مذکور از مدت قدیم متعلقه اینظرف است راجه مادهو سنگهه ناحق خلش می نماید نیاز مند مرگز مجور بیجا نیست رنمیشود ر مقدمه سوانه را دستور قدیم است جائیکه تکرار میگردد در آنجا امین دیانت دار مقرا میشود که راقف کاراك فریقین را همراه گرفته از ردی دریافت را امانت راجبی هرچه فیصل نماید طرفین قبول میکنند چنانچه را اینمعنی بعمل نمی آررد ر اگرچه عرض گویان برعلایقهٔ احقر پهره تلنگه تعین میشود حالا نیازمند شخصی راقف کار را عنقریب

as is seen from three Marathi letters written by Hingne, the Peshwa's Vakil at Delhi to Nana Phadnis at Poona, and edited by Parasnis in the Itihāsa Samgraha. They show that sometime before September 1790 'Jagajita, the general of Raja Ranabahadur of Nepal' invaded with an army of 20000 the districts of Almora, Kumon, Shrinagar, Nahan and others and subdued their rulers. They thereupon appealed to the Nawab of Oudh for help, who sent his own army and that of Faijullakhan of Rampur against the Gurkhas at Kashipur and Rudrapur. Sometime in December 1791 a battle was fought between the Nawab's army and the Gurkhas in which the latter were defeated, and driven back.

ردانسة جناب عالى مى نمايد كمة مفصل بعرض برسانده برطبق آك امين از حضور مقرر خواهد شد كه با ظاهر راقف كاراك طرفين قرار شده هرچمة واجبي باشد نيصل كرده خواهد داد قبول خواهد نمود اميد وار است كه در حضور فيض ظهور عرض عرض گوياك بدوك تحقيق منظور نگردد زياده تقديم بندگي را سرمايم سعادت مى داند و هرحال مترصمة توجهات است آفتاب دولت راقبال قاباك و درخشاك باد *

TRANSLATION

From the Rajah of Napaul

Received 19th August, 1785.

I have been made happy by the receipt of your gracious Letter on the subject of the Village of Ashruffa according to what Mr. Grand had written to you. The case is this: that the said village from a long Period has belonged to this quarter. Raja Madho Sing quarrels without Cause. I never acted and never do act improperly. In Matters of Boundaries it is the established Custom that wherever disputes happen, an Ameen of Fidelity be appointed thither, and that having taken with him the Persons acquainted with the Facts on both Sides whatever he may decree from investigation and truth be abided by both Parties. Accordingly this system has not been followed and on the Report of self-interested Persons a party of Sepoys has been stationed over my Property. I will now immediately send to your Presence a Person acquainted with the circumstances who may represent them fully to you. Conformably thereto let an Ameen be appointed from the Presence who may ascertain the matter upon the Evidences of the Persons acquainted with the facts on both Sides, and may award whatever may be just. I agree to it. I hope that the Calumnies of self-interested Persons may not be attended to at the Presence without investigation. Further I consider obedience to you to be perfect Happiness and I am at all Times hoping for Favor. May your Dignity increase.

No. 2

Letter from the Teshu Lama.

خط راجم تشے لمبو بنام گورنر جذرل نواب مستر جان مکفرس بهادر

رفعت رصحبت پذاه رعطوفت نشان میک فرسن صاحب بعد الله تعالی از بجانب تشے لمبو مهاراجه صاحب بعد از دیاد عمر ردعوات مشهود میدارد که الحمد لله رالمنته حالات این حدرد بغیر رصلاح رصحت رسلامتی آن صاحب بدرگاه ار تعالی مطلوب است مخفی نماند رفقیر خیریت جوئی خلق الله ر خدمت لامه صاحب نو نهال مینماییم که لامه صاحب جنت مکان تفارت ندارند اقبل پیشانی مبارک می تابد ریکونگیر کوسانی را رفاقت فرمایند رمایان یک جهتے ریکدلی ریک ربطی مانند صاحب صاحبان فرمایند ربعد الیوم همیشه میرد سلامت ر تندرستی مسرور فرما باشند ربروعایتان مثل صاحب صاحبان شفیق فرمایند ر نامه جات مسرور میفرما باشند ماحب صاحبان شفیق فرمایند ر نامه جات مسرور میفرما باشند که باعث تشفی است راین رقت براے درستان یک جهتے ریکدلی که باعث تشفی است راین رقت براے درستان یک جهتے و یکدلی یکدلی ر یک ربطی رومال یک توله لانک سه م کوچون

TRANSLATION

From the Rajah of Teeshee Lumboo,

Received 5th Jany., 1786.

God be praised that the situation of these countries is in peace and Happiness and I am always praying at the Altar of the Almighty for your Health and Preservation. This is not unknown. I am constantly employed in promoting the advantage of the subjects and the service of the newly seated Lama because the newly seated Lama is not distinct from the Deceased Lama¹ and the Light of his Forehead is exalted. Grant your Friendship to Poorungheer Gosaien² and maintain Union and Unanimity and Affection like the first of Nobles, and every day make me happy by the News of your Health and Prosperity, and bestow Favors like the First of Nobles and make me happy with Letters which are Cause of Consolation. At this Time as friendly Offerings of Union and Affection and Unanimity I send one Handkerchief, three Tolas of gold and one piece of Cochin. Let them be accepted.

1 See the opening portion of No. 12.

² He was a Bengali and was appointed the first mahant of the Buddhist temple and monastery built by order of the Teshoo Lama of Tibet on the banks of the Ganges near Calcutta. See Bengal Past and Present vol. XXVI, p. 197,

No. 3

SECRET AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION 26 January, 1789

No 5.

From the Teshoo Lama

Received 22nd January, 1789.

The state of occurrences in this Quarter is, by God's will, proper, and I am day and night praying for your Lordship's Health, and that at your Dependants and Connections. By God's Help, I pass my Time happily with all my servants. and am constantly pursuing my studies with my Preceptor. A long time has elapsed, and I have not received any Letter from that Quarter and my mind is looking that way with anxiety. I hope that you will make me happy with friendly Letters, mentioning your Health, for my mind will be much comforted by it. At this time two confidential servants are setting out for your Lordship's Presence, in order for the accomplishment of certain objects. The matter is this, about 20 years ago towards Napal, the Goorkaly Rajah killed the Rajah of Napal, where the Rajahs are Newar and by means of his strength took possession of the whole country, ruined the other Rajahs, such as Mucwarry, Joumessy, but was still not satisfied, and framing turbulent Intentions, this year in the month of Ramzan, sent a large number of Troops towards this Quarter. Notwithstanding that he suffered no loss from us, his army marched by four or five roads, and by violence he took possession of several Forts in the Country of Boot. which is in the vicinity of Napal such as Daam Jung, Kutty, Keesung, Runga Low Mindan, Shukka, Legur, Rungsheer which are names of Forts and massacred the inhabitants of these places, plundered all the Effects, pulled down and destroyed the Houses, and near to Kutty, he plundered a place called Counea which belongs only to me, ruining and destroying the Ryotts and Effects. This gave me great displeasure. and when the Chinese Soubahs who are in Lassa, heard these particulars, they wrote to the King of China, doubtless he will send Troops from Koota. God knows what will

happen to the Ryotts when the Troops arrive. On seeing this, I was desirous of making Peace with the Ghourkary, and on that account I was sending an Arzie to the Emperor of China, requesting he will not send Troops, but the Rajah's Intentions are different, and he does not abide by his Engagements. The Lamajie Lassawalla also conceived this, and wrote to the Rajah Jumlahwalla to become inimical to the Gourkary, and by any means to destroy him. But in my Ideas, the lumlahwallah will not have the power of making war, and on this account only I have written to your Lordship and sent my Letter by my servants, my second request is that your Lordship will send a large Force against the Ghourkary Rajah, and annihilate him at any rate. This will be a great mark of kindness and Friendship, at this time I will make peace with the Ghourkary, if he agrees, it is well, but if, which God forbid. Peace does not take place, in that case a large army will come from Kufta and go to Napal. Then if the Ghourkary being without resource, shall make a request for aid and assistance, your Lordship will not comply with his Demand. This will be a great kindness to me. How can I sufficiently urge this matter. The most perfect kindness is requisite as from of old a Friendship has been firm with the English, I have written your Lordship with very great Hopes. My ultimate request is that my former requests be complied with or an army be sent against the Ghourkhary, and he be killed. But if your Lordship should not think this advisable, in that case shew kindness towards me, consider well my requests and never grant him assistance. Whenever your Lordships Troops shall march towards Napal. I hope that you will act as from yourself and that my name and correspondence be known to no one. Your Lordship will shew such kindness and Favor to my requests, that no stranger may be acquainted with a word thereof, because we will write to the Emperor of China that a Peace has been concluded with the Ghourkhary, and that he will decline sending Troops. God forbid that the King of Kutta should be informed of my correspondence with your Lordship for this will bring down ruin and Destruction on me and in this respect your Lordship will keep my requests a

profound secret. How often shall I presume on making this request? Your Lordship is wise, and will learn every thing from the Conversation of the People I have deputed to your presence and treating my People with favor, will comply with the above written requests, and speedily send them back to this Quarter as I am anxiously waiting for them. This will be a great Honor and Kindness conferred on me. Such articles as are worthy of your Lordship's acceptance I have not been able to procure, and have therefore sent a Trifle which I hope will be accepted—dated 1st Seffer 1203.1

No. 4

From

The Maha Raja Jehanrowkissore, Peshcar to Teshoo Lama.

Received 22nd January, '89.

Affairs in this Quarter are by Divine favor, and the Teshoo Lama's kindness, proper, and I am constantly praying for news of your Lordship's Health. At this time in pursuance to the Lama's Orders two Cashmerians by name Mahomed Reieb and Mahomed Wally, with attendants are set out for your Lordship's Presence, in order for the attainment of certain objects, carrying with them a Letter from the Lama containing the particulars of affairs here, I hope that your Lordship will attentively peruse the Lama's Letter, and comply with its contents. This will be a mark of great kindness; when these two Persons have paid their respects to your Lordship, you will be pleased to shew them kindness and interrogate every particular, relative to this Country; they will inform your Lordship of every request which I hope will experience acquiescence and approval. In this respect how much shall I presume to ask your Lordship. This is a high Honor and great favor. Let the People be dismissed having accomplished their objects with haste, as this will afford comfort. I have

sent one Khaduc and ten Tolah of Gold as a Peishcush, which I hope will be accepted, and that I shall be made happy with news of your Lordship's Health.

(A true Translation)
Sd/- G. R. Cherry
D.P. Tr.

No. 5

HOME DEPARTMENT PUBLIC CONS.¹ 22nd December, 1788.

To

The Right Honourable
Charles Earl Cornwallis K.G.
Governor General &ca. &ca. &ca.

My Lord,

Last night arrived at this place two Embassadaurs named Mahomed Redjeb & Mahamed Willee, deputed by the grand Lamma of Thibet, with Dispatches for your Lordship. They also brought a Letter for me from the Lamma, requesting me to provide them with the necessary Guides and Attendants, to conduct them to Calcutta with as little delay as possible, their business being, as the Lamma informs me, of the most urgent nature.

In conversing with them respecting the State of the Lamma's Dominions, they informed me, that they had lately been invaded by the Goorkas, who had taken possession of several frontier forts, and a large extent of Country. That the Lamma had sent them offers of Peace, but that they refused to listen to any terms, unless the Lamma would consent to relinquish to them all the Gold produced in his Country, for the collecting of which, they insisted on appointing their own Officers.

¹ This letter is published by Prof. S. C. Sarkar in his article on 'Intercourse of Bengal with the Northern countries.' See Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm., vol. XIII, p. 107.

From these Circumstances I am led to suppose, although I did not think it proper to ask, that the purport of their Embassy is to solicit the protection of the English Government against the Goorka Rajah.

I have the honour to be
with great respect
Rungpore My Lord Your Lordship's
9th December, 1788. most obedient & most humble servant,
Sd/- D. H. McDowall,
Collr.

No. 6

SECRET AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION 10th April, 1789

To the Teshoo Lama

Written 27th February, 1789.

After so long an Interval, during which all correspondence between you and the English has been stopped, your vakeels Mahomed Rejub and Mahomed Wully, arrived with your friendly letter, in which you mention the Turbulent conduct of the Rajah of Gourkaly, who after conquering and ruining the Rajahs of Napal and taking several Forts, this year in the month of Ramzan, sent a large army towards your Quarter, and took possession of several Forts in the Country of Boot: that the Chinese Soubahs stationed in Lassa, hearing this, wrote to the Emperor of China, who will doubtless send Troops, and as this will prove injurious to the Ryotts, you have written him to desist, and deputed your confidential Servants to me, requesting I will send a large Force against the Gourkaly and annihilate him. But, as it is your wish to make Peace with him, should he not be so inclined, a large army will march from Kutta and in that case, should the Gourkaly finding himself without resource, apply to me for assistance, I will not comply with his demand; that the request you have made may

be kept a profound secret, and that the Emperor of China be not informed that you have corresponded with me. as that event will bring down ruin on you. Your vakeels also delivered me the presents you sent by them, which in consideration of your attachment to the Company and with a view to cement the Friendship between us. I have accepted, tho' contrary to my usual custom. I have had several Interviews with your vakeels; and have perfectly understood every particular of the object of their journey and the purport of your letter. I have received very great pleasure from learning the good qualities and virtue of your Disposition and especially the particular of your friendly sentiments towards me, and I feel happy that the correspondence is again open between I trust that it will now continue and that the Events of each Quarter may be mutually made known, altho' I have communicated my sentiments on every point to your vakeels, yet with a view to make them more known to you. I will recapitulate such parts of my conversations with them as appertain to the subjects of your letter.

Notwithstanding the great power and extensive dominions of the Company, from which they derive a superior Influence amongst the princes of Hindostan, I have always considered the preservation of peace as an object of the first Importance, and it has ever been my sincere wish to see all Nations united in the bonds of Amicable Intercourse. I know that you also entertain the same sentiments; and nothing could give me more concern than to be informed that the Gourkaly should wantonly and without provocation attack your dominions. I had no hesitation in forming a determination not to afford him any assistance and I hope soon to have the Happiness of learning that Harmony has been restored between you.

As to your request to send a large army against him, although there can be no doubt but the Troops of the Company would be victorious, wherever they were conducted, there are many objections which your own Reflection and sagacity will point out to you.

In the first place Armies cannot be sent upon such expeditions without great expence, and although we are so

closely united in Friendship and good wishes for each other, yet the distance between Calcutta and your capital is very great.

Secondly. The Company have received no provocations or Injury from the Gourcaly Rajah and what would the world say of the consistency of my professions, if I were to attack a person who has not injured them.

Thirdly. What would the Emperor of China say to the Interference of the Company in disputes between the Gourcaly and your Government, which is under his Protection.

It cannot be unknown to you that the Company carry on a great Trade with the subjects of the Emperor, by sea, to the mutual Benefit of both parties; that the English Merchants trading to China enjoy their commerce uninterrupted, and it would be therefore highly improper in me to afford the Emperor any cause of displeasure by an Interference which he has not requested. The great regard which he professes for you will always prevent me affording any assistance to your enemies, but the same motive must equally determine me against any Interference in the concerns of your Government, which his regard for you, will doubtless induce him to protect.

Hitherto there is no communication by Land between the Emperor and the Company, and he is probably not informed of the extent of the Company's dominions in Hindostan and of their power in this part of the World. Considering his Friendship and regard for you, it must afford him great satisfaction to learn the Intimacy which has so long subsisted between the Company and you, which is firmer now than ever and must ever remain, as the Company are steady to their Word and Engagements. If our connection were made known to his Majesty, I trust that he would not only be happy at it, but be inclined to increase it, by making you the channel for expressing his satisfaction at it. Great advantages would arise from such a communication with him, and the secrecy now between us would be unnecessary. He might then confer upon numberless matters which it would be improper to enter upon secretly without the sanction of his approbation.

I have so fully and freely conversed with your vakeels on all these points that I refer you to them for further particulars, and in order to shew the value I set on your Friendship, I have given them in Charge a few articles, which I trust out of regard for me, you will accept.

(A true Copy)
Sd./- G. R. Cherry
D. Pr. Tr.

No. 7

SECRET AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION 10th April, 1789.

No 5.

To

The Maha Rajah Jehanrow Kissore, Peishcar to Teshoo Lama

Written 27th February, 1789.

Mahomed Rejub and Mahomed Wully arrived here in safety, and made me happy by the perusal of your Friendly Letter. I have had many conversations with them on the subject of the Lama's Government and country, and have fully discussed every particular contained in the Lama's Letter to me by them. Altho' from my regard to the Lama I could have wished to have detained them longer that I might have interrogated them relative to his good Qualities, yet in consequence of the Distance of their Journey and the approach of the hot season and knowing how anxious the Lama is to receive an answer to his Letter, I have given up my own pleasure to procure his comfort, and to prevent the Vakeels from experiencing any inconveniences from the Journey. As I have written the Lama fully on every point and have explained my sentiments fully to the Vakeels, I refer you for all particulars to my letter and to their verbal communication. They will deliver you a few articles as tokens of my Friendship, and I trust that they will meet with your approbation.

(A true Copy)
Sd./- G. R. Cherry
D. Pr. Tr.

No. 8

From

The Dhalay Lama Rajah of Pootlah Laussa.1

Received 3rd August, 1792.

By the favour of God I am in good Health. The tranquility of mankind is the object of my wishes, may God fulfil them. I hope also for your Lordship's Health. I at this time address you on the affair with the Goorcally Rajah whose Country is contiguous to this.

This man's Father² and he have to this time reduced all the Rajahs round about Nepal and also Nepal itself, and from his craving disposition wants to engage in hostilities with others. Thus in the Year 1203/1789/ and the present, he has excited disputes with me. I have shown no disposition to contend with him, but he from the blackness of his Heart will act hostilely against me. Accordingly he has attacked my Zemindars in several places and had it in view to come to this Quarter. But by the favour of God this Country has the protection of the Emperor of China-accordingly two Deputies always remain here for my protection. They wrote information of this Circumstance to the Emperor who detached a large Army under the Command of his Officers to this Country. When this intelligence reached the Goorcally Troops they quitted my Territory and fled to Nepaul. It is the resolution of the Officers sent from China by the favor of God to exterminate the Rajah of Goorcally and the other Chiefs. Accordingly they pursued the fugitives and got possession of several places of the Goorcally Territories. The Emperor by the

¹ No. I-152 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² Prithvi Narayan Shah.

influence of his good Auspices will certainly soon obtain possession of Nepaul and Goorcally. The Rajah however to promote his object, proposes asking assistance from your Lordship and will write lies and Calumnies that the "Emperor has detached a large Army against him, and that therefore he requests aid; that should your Lordship not depute a force to assist him the Emperor will rise up hereafter against your places of the Goorcally Territories. The Emperor by the Lordship's Government, as he has against his." Let not Your Lordship act agreeably to his artful representations, for the Emperor is not hostile to any except the Goorcally and it is a maxim with his Majesty to take measures against him only who first commences hostilities.

By no means let your Lordship give the least attention to what he writes. If any of the Chiefs or Companions of the Rajah should fall into your Lordship's hands be pleased to seize and deliver them up to the Emperor's Officers or the vou should not deliver them up do not allow them to return to their Country. The Officers will write their sense of your Lordship's kindness in so acting to the Emperor to whom it will afford satisfaction. I request on my own part also that your Lordship will conform to what I have written. Your Lordship is a protector of the Ryots and the Dispenser of Justice wherefore the Almighty has exalted you. The Ryots under your Lordship's Government live in ease and happiness. I hope your Lordship will gratify me by Letters. I have sent your Lordship one piece of Khanduk, 33 Tolas 4 Moharas of Gold Dust and a piece of Cochin. Be pleased to acknowledge the receipt thereof. The original of this letter is written in the Bootea Language dated 7th of Rejeb³ 1206 from Pootlawl.

> (A true Translation) Sd./- G. F. Cherry

No. 9

From the Rajah of Nepaul¹

Received 22nd August, 1792.

I before wrote² and transmitted to your Lordship an account of the occurrences of this quarter, which will certainly have been understood. I am ignorant whether your Lordship has returned to Calcutta, or still remain in that quarter and consequently experience the utmost anxiety on this account. Disputes have arisen between me and the Rajah of Lassa, dependent on China, which Dinanaut Opadea will doubtless have represented during his attendance some time ago upon your Lordship. The dissentions have continued for these three Years and are not to this time settled. The Vizier of the Emperor of China has come this year to Lassa and the commotions have consequently encreased, conceiving the Company's Sircars united with me, and considering the long established Friendship³ subsisting between us, I request that your Lordship will be kind enough to dispatch for this quarter ten Guns, together with ammunition and ten young Europeans versed in the management of Artillery,4 their allowances what-

2 Unfortunately this letter is not discovered.

¹ No. I-340 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

³ The British connection with Nepal began in about 1768 when the Newar chiefs who were formerly ruling over Nepal applied to the British for assistance against the Gurkha invaders of the country. Captain Kinloch accordingly led an expedition into the Terai but was repulsed by the Gurkha troops. In 1769 Surgeon Jas. Logan, who was keen in supporting the old chiefs was sent on a mission to Nepal but he also seems to have suffered the same fate. After a few years sceing that the Gurkhas had firmly established themselves in Nepal the British tried to open a channel of commerce with Nepal. Letter No. 1 published above, from the Raja of Nepal received on 19th August 1785 shows that the Raja of Nepal was anxious to keep on good terms with the British. Subsequently the British succeeded in entering into a commercial treaty with them on 1 March 1792 through Duncan, their Resident at Benares. The words 'long established friendship subsisting between us' of the Rajah of Nepal, therefore, are to be taken in a formal way.

⁴ This shows that it was a general understanding that the English were often successful in battles, because of their artillery.

ever they may be stated at, shall be defrayed, exclusive of which the greatest attention shall be paid them and the amount of price of the Guns shall be forwarded by a Bill of Exchange thro' Dinanant Opadea: No English Man⁵ has to this time come into the Country, yet in consideration of the ancient Friendship subsisting between the Company's Sircar, and deeming you more than ever amicably disposed towards me, I have as the means of adding strength to our friendly connection made this request. I hope from your Lordship's kindness that the Guns and Europeans above mentioned may be dispatched to this quarter. Further particulars will be represented by Bisshennaut Opadea.

(A true Translation)
Sd./- G. F. Cherry

No. 10

From the Rajah of Nepaul¹

Received 5th September, 1792.

Disputes and warfare have existed for these three years between the Rajah of Lassa and me, and I have repeatedly represented this circumstance to your Lordship; at this time the War between us is become more serious and I have applied to your Lordship for the assistance of ten pieces of Cannon and ten European Serjeants. I doubt not that my application has been received, altho' an Intimacy has long been established between us and henceforward a perfect unanimity will be preserved, yet a slight difference remained, which by virtue of a further Encrease to our connection has been removed. In like manner as your Lordship shews kindness to the Nawaub Vizier, I hope you will be friendly to me and issue an Order to Commanding Officer at Dinapoor.² for two Battalions of Europeans and two of Sepoys with Military Stores and a

⁵ It seems from this that Captain William Kirkpatrick was the first European to enter Nepal by the end of 1792.

¹ No. 1-340 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² About twelve miles above Patna on the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, and still a place of British cantonment.

suitable number of Guns to be sent to my assistance. I will transmit a Bill for their Expenses. I will pay their Expenses here for the present time. I hope your Lordship will issue such orders as may prevent any delay in the arrival of the Troops here, that they may arrive in time to assist me. Further particulars of the state of Affairs here will be known from my Vakeel Bishennaut Opadea.³

(A true Translation) Sd./- G. F. Cherry. P. T.

No. 11

From the Rajah of Napal to Mr. Duncan, Resident at Benares and transmitted by him.

Received 6th September, 1792.

I have already written to you on the Disputes existing with the Bhoutans of China. I have addressed Letters to the Governor-General and to Mr. Stuart.² which I have transmitted by the way of Patna. They are to the following purport (recapitulation of the letter addressed to the Governor-General and received 5th September, 1792). You and the English in general endeavour at the successful issue of the affairs of those with whom you enter into Engagements, on this account I have every confidence in the English Gentlemen and have written frequently for assistance. I request that immediately on the receipt of this letter you will write to the Governor-General and send your letter by the Dawk, so that the assistance required may arrive in time—I shall esteem this a particular favor.

(A true Translation)
Sd./- G. F. Cherry.
Pers. Transr.

³ In the previous letter received by the G. G. on 22-8-1792 mention is made of this Vakil. It seems that after he had brought the previous letter from Nepal he continued to stay in Calcutta and this third letter was brought by some other messenger.

¹ No. 1-340 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² This letter is not discovered.

No. 12

TRANSLATION OF A PAPER FORWARDED BY THE RESIDENT AT BENARES.¹

Dated 4th September, 1792

Received 15th September, 1792.

Particulars relative to the Rajah of Napal and the Emperor of China.

During the administration of Mr. Hastings, the Teshoo Lama, one of the Priests of the Emperor of China, established a correspondence with the English Government and sent a vakeel to Calcutta, and an English Gentleman2 was sent to Lassa. The Emperor, on learning this, entertained suspicion of the Lama, and formed the design of putting him to Deathwith this view he summoned him to his presence, under the Plea of a desire for an Interview. The Lama set out accordingly for the Residence of the Emperor; and on his arrival in its vicinity, the Emperor sent his son to meet him to the distance of some days' journey and came himself without the city to receive him, and conducted him to his Tent. On the night of the day that the Interview took place, the Lama died. Many said that the Lama's servant, at the Instigation of the Emperor, put Poison into his Food, and others spread different Reports3. When Sumhur Lama, the Brother, heard of the death of Teshoo Lama, he was much alarmed, and fled from Lassa, taking with him a considerable Quantity of Treasury, and went to Napal. The Rajah of Napal bestowed

I From the Records of the Government of India.

2 Mr. Bogle was the ambassador. He was received with hospitality by the Teshoo Lama on the 9th Nov., 1774. See Markham's Mission of Bogle. See also my article on Bogle's embassy to Tibet published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IX, p. 420.

3 From a letter of Raja Punjin Irrtinnee Roomoo Thang, chief minister of Tasoo Lamboo to the Governor General dated the 28th Oct., 1781, it is seen that the Lama died by small pox on the 4th July, 1780. The letter is published in my article on Bogle's embassy to Tibet in the Indian Historical Quarterly.

a Jaghier on him, and received him under his Protection. Sumhur Lama informed the Rajah of Napal of the particulars of the Chinese Empire, and communicated to him the position of the Gold and Silver mines, and other mines in the neighbourhood of Lassa, and represented to him the Treasures that had been hidden for years in the Temples at Lassa. having excited his avarice, he furnished informed People to accompany the Rajah's Troops, and they marched towards Lassa. These Troops went to the distance of Twenty days march from Napal towards Bhoot, and were victorious in several Battles which were fought, when the Officer Commanding the Bhoot saw that he was worsted, he made Peace thro' a chief belonging to the Emperor of China, and a Tribute of 3 lacs of Rs. from the Lassa country was settled for the Rajah of Napal. As it had before been customary to stamp the coin at the mint at Lassa with name of the Rajah of Napal, this Peace provided for the continuation of this Practice. After the Peace was concluded, the Napal army returned home. In consequence of the superiority which had prevailed in favor of the Napal Troops over those of Lassa, the Rulers at Lassa sent a Deputation to Calcutta, during the administration of Sir John Macpherson, and demanded assistance. This request however was not complied with; doubtless this will appear on the Proceedings of Council. Sumhur Lama, working on the avaricious disposition of the Rajah of Napal, last year prevailed upon him to send Troops to Diggurjah and 18,000 men went there and plundered the Treasury belonging to the Lama of that place, who is also one of the Priests of the Chinese Emperor, taking away with them as a Prisoner a vizier of Lassa who came to make Peace. The Emperor, on learning the news of this Plunder, sent his vakeel with Letters, in the month of January 1792, to Napal. He arrived there two days after Abdul Cawder Khan, the writer of this Paper, reached Napal. The Vakeel wrote to the Rajah of Napal, while at the distance of two days march, to inform him that he was

⁴ Unfortunately these papers cannot be traced. No. 2 published above is only one of the letters of the Teshoo Lama,

deputed by the Emperor of China; and as he had the Emperor's Letters with him, it was necessary that the Rajah should come out to meet them. The Rajah replied that he should not pay them any Honors; that he was welcome, if he chose, to come; if not, that he might return, and the Vakeel, seeing no alternative, came into Napal, but was received with little kindness. At length, the day that he was introduced, paid his respect, and returned, the Rajah sent his Chubdar to him for the Letter, which was brought. In it was written, that he should refund 52 crores of Rupees, which he had plundered of Property belonging to the Lamas, and must release the Vizier of Lassa, whom he had made a Prisoner, and send Sumhur Lama, who having put himself under our Protection, had been the cause of all the Disputes. The Rajah refused to comply with these requisitions, and wrote to the Emperor to proceed as soon as he pleased in the manner he thought proper, and the vakeel took his departure, in 15 days from his arrival, without succeeding in the object of his mission. On his arrival at China, and relating the result of his Embassy, the Emperor, on hearing the insolence of the Rajah of Napal and the plunder of Diggurjah with the Forts and Temples there, which is a place of religious respect in the consideration of the Emperor, sent a large Force under a chief of his own. with the name and Title of Sund Fô that is to say a Possessor of seven Soubahs. Sund Fô first came to Lassa, from whence he wrote to the Rajah of Napal, desiring that he would seize and send to him Sumhur Lama, who, the Instigator of the disputes, resided with him, together with the Lassa Vizier, whom he had taken prisoner. The Rajah of Napal replied that Sumhur Lama was the same as himself, and that he should not send him; but that, on condition of Peace, he would send the Lassa Vizier. Sund Fô openly carried on a correspondence, and secretly divided his Troops, 70,000 men, into two Divisions, one of 30,000, and the other 40,000 men; and with a dispossessed Zemindar of Napal, sent them first several marches to the Eastward. The Rajah of Napal heard first of their march, and was much agitated. He detached Damdhur

Pandie, Bukshy, to Choonga. The Bukshy on his arrival there, meeting no other Force than the Garrison, attacked the place, and carried it; where leaving a few Troops, he began his march back, and on the way made other detachments from his army, leaving some with Perpienah Takoor at Kanrowun. The division of the Chinese army of 40,000 men passed to the Eastward, under the Hills, to Roodler Sool Gunga, and arrived on this side of Kanrowun, where they were discovered. Perpienah Takoor was two marches distant on the other side. The Chinese Troops, coming towards Napal, Perpienah Takoor heard of them, marched against them, and a Battle ensued, in which he was wounded, and many of his People were killed; when the Rajah of Nepal heard of the defeat of his Troops, he resolved on giving up Sumhur Lama: but the Lama poisoned himself. He sent in however the Lassa Vizier, with his attendants, to the Chinese army. They received him, but did not make Peace. The Chinese defeated the Napal Troops repeatedly, and proceeded to Nowacoote, distant 13 coss from Cutmantee. In a few days they will also take Napal. To this period the 4th September, 1792, there are about 200 soldiers in Napal, and the Rajah's Treasure is conveyed to Mucwanpoor, where he is probably himself and it is ascertained that the Chinese Commander, Sund Fô is arrived at Kurree Kutte, distant ten marches from Catmander.

(A true Translation)
Sd./- G. F. Cherry.
Pers. Transr.

No. 13

To the Rajah of Nepaul¹

Written 15th September, 1792.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Letters (vide Letters received the 22nd August and 5th September).²

I No. I-121 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum,

² Nos. 9 and 10 published above,

The Contents of these letters representing the disturbances now subsisting between you and the Rajah of Lassa dependent on China, have given me great concern, because, as Friends to the Company I am extremely desirous that unanimity and the utmost Harmony should have continued between you.

It cannot have escaped your observation that the English Company have nothing more at Heart than to maintain the most cordial and friendly terms with all the powers in India and particularly with those whose Countries be contiguous to their own, and sensible of the Policy and wisdom of this Conduct, they are careful not to infringe the rules of Friendship by interference in a hostile manner in the disputes of others except when self defence or wanton attacks oblige them. But however this line of Conduct is in general the policy of the English Government the connection that has been long formed with the Emperor of China renders a due observance of it still more necessary. The English Company have for many years carried on extensive Commercial Concerns with the subjects of the Emperor of China by Sea and have actually a Factory established in his Dominions. I am confident that this argument will satisfy you that a compliance with your request to assist you with a Military Force against the Lassa who is a dependant on the Emperor of China would be not only an infringement on the general Policy of the English Government, but also a measure inconsistent with the Connection that has so long prevailed between the Company and the Emperor. Desirous however that harmony and peace should be preserved among those who are the Friends of the Company I shall be very happy if my amicable Interference can in any shape contribute to re-establish them between the Lassa and you, and shall be ready to use it in the way of a Friend and mediator between you. As the present season of the rains however will not admit that any steps towards such mediation be adopted, I shall postpone my intention until the rains are over when I will Depute a Gentleman3 in my Confidence to you, who will

³ Col. Kirkpatrick was accordingly deputed. See para 12 of No. 17 published below,

communicate my sentiments fully and by his endeavours I hope that Peace will again reign between you and the Lassa and the intimacy and friendship between each other be encreased.

(A true Copy) Sd./- G. F. Cherry. Pers. Transr.

No. 14

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER.

From J. Duncan Esq., Resident at Benares.

To the Rajah of Napal.

Dated 17th September, 1792.

[Copy forwarded by the Resident].

Received 24th September, '92.

Acknowledging and quoting the Rajah's Letter (vide Letter transmitted 6th September).²

I am concerned at the uneasiness which you feel from the present war. Influenced by a strong desire to maintain a Friendship with you, which existed before and has been much increased by virtue of the Commercial Treaty you entered into with so much propriety, I translated your Letter for the Information of the Governor-General, immediately on receiving; on the day that your letter reached Calcutta, two letters arrived from the Lamas of Thibet, or Bhootan, and one from the Commander of the Chinese army named Janoojoun. These Letters mentioned that the Rajah of Napal was wantonly engaged in distressing and harrassing the Inhabitants of this country, that is to say, the Country belonging to China and Bhootan, and had plundered the villages. That on hearing this the Emperor sent an army to protect the Inhabitants of his country, and to repel the Incursions of the Rajah of Napal. That as an intimacy has long subsisted between the English

¹ From the Records of the Government of India.

² No. 11 published above.

and the Chiefs of Bhootan etc. it is therefore requested that the English will not assist the Rajah of Napal. The Governor-General on perusing these letters from the Chinese Dependents, as well as from you, wrote to me, that, as the English are not at Enmity with the Emperor of China or his subjects, but on the contrary are on Terms of intimate connection, and have carried on commercial concerns with them for many years, and it is very contrary to the line of conduct which the Company have adopted to create animosity or to go to war with any one without a cause, he cannot send the English Troops with hostile Intentions. But in consideration that, by virtue of the Commercial Treaty, the Intimacy between the Company and the Rajah of Napal is great, he would, in order to comply with the Rajah's wishes and pursuant to the general disposition of the English, and to settle the disputes between you and the Emperor of China's Forces, send a Gentleman of rank from among the Company's Servants, and with him two or three Companies of Seapoys. This Gentleman, accompanied by Abdul Cauder Khan, who formerly waited on you and settled the Commercial Treaty to the Satisfaction of the English Government, and Gudjeraje Misserjee, will shortly set out. As this Gentleman is one of the first of the English, and his Lordship deputes him solely from motives of kindness and to promote your Interest, according to your requests, it will be necessary, whenever he shall reach the Borders of Napal, that your People should furnish Guides, and supply such articles of Grain etc. as he may stand in need of for his attendants, with the means of Transporting his Baggage up the mountains, and such other assistance as may be wanted, that he may travel without difficulties. It will also be proper that you, accompanied by your officers, should perform the customary ceremonies of meeting him with proper Honors. This will afford much satisfaction to the English Government and tend much to your own welfare so long as that Gentleman shall remain in the Town of Napal, employed in your Business, you must be attentive in furnishing his want of Grain etc. and during the negociation of Business, whatever he shall propose for your Benefit, you will readily comply with. As his Deputation is resolved on purely from motives of prosperity for you, you will of course pay every attention to such motives, and be sincere in your Friendship knowing me to be your friend. Write frequently to me.

(A true Translation)
Sd./- G. F. Cherry,
Pers. Transr.

No. 15

To the Dalai Lama at Pootlah Lassa1

Written 25th September, 1792.

I have received several Letters in the Thibet character, accompanied by a Persian Translation, the contents of which I have fully understood (vide Letter received 3 August)² with several articles in token of Friendship, all of which came safe to hand, and have contributed much to the Intimacy subsisting between us.

The contents of this Letter, representing the disputes still prevailing between the Rajah of Napal and you, have given me great concern; because, as Friends to the Company, I am extremely desirous that unanimity and the utmost Harmony should have been reestablished between you.

It is a matter of great concern that I have been able to comprehend only the Persian Paper accompanying the several Letters, and can therefore only for the present reply to it's contents. The other Letters are however sent to Benares, in the Hopes that Persons may be found there who can explain them and in the meantime I consider it incumbert on our Friendship and good neighbourhood to inform you of my sentiments, in regard to the contents of the Persian Letter, without further Delay.

¹ From the Records of the Government of India.

² No. 8 published above.

Altho,' as is presumed in that Letter, the Gourkaly Rajah has written to me on the subject of the disputes which have long prevailed between you and him, yet as the English Company have nothing more at Heart than to maintain the most cordial and friendly Terms with all the Powers in India, and sensible of the wisdom of this conduct they are careful not to infringe the rules of Friendship by interference in a hostile manner in the dispute prevalent among foreign Powers, except when self defence or wanton attacks oblige them. I have answered his Letter accordingly.

It cannot be unknown to you that a Friendship has long subsisted between the English and the Rajah of Napal and also between the Emperor of China, whose Protection extends over you, and the Company. The English have for many years carried on commercial concerns with the subjects of the Emperor and have actually a Factory established in his dominions-on account of this connection with the Emperor. Knowing you to be held in high veneration by his Majesty, and considering you desirous of the Company's Friendship, I am anxious that your Government should continue in Peace, and that an End should be put to war, which ultimately contributes only to the misery and distress of your subjects; with this view therefore I shall be happy if my amicable Interference can in any shape contribute to reestablish Harmony and Peace between you and the Rajah of Napal, and shall be ready to use it in the way of a Friend and mediator between you. As the present season of the Rains however will not admit that any steps towards such mediation be adopted, I shall postpone my Intention until the Rains are over, when I will depute a Gentleman in my confidence to that Quarter who will communicate my sentiments fully and by his Endeavours I hope that Peace will again reign between you and the Rajah of Napal and the Intimacy and Friendship between each other be increased. That Gentleman, being in my confidence, will be accompanied by a few Seapoys intended as a Guard and Protection to himself and his servants. I mention this to you to prevent the bad Effect of fallacious report.

I shall avail myself of that opportunity to send a few articles

to you in Testimony of my regard and flatter myself that they will contribute to our Friendship.

(A true Copy)
Sd./- G. F. Cherry
Pers. Transr.

No. 16

BENGAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS 3rd October, 1792

MINUTES

The Governor General delivers in the following Minute. No. 17 Govr. Genl's Minute

The letters that have been lately received from Assam and Nepaul having been communicated to the Board, I need not recapitulate the Contents of them. But after considering the requests of the two Rajahs very maturely, and the commercial advantages that Bengal may obtain by a friendly and open intercourse with both Countries, it appears to me that it will be no less political than humane in us to interfere our good offices and endeavour to reestablish peace and tranquillity in those quarters.

Altho' I have not yet been able to find people who can translate the letters that came from the Lamas of Thibet and from the Commander of the Army I think it probable that the Persian paper which was enclosed in the letter of one of the Lamas is either a translation or contains the Substance of all the letters viz. that the Emperor of China has sent an Army to attack and destroy the Rajah of Napaul in Revenge for the injuries that He has done to the People of Thibet, who are dependent upon China, and that it is hoped that we shall not give the Rajah any assistance.

The Commercial treaty that we have concluded with Nepaul, and the friendly advances lately made to us by the Rajah should induce us to endeavour, as far as it can be done by safe and justifiable means, to preserve him and his Country from destruction, and it is equally incumbent upon us not only to avoid giving offence to the (?) but to neglect no opportunity that affords a prospect of opening a communication with an officer of rank in that State. The (?) of these objects renders it necessary for us to be extremely delicate and circumspect in our conduct.

I propose therefore that we shall send a friendly deputation to the Deputy to assure him that it is our earnest wish to extricate him from a war but at the same time to State to him that as the amicable correspondence that we have held with the Lamas, and the commercial connexion which has long Subsisted between our Country and that of the Emperor of China preclude us absolutely from Committing hostilities against either of those powers without any provocation on their part; it is only by the means of conciliatory negociation that we can endeavour to assist him, and that in order to effect this desirable purpose it will be necessary that he should open an immediate intercourse with the Commanders of the Chinese and Thibet forces.

The desperate State to which the Rajah's affairs are reduced according to the accounts received from Mr. Duncan, will probably induce him to acquiesce in any proposition that may hold out to him a Chance of relief and whatever success the Chinese may have held against the People of Nepaul, the difficulty of transporting Supplies to an army at such an immense distance, and through a Country so rugged and mountainous as Thibet must be so great that I think we have good reason to hope that they will be no less inclined than the Rajah to accept of our mediation.

This is not the same necessity for caution in our interference at Assam, as the disturbances there are merely of an internal nature, and being principally occasioned by gangs of vagabonds Belonging to Bengal, we are particularly called upon to make some exertions to quell them.

An active and prudent Officer with six Companies of Sepoys will I trust be able to effect our purpose and as our Knowledge of the Present State of affairs in that Country is but imperfect, it may be advisable to direct the officer and the detachment to proceed immediately to Goalparah, and to defer giving him detailed instructions for his conduct, until he shall transmit to every information that He can collect when near the scene, that relates to the objects of his future Operations.

However extraordinary it may appear to people in Europe, we are under the necessity of admitting that owing to the unremitting jealousy which the Chiefs of those Countries have hitherto shewn of the English, we know little more (? of the) interior parts of Nepaul and Assam than of the interior parts of China, and I therefore think that no pains or attention should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good surveys, and to acquire every information that may be possible both of the population and of the manners and customs, of the trade and manufactures, and natural productions of Countries with which it must ever be our interest to maintain the most friendly communication.¹

No. 17

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

To the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

Hon'ble Sirs,

Since the date of our Letter by the Ganges we have received your dispatches of the 25th of April last—by the King George and we shall do ourselves the Honor of replying to them by the next opportunity that offers.

2. In the 36th Paragraph of the advices from this Government by the Dutton you were informed of a dispute between the Rajah of Assam and the Rajah of Deringh and that the latter was said to have been assisted from Bengal with Sepoys and Berkundusses to enable him to recover the Possession of his Country. We shall transmit to you in the Packet Copies of the Papers that have been since brought before us on this

¹ The contents of this letter and of the following up to the paragraph 11 are naturally almost the same.

subject, and among the rest a Letter from the Rajah of Assam Soliciting the Company's support and assistance.

- 3. We shall also forward to your Hon'ble Court by this Dispatch a copy of Correspondence that has passed with the Rajah of Napaul who has likewise applied for Troops to defend him against the Rajah of Lassa.
- 4. After considering the request of the Rajahs of Napaul and Assam very maturely and the Commercial advantages that Bengal obtains by a friendly and open Intercourse with both countries we thought that it would be no less political than humane to interpose our good Offices and endeavour to reestablish Peace and tranquillity in those quarters.
- 5. We had not before us the whole of the Papers that concerned the Dispute between Napaul and Lassa as some Letters that had come from the Lamas of Thibet, and the Commander of the Chinese army which had been sent to their assistance against the Rajah of Napaul, were written in the Mantchonx Language (which is said to be the Tartar Language of the Emperor's Court) and we have not yet been able to obtain Translations of them; but we think it not improbable that the Persian Paper which was enclosed in a Letter to the Governor General from one of the Lamas is either a Translation or Contains the Substance of all the Letters. A footnote in the original: A translation of it makes No. 21 of the Packet it is to the following effect that the Emperor of China has sent an Army to attack and destroy the Rajah of Napaul in Revenge for the injuries that he has done to the People of Thibet who are dependent upon China and that it is hoped that we shall not give the Rajah any assistance.
- 6. It appeared to us that the Commercial Treaty which we have lately concluded with Napaul and the friendly advances made to us by the Rajah should induce this Government to endeavour, as far as it could be done by safe and justifiable means to preserve him and his country from destruction and that it was also not only incumbent on us to avoid giving offence to the Chinese but to neglect no opportunity that afforded a Prospect of opening a Communication with an Officer of Rank in that State; and the Union of these

objects rendered it necessary that we should be extremely delicate, and circumspect in our Conduct.

- 7. Lord Cornwallis therefore has proposed, and the Board have agreed that we should send a friendly Deputation to the Napaul Rajah with Instruction to assure him of its being our earnest wish to extricate him from a ruinous war, but at the same time to State to him that as the amicable Correspondence which we have held with the Lamas and the Commercial Connection which has long subsisted between our Country and that of the Emperor of China do absolutely preclude us from committing Hostilities against either of those Powers without any provocation on their part; it is only by means of conciliatory negociation that we can endeavour to assist him, and that in order to effect this desirable Purpose, it will be necessary that he should open an immediate Intercourse with the Commanders of the Chinese and Thibet Forces.
- 8. The desperate Situation, to which the Rajah's affairs are reduced according to accounts received from Mr. Duncan, the Resident at Benares, will probably induce him to acquiesce in any Proposition that may hold out to him a Chance of relief and we have good Reason to suppose that notwithstanding any successes the Chinese may have had against the People of Napaul the difficulty of transporting supplies to an Army at such an immense distance and through a Country so rugged and mountainous as Thibet must be found so great that they will be no less inclined than the Rajah to accept our mediation.
- 9. There is not the same necessity for Caution in our Interference at Assam as the disturbances there are merely of an internal nature and being principally occasioned by Gangs of vagabonds belonging to Bengal we are particularly called upon to make some exertions to quell them.
- 10. It appeared to us that an active, and prudent Officer with Six Companies of Sepoys would be able to effect our Purpose in relieving the Rajah of Assam, and that as our knowledge of the present state of affairs in that Country is rather imperfect it might be advisable to direct the Officer and

the Detachment to proceed immediately to Goalparah withholding any Detailed Instructions for his Conduct until he should transmit to us every Information that he could collect when near the Scene that relates to the objects of his future operations.

- 11. However extraordinary it may appear we are still under the necessity of admitting that owing to the Constant Jealousy which the Chiefs of those Countries have hitherto shewn of the English we know little more of the interior Parts of Napaul and Assam than of the interior Parts of China, and we have therefore thought that no Pains or attention should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good Surveys and to require every information that may be possible both of the Population and of the manners and Customs of the Inhabitants as well as of the Trade and Manufactures and natural productions of Countries with which it must ever be our Interest to maintain the most friendly Communication.
- 12. The Officer deputed to Napaul is Captain William Kirkpatrick who will receive a Salary of 1500 Rupees a month during the time of his being employed on the Commission, and Charge his actual Expenses upon Honor. Lieutenant Samuel Scott is appointed his Assistant and will receive the pay and Batta of his Regiment and an allowance of 200 Rupees a month. Lieutenant Wilford now on Duty at Benares goes as Surveyor and Mr. Frere one of your Assistant Surgeons is sent with the deputation being well qualified to examine the natural Productions of the Country. He will receive the Pay and Batta of the Station from which he is sent and a Salary of a hundred Rs. a month.
- 13. The Officer deputed to Assam is Captain Thos. Welsh who will have double Batta and 500 Rupees a month while employed upon the Service. Lieutenant Macgrefor goes as Adjutant to the detachment, and will be employed as assistant to Captain Welsh with a reasonable allowance as soon as he shall be wanted for that duty. Ensign Thomas Wood proceeds with Captain Welsh as Surveyor, and Dr. Peter

Wade as Surgeon with the same allowance as that is given to Mr. Frere.

14. We transmit to your Hon'ble Court in the Packet a Copy of a Letter from the Persian Translator and with it a Copy of Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence with the Native Powers during his Lordship's absence from the Presidency and concerning the late war.

We have the Honor to be &c.

Fort William. 14th October, 1792. Sd/- Cornwallis
,, Peter Speke
Wm. Cowper.

No. 18

From the Teshoo Lama1

Received 28th June, 1793.

I have received your kind Letter thro' Diljeet Gosauyin purporting that your Lordship had received mine on the Subject of the dispute with the Goorkally, and other points; I now again write that it is four years since the Goorkally Marched to this quarter with an evil design and laid waste the Country. The first time he came as far as Shuggher and thence returned to his own confines. The Second time he came to Chugcha. plundering as he went and laid that country quite waste. Being therefore compelled to give information of this to his Imperial Majesty, the Vizier and other Ameers were deputed with a very large army to Chastize that misguided Sett, and arrived in the Month of Rejib 12062 The Vizier, Dailee Lama and I resolved in concert that as an ancient Friendship had Subsisted between your Lordship and Punchoo Zumbiechee (the former Lama), on the strength of that to write you a Letter in terms of great regard accompanied by presents, and transmit them thro' Poorun Geer Gosayum, which was done. I also wrote you a letter in Persian purporting that the Goor-

¹ From the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

² i.e. Feb. or March, 1792 A.D.

kally Rajah would solicit your Lordship for assistance and represent untruths, and Desiring you not to give credit to his words. The letter written by the Vizier was in the Bootea Language, to desire your Lordship would send Troops against the Rajah and Chastize him as he deserved. You understood the Persian letter, but the Bootea Letter from not knowing the Language you could not understand, whatever is past is past. Poorun Geer was prevented by illness and the unfavourableness of the climate from returning here. The following was the purport of your Lordship's answer to my Letter (Recapitulating the letter written 25th September 1792).3 Your Lordship's Letter and the Verbal Message delivered by the Gosauveen Agree. I am highly pleased to learn what you write. The Vizier, from experiencing your Friendly conduct, concurred that without doubt you were a sincere well wisher of his Majestys. He perhaps sent a Letter to you by a Dawk Chokev at the time of the rains when the war with Gourkally was at the highest, and from that letter you will have learned the Rajah's submission. The Imperial Troops arriving in the height of the Rains in the Neighbourhood of Nepaul which belongs to the Gourkally, some severe engagements took place, and Numbers of the Rajah's men were killed, many places of his Country came into possession of his Majesty's army, the Largest of which were (here follow the names of eight places which are not legible.) In all these places troops were stationed. The army had advanced to within one days March of the Rajah's capital and it was resolved to proceed onward, in a few hours, and Capture the place of his residence. When at length the Rajah finding himself unable to contend, threw down the Shield and in the field of Battle sent his principal people to the Vizier and in the humblest and most Supplicative manner sued for peace. Submitted to the yoke of obedience confessed their Misconduct and entreated forgiveness. The Rajah also sent his Minister, called in that Country Ranjee as his Vakeel with various sorts of presents

³ No. 15 published above.

and an Arzie to his Majesty; Several large Elephants and excellent horses together with other uncommon things composed the present and he wrote in his Arzie that if his Majesty would pardon his past offences he would pay an annual tribute and for the rest of his life would never be guilty of rebellion and presumption. The Vizier conveyed information of all this to his Majesty who was pleased to issue his commands to this effect that it was a Country of very small extent and the inhabitants of a foreign tribe, that as they had Submitted, they should be spared from destruction and be allowed quarter and the Conquered country be restored to the Rajah. The Vakeel and people of the Rajah who went to the Royal presence had an interview with me in this City when the Vakeel made apologies for the injuries that had been done acknowledging that the fault was all on their side and that they hoped for pardon. As your Lordship wrote that you would depute a person in your confidence, with presents to accommodate Matters between me and the Rajah, This afforded me a great deal of pleasure. My Lord. the Rajah is now become one of the Servants of his Imperial Majesty and therefore any person's going now were mere trouble; do not put yourself to the inconvenience of giving your agent the trouble of repairing to the Rajah to bring about an accommodation, as now no dispute whatever exists with the Rajah and this amicable System will for ever remain. It is to be hoped that hereafter the peace and security of the inhabitants of this Country will not be disturbed. Your Lordship is pleased to consider us among the Number of faithful friends, God reward you, preserve you from evil and gratify you with good. Be pleased to keep open the gates of Epistolary Correspondence which forms the foundation of Friendship. I hope your Lordship will frequently call me to remembrance by Letters.

I have sent as a token of remembrance some articles of this Country which are not in fact worth your acceptance; they will be presented by Dilgeet Geer Gosayin and I hope you will accept them.

List of presents

Pure Gold 30 Tolas

One piece Cochin

One Large white Sattin Roomaul

From Chaunzoo the Rajah or Principal Officer of the Teshoo Lama.

Of the Same tenor and Date as the foregoing

List of presents

Written on the cover of the Rajah's Letter

Gold 15 Tolas

One piece of Cochin, Red.

One white silk Roomaul.

(A true Translation)

(Exd) Henry Qimsby

Sd/- N. B. Edmonstone Dy. Pr. Tr

(A true Copy)

Illegible (Gray) Secy. to the Govt.

Malava in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.

By Dhirendra Chandra Ganguli, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON).

Department of History, Benares Hindu University

Mālava played an important part in the history of ancient India. This country extended on the north up to the Kotah State, on the east up to Bhilsa, on the south up to the Tapti, and on the west up to the Mahi. The commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra states that the term Mālava was properly used to denote East Mālava, and that West Mālava was generally called the country of Ujjain. But this statement does not find any support in the contemporary and later records. The term Mālava is never found to have been used to indicate only Eastern Malava as has been stated by Vātsyāyana's commentator. The Aihole inscription.2 dated 634 A.D., states that the Calukya king Pulikeśin II, ruler of Badami, conquered the Latas, the Malavas, and the Gurjaras. Here the name Mālava apparently represented at least West Mālava. which was contiguous to both Lata and Gurjara (central and eastern Rajputana). A Valabhī record,3 dated 639 A.D., reports that Ucyamāna bhukti and Ucyamāna visaya (modern Ratlam State, about 35 miles west of Ujjain) were in Malavaka. Ujjain is mentioned as the capital of Malavaka in a record of the thirteenth century.4 There cannot be any doubt that the names Mālavaka and Mālava are identical. The Baroda plates,6 dated 812 A.D., of Karkarāja, king of Gujarat, states

¹ Ujjayinīdeśabhavyāstā evāparaMālavyaḥ—Mālavya iti pūrvaMālavabhavāḥ, Kāmasūtra, adhikaraṇa 3 (Commentary).

² El., vol. VI, p. 11.

³ Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 188. 4 JBOBR., vol. XXI, Gurjaras. 5 The Allahabad Pillar Inscription (CII., p. 7. l. 19) of Samudragupta mentions Kosala, Kaurāla, Pistapura, Kāñcī etc. as Kausalaka,

Kaurālaka, Paistapuraka, Kāñceyaka etc. 6 IA., vol. XII, p. 156.

that Govinda III, for the purpose of protecting Mālava, caused Karkarāja's arm to become the door-bar of the lord of the Gurjaras. It is known from another record' that the Gurjaras, who were adversaries of Govinda III, lived on the hill forts of Citrakūṭa (modern Chitor, in Udayapur, Rajputana). In this circumstance the force of the above statement of the Baroda plates can only be maintained, if the term Mālava is taken to have meant at least the western part of Mālava, which is conterminous to both Gujarat and the Gurjara country.

Bāṇa, who flourished in the court of Harṣavardhana of Thanesar in the early part of the 7th century, incidentally refers to Mālava in his Kādambarī. In course of giving a description of Ujjain, the poet states that "it is girt with the river Siprā, which seems to purify the sky, with its waves forming a ceaseless frown, as though jealously beholding the river of heaven on the head of Mahākāla, while its water sways over the pitcher-like breasts of the women of Mālava, wild with the sweetness of youth." The poet further lays down that "in Ujjain the palaces stretch forth their flags, whose silken fringes gleam and flutter at night in the wind, like arms to remove the mark of the moon put to shame by the fair lotus-faced women of Mālava." Here the term Mālava evidently covers the western part of Mālava.

The same poet also frequently refers to Mālava in his another work, *Harṣa-carita*. There he tells us about Mālavarāja, Mālavarājaputra, and the women of Mālava.¹⁰ There cannot be any reasonable doubt that the term Mālava, referred to above, is used to cover the same length of territory as in the previous case.

⁷ Nilgund inscription, El., vol. VI, p. 106.

⁹ yasyām ca niśi niśi pavanavilolair dukūlapallavair ullasadbhir Mālavīmukhakamalakāntilajjitasyendoḥ kalankam ivāpanayanto dūraprasāritordhvadhvajabhujāḥ prasādā laksyante. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁰ Mālavī, P. V. Kane, ch. VI, p. 67; Cowell. pp. 119, 173.

As a matter of fact, we have at present no authentic record to corroborate the statement of the commentary on Kāmasūtra that the term Mālava was used to denote only east Mālava.11 On the contrary, the evidences, referred to above, negative any such assertion.

Ujjain, Dhārā, Vidiśā, and Mandapa were the chief cities in Malava. From the second century A.D. down to the latter part of the fourth century, Mālava was ruled by the Śakas.12 They voluntarily submitted to Samudragupta, and paid him taxes.13 But Samudragupta's son Candragupta II overthrew Rudrasimha III, the last king of the Sakas, and annexed Mālava, and Gujarat into the Gupta empire.14 Candragupta Il is said to have made Ujjain his second capital. The disintegration of the Gupta empire began with the death of Skandagupta in 467 A.D., shortly after which Mālava seceded from it. There is no evidence to prove that Malava formed a part of the Gupta empire under the successors of Skandagupta. In the latter part of the 5th century A.D., a new Gupta dynasty is found to have established its sway over it. Krsnagupta was the founder of this family. Harşa-carita tells15 us that Mādhavagupta, the friend of Harsavardhana of Thanesar, was the son of the king of Malava. The Apsad inscription 16 of Adityasena relates that Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, was a close friend of Harsavardhana. This positively proves the identity of the Mālava prince Mādhavagupta, referred to in the Harşa-carita, with the son of Mahasenagupta of the same name. Mahāsenagupta, the ruler of Mālava, was the fifth king of Kṛṣṇagupta's family. In the absence of any contrary evidence, it can reasonably be assumed that Mahā-

¹¹ Al Biladury who flourished in the middle of the 10th century tells us that "Junaid sent a force against Uzain, and also sent Habid with an army against the country of Maliba." (Elliot, vol. I, p. 126). Some scholars are inclined to believe that Maliba, referred to, means eastern Malava. Elliot suggests that it signifies either Malwa or Malabar (Ibid., fn. 2). In my opinion it may be taken as identical with Malapa, which was the ancient name of the Western Ghats. (Bom. Gaz., vol. 1, part ii, p. 574).

¹² Rapson, Andhra Coins, Introduction.

¹³ CII., p. 14. 14 Smith, EHI., pp. 308-9.

¹⁵ Cowell, p. 119. 16 CII., p. 207.

senagupta's predecessors were also the rulers of Malava.17 Fleet 18 and others think that Krsnagupta and his successors had been rulers of Magadha from the very date of their ascendancy till they lost their political power. But this assertion does not bear any critical examination.* Kumāragupta. the fourth king of Kṛṣṇagupta's family, was the contemporary of the Maukhari Iśanavarman, who was ruling in 554 A.D.19 Assuming that Kumaragupta ruled in the third quarter of the 6th century A.D. i.e. from about 550 A.D. to 575 A.D., if a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation. Krsnagupta is found to have begun his rule in about 475 A.D. Fleet20 places Krsnagupta between 475 and 500 A.D. In any case it seems highly probable that Krsnagupta ascended the throne in the latter part of the 5th century A.D. The Damodarapur Copper plate, Khoh copper plate inscription of Samkshobha,21 and some other records prove that the imperial Guptas held sway over the countries extending up to North Bengal on the east, Benares and Bhagelkhand on the west and, parts of the Central Provinces on the south till at least 530 A.D. Evidently till that time Magadha remained the home dominion of the imperial Guptas. After their downfall the Maukharis came to power in Northern India. The Jaunpur stone inscription²² of the Maukhari Isvaravarman proves that the Jaunpur District, which lies to the west of Benares, was under the sway of the Maukharis. The Haraha inscription. 23 dated 554 A.D.,

17 The scholars are of opinion that the early Pratihāra kings from Nāgabhaṭa I to Vatsarāja were rulers of Avanti, and the successors of the latter ruled in Kanauj. The assumption that the early Pratihāras ruled in Avanti is based on the only evidence of a passage in the Jaina Harivaṃśa, which relates that Vatsarāja, the fourth king of the family, was the ruler of Avanti.

18 CII., Introduction, p. 14.

19 CII., p. 206.
 20 Ibid., Introduction, p. 14.
 21 EI., vol. XV, p. 144; CII., p. 112.
 22 CII., p. 228.

^{*[}This is not correct. The later members of the dynasty [Deva(Gupta) and others] are stated in the Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa to have been rulers of Magadha. They bore the dynastic title: the Gauda dynasty—Ed.].

²³ Jitvā Andhrādhipatim sahasraganitatredhākṣaradvāranam vyāvalg ānniyotātisamkhyaturagā bhankhā rane Sūlikān /kṛtvā cāyatim aucitae-

of the reign of Iśanavarman, son of Iśvaravarman, states that 'the king (Iśanavarman), being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had an army of galloping horses, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Sūlikas, and after causing the Gaudas, who were accustomed (to live in the) land-locked territory, to resort, for the future, to the sea (i.e. coastal tracts)'. This evidently means that Iśanavarman, sometimes before 554 A.D., deprived the king of Gauda (modern Rajshahi Division, Bengal) of his sovereignty of the same country, himself took possession of it, and forced the vanquished to move to the sea, presumably to the coastal tracts of southern Bengal. It further suggests that the king of Gauda was compelled to live there for a long time.

It follows from the above-mentioned two epigraphic records. that in the middle of the 6th century, the Maukharis were in possession of the eastern part of the United Provinces and the Rajshahi Division of Bengal. This proves with tolerable certainty that Magadha which was situated between those two countries, was under the sway of the Maukharis. The Maukharis were the paramount sovereign of northern India for sometime. Bana tells 24 us through the mouth of Prabhakaravardhana of Thanesar that 'at the head of all royal houses stood the Maukharis, worshipped by all the world.' This suggests that at least Prabhākaravardhana worshipped the Maukharis. The critical examination of all the available evidences thus leads to the conclusion that the Maukharis held sway over the territory which extended up to north Bengal on the east, and bordered the Punjab on the west. This falsifies the theory that the early rulers of Kṛṣṇagupta's family ruled in Magadha. So long the Maukharis were in power, their stubborn enemy, the family of Kṛṣṇagupta, had no place

thalabhuvo Gaudān samudrāśrayān adhyāsista natakṣitīśacaraṇaḥ siṃhāsanam yo jitī 11 El., vol. XIV, p. 117, v. 13.

²⁴ Dharaṇīdharāṇam ca mūrdhni sthito Maheśvaraḥ pādanyāsa iva sakalabhuvanamamaskṛto Maukharivaṃśaḥ. Cowell, p. 122, ch. IV.

in northern India, from Bengal right up to the Punjab. Hence, on the authority of *Harşacarita*, we can take, almost with certainty, the early members of Kṛṣṇagupta's family as the rulers of Mālava.

Krsnagupta was succeeded by his son Harsagupta on the throne of Malava. Kalhana25 tells us that a king named Harşa, who assumed the title Vikramāditya, ruled in Mālava. There is no definite evidence to prove the identity of this Harşa with Harşagupta. Harşagupta gave his sister Harşaguptā in marriage to the Maukhari Ādityavarman, father of Iśvaravarman.²⁶ He was succeeded by his son Jīvitagupta.²⁷ During the reign of Harsagupta and Jivitagupta, northern India was torn asunder by the Hūnas.28 This period also witnessed the rise and fall of Yasodharman of Mandasor.29 There is no evidence to prove that the Guptas of Malava ever yielded to any of these forces. Quarrel between the Guptas and the Maukharis ensued during the reign of Jivitagupta. The Maukhari Iśvaravarman claims to have repulsed an attack of the army that came from Dhārā.30 But Jīvitagupta's son and successor Kumāragupta defeated Īsānavarman, son of Īsvaravarman.31 Kumāragupta died by plunging himself into the fire at Prayaga.32 He was succeeded to the throne by his son Damodaragupta, during whose reign the fight between the Guptas and the Maukharis rose to its culmination. He successfully fought against the Maukharis but lost his life in the battle.33

Dāmodaragupta's son Mahāsenagupta claims to have won victory over Susthitavarman on the bank of the Lauhitya (i.e. Brahmaputra).³⁴ Susthitavarman was the king of Assam.³⁵ He is mentioned by Bāṇa as Susthiravarman.³⁶ Mahāsenagupta's sister Mahāsenaguptā was married to the king Ādityavardhana,

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25 Rājataranginī, Taranga III, v. 125.
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²⁶ CII., p. 221. 27 Ibid., p. 205.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 158. 29 Ibid., p. 142. 30 Ibid., p. 230. 31 Ibid., p. 206.

³² Ibid. 33 Ibid. 34 Ibid.

³⁵ Kāmarūpa śāsanāvali, by Padma Nath Bhattacarya.

³⁶ Cowell, Harşaçarita, p. 17.

father of Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar.37 Sometimes during the early part of his reign. Mahasenagupta had to suffer a terrible disaster.38 Shortly before 595 A.D., the Kalacuri Sankaragana, son of Kṛṣṇarāja, fell upon him, and totally crushed his power. Mahāsenagupta appears to have been killed in the battle, after which his two sons Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta fled to Thanesar and took shelter under their relation Prabhakaravardhana of Thanesar. The king of Thanesar received them cordially. He engaged Kumāragupta to wait upon his son Rājyavardhana, and Mādhavagupta to wait upon his second son Harsavardhana.39 He also appears to have taken up the cause of the Gupta princes, and led an army against Mālava. Though he claims to have taken away the glory of the Malava king,40 he could not certainly deprive the Kalacuris of their possession of Mālava, and instal the Gupta princes on their ancestral throne. After the close of the reign of Harsavardhana. Adityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta, founded a kingdom in Magadha, where he and his successors ruled for about three quarters of a century.41

Sankaragana, who overthrew Mahāsenagupta, issued an inscription from his camp at Ujjain in 595 A.D.⁴² It records that the king granted some lands in the village of Vallisikā, situated in the Bhogavardhana-viṣaya, to a Brahman resident of Kallāvana. Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana, in the Nasik District. Other records of the dynasty prove that Sankaragana and his successor not only held sway over Mālava but also over Lāṭa and northern Gujarat, about this time. Sankaragana was succeeded by his son Buddharāja sometime before 602 A.D.

Buddharāja, from his camp at Ānandapura, granted lands, situated in the Bharukaccha-viṣaya, in 609 A.D.⁴³ Ānandapura, which was the ancient capital of northern Gujarat, is the modern Vadnagar. Bharukaccha is the modern

³⁷ CII., p. 232. 38 EI., vol. IX, p. 296.

³⁹ Cowell, Harsacarita, pp. 119-121.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 101. 41 CII., pp. 202 ff.

⁴² El., vol. IX, p. 296. 43 Ibid., vol. VI, p. 299.

Broach. It was the capital of Lata. In the same year he issued grants from Vidiśa.44

Buddharaia had to suffer a reverse at the hands of the Calukva Mangalesa, king of Badami, in the early part of his reign. The Muhākūṭa pillar inscription, 45 dated 602 A.D., states that "having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, and having conquered Buddharaja and taken possession of all his substance, and having a desire to set up a pillar of victory on the bank of the river Bhagirathi Mangalesa decided that it would be proper to set up first a pillar of religion." This defeat, however, did not deteriorate the war-like spirit of Buddharaja. He soon recovered his strength and directed his arms against his northern neighbour, the Maukharis. The Maukharis were at that time governed by Grahavarman, who was quite unequal to the Kalacuri leader. In the battle that ensued Grahavarman lost his life, and his wife Rājyaśrī, who was the daughter of the king Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar, fell a prisoner at the hands of Buddharaja. The Kalacuri leader confined her in the fort of Kanyakubja, and the Maukhari kingdom lay prostrate before him. After this glorious achievement Buddharaja marched against Thanesar, which was at that time ruled by Prabhakaravardhana's elder son Rāiyavardhana. Bāna tells us that46 "on the very day on which Prabhākaravardhana's death was rumoured, His Majesty Grahavarman was, by the wicked lord of Malava, cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, had been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kanyakubja. There was moreover a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, proposed to invade and seize this country (Thanesar) as well." Rājyavardhana, at the receipt of the news of the approach of Buddharaja, marched against him with ten thousand soldiers. It is said that he with "ridiculous ease" routed the Malava army, 'who surrendered to him their elephants in thousands, horses, pearl-necklaces, white umbrellas with a golden stock, lion throne, couches,

⁴⁴ EI., vol. XII, p. 33.

⁴⁵ IA., vol. XIX, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Cowell, Harsacarita, p. 173.

whole treasure chests, heavy-laden with wreathes of ornaments' etc. ⁴⁷ The above battle took place shortly before 606 A.D., the date of the accession of Harşavardhana. This defeat at the hands of Rājyavardhana, who was shortly afterwards killed by Śaśāńka, king of Bengal, did not deprive Buddharāja of his sovereignty of Mālava. ⁴⁸ The Sarsavani plate of his reign proves that he held sway over vast territory at least up to 609 A.D. The Kalacuris seem to have been ousted from Mālava by the Maitrakas of Valabhi sometime before 629 A.D.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang throws some light on the history of Mālava of this period, though his report in many instances is grossly erroneous. He tells us⁴⁹ that Mo-la-p'o was 2,000 li (339 miles) norh-west from Bharukaccha, and was 6,000 li (1,000 miles) in circuit. A-t'a-li, K'i-t'a, A-nan-t'o-pu-lo, and Su-la-ch'a were dependencies of Mo-la-p'o.

Cunningham in his Geography (p. 563) identifies K'i-t'a with the ancient Kheṭa, modern Kaira, in the Bombay Presidency. Smith thinks that it represents the modern Cutch. A-nan-t'o-pu-lo is Ānandapura, the modern Vaḍnagar, in northern Gujarat. Smith admits that Mo-la-p'o is phonetically equi-

⁴⁷ Cowell, pp. 175, 178, 225.

⁴⁸ The Madhuvana plate of Harsavardhana states that Rājyavardhana in battle curbed Devagupta and all other kings together, like vicious horse made to run away from the lashes of the whip'. (EI., vol. 1, p. 72).

The scholars are unanimous in thinking that Devagupta, referred to above, was the king of Mālava, as mentioned in the Harşacarita. There is at the same time no denying of the fact that it is nothing more than a conjecture. Bāṇa, as has been noticed above, used the term Mālava to indicate at least the western part of it, in which is situated the city of Ujjain. In this circumstance, the Mālava king, who was the adversary of Rājyavardhana, was evidently Buddharāja. The statement of the Madhuvana plate regarding Rājyavardhana's conquest is not exhaustive. The same record does not mention anything about the defeat of the Hūṇas at the hands of Rājyavardhana (Cowell, Harṣacarita, p. 165). Kānyakubja was, about that time, conquered by three individuals in succession, viz., first by the Mālava king, next by Śaśānka, and last of all by one named Gupta (Cowell, Ibid., pp. 173, 224. 250, 251). This Gupta might have been identical with Devagupta, who probably suffered defeat at the hands of Rājyavardhana, before he took possession of Kānyakubja.

⁴⁹ Watters, vol. II, pp. 242-248,

valent to Mālava.⁵⁰ But according to him it was a country which was bounded on the north by the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal, on the north-west by the subordinate principality or province of Ānandapura, lying to the west of the Sabarmati, and on the east by the kingdom of Avanti (or Eastern Malwa),

of which Ujjain was the capital."

Hiuen Tsang visited Mo-la-p'o in the month of September, 640 A.D., and Fa-la-p'i, i.e., Valabhi, modern Wala, 18 miles north-west of Bhaonagar, in Kathiawar in the following November. 51 He describes Mo-la-p'o as an independent country, which dominated over a number of other countries, referred to above. He found Dhruvasena II52 ruling in Valabhi. Dhruvasena ascended the throne sometime before 629 A.D. 53 The two Nagwa plates, 54 dated G.E. 320 and 321 = A.D. 639-40 and 640-641, of his reign prove that, about that time, the Valabhi kingdom extended on the east up to the Ratlam State, 35 miles west of Ujjain. This implies beyond doubt that all the intermediate territories between Valabhi and Ratlam were under the sway of Dhruvasena. As a matter of fact the whole of northern and central Gujarat formed a part of the Valabhi kingdom about that period. In this circumstance it will not be proper to locate Mo-la-p'o anywhere in Gujarat or in Malwa west of Ratlam. Hiuen Tsang further tells us that Mo-la-p'o was situated to the south-east of the Mahi river (according to Julien its capital).55 In the light of the Nagwa plates it must be located to the east of the Ratlam State. Hence the critical examination of the contemporary evidences leads to the conclusion that Mo-la-p'o represents central Malava, whose capital was Ujjain. Hiuen Tsang's description of Mo-la-p'o also favours this assertion. He tells us that⁵⁶ the people of Mo-la-p'o were of gentle disposition, and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education. Mo-la-p'o in the south-west, and

⁵⁰ EHI., p. 342.

⁵¹ Cunningham's Geography, p. 647.

⁵³ Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. l, p. 91.

⁵⁵ Watters, vol. II, p. 242.

⁵² Watters, vol. II, p. 246.

⁵⁴ El., vol. VIII, pp. 188 ff.

⁵⁶ Ibid,

Magadha in the north-east, were the two countries in India in which learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected, and the intellectually clever were zealous students." The pilgrim also takes the civilization of Mo-la-p'o as a model with which he compares that of Valabhi, Anandapura, Khetaka, Saurāstra, and A-t'a-li. It is stated that⁵⁷ "in speech and writing, and in social regulations and laws the inhabitants of A-t'a-li resembled those of Mo-la-p'o. K'i-t'a is a rich district and hore a resemblance to Mo-la-p'o. Valabhi resembled Mo-la-p'o in products, climate, and the character and ways of the people. The prowritten language, and institution ducts. climate. Anandapura were like those of Mo-la--p'o. Su-la-ch'a was subject to Mo-la-p'o and its people were of a rude violent nature and did not care for education.

Mālava whose capital was Ujjain was the only country in western India which could claim the honour of possessing such a high state of civilization. Uijain was one of the chief centres of cultural movement in India from the time of the great Buddha down to the conquests of the Moslems. It can claim, in no uncertain terms, the highest honour for its literary activities. Kālidāsa closely associates himself with Ujjain. Tradition connects Bana, Mayura, Magha and others with this city. Bana who was a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang tells highly of its cultural achievements. He states that⁵⁸ "it is the very birth place of golden age. There the people are connoisseurs in all the arts, pleasant and intelligent. They talk merrily, are charming in their humour, spotless in attire, skilled in foreign languages, clever at subtleties of speech, versed in stories of all kinds, accomplished in letters, having a keen delight in the Mahābhārata, Purānas, and Rāmāyana, familiar with the Brihatkathā, masters of the whole circle of arts, especially gambling, lovers of the Sastras, devoted to light literature etc. They order the making of water-works, bridges, temples, pleasure-gardens, wells, hostels for novices,

⁵⁷ Watters, II, pp. 243-248.

⁵⁸ Ridding, Kāaambarī, pp. 211-212.

wayside sheds for watering cattle, and halls of assembly." Taking all these things into consideration, I think Mo-la-p'o. as described by Hiuen Tsang, represents central Malwa. If this proves to be true. Wu-she-yen-na, about which the pilgrim gives a short description, cannot be taken to be the same as Ujjain. The pilgrim relates that "Wu-she-yen-na is above 6000 li (1000 miles) in circuit, in its productions and in the ways of the people it resembled Su-la-ch'a" (i.e. its people were of a rude violent nature, did not care for education). Watters entertains doubt about the identification of Wu-she-yen-na with Ujjain. Attention is drawn to the fact that there is marked difference in spelling between the names Wu-she-yen-na and The latter is unanimously accepted as Yuh-shan-to.60 representing the Ujiayanta mountain in Kathiawar. The pilgrim relates⁶¹ that he travelled from Valabhi above 1800 li (300 miles) north to the Ku-che-lo (Guriara) country wherefrom he proceeded south-east, and after a journey of 2800 li (467 miles) arrived at the Wu-she-yen-na country. Thence he went north-east above 1000 li (334 miles) to Chih-chi-to (Julien's Chi-ki-t'o). The distance from one country to another, as laid down by Hiuen Tsang, should be considered as the distance from the capital of that particular country to that of the other.

P'i-lo-mo-lo, the capital of the Gurjara country, is identified by Smith with Bhinmal, in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana, about 200 miles north-east from Wala. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that Barmer, in Mallani, which is 260 miles from Wala, represents P'i-lo-mo-lo.⁶² A place known as Bhimar⁶³ in Mallani, 25 miles south-east from Phalsund, is almost 300 miles north from Wala.

Both Smith and Cunningham identify Chih-chi-t'o with Jejākabhukti, the modern Bundelkhand. It seems phonetically equivalent to Citrakūṭa. Citrakūṭa was the ancient

⁵⁹ Ridding, Kādambarī, pp. 211-212.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 248.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 249-251. 62 EHI., p 345n; JBOBR., vol XXI.

⁶³ Constable's Hand Atlas, C b 26.

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name of Jejākabhukti.64 lts capital was Mahoba, in the Hamirpur District.

If Wu-she-yen-na is identified with Ujjain, its distance, as given by the pilgrim, from the Gurjara country, and Citrakūta does not tally with the real state of things. Ujjain is 300 miles south-east from Barmer, 328 miles south-east from Bhimar, and 295 miles south-west from Mahoba. This irregularity coupled with the fact that the people of Wu-she-yen-na were of a rude violent nature, did not care for education, stands in the way to accept the view that Wu-she-yen-na and Ujjain are identical.

The country which is 467 miles south-east from Bhimar and 167 miles south-west from Mahoba cannot be anything else than the Bhilsa District. The town of Bhilsa is about 170 miles south-west from Mahoba, and about 460 miles southeast from Bhimar. The ancient name of the Bhilsa District is Bhaillasvāmin. Both the Bhilsa District and the Bhopal State formed the country of Daśārna. Its capital was Chetiyagiri during the time of Aśoka. Taking all these things into consideration Wu-she-yen-na may very reasonably be identified with Bhaillasvāmin or Daśārna.

Hiuen Tsang tells us that 65 he gathered from the local records that there was a king by name Siladitya, who reigned over the country of Mo-la-p'o, sixty years before his visit to that country. The king is stated to have been the uncle of Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhi, 66 for whom we have dates 629, 640, 641 A.D.67 The Valabhi records tell us that Dhruvasena II's uncle was Silāditya Dharmāditya68 whose inscriptions are dated 606 and 609 A.D. Silāditya, refered to by the pilgrim, was evidently identical with Siladitya

⁶⁴ The Candella Harşa is described as the lord of Citrakūţa (El., vol. II, p. 306). A Candella inscription from Mahoba (EI., vol. I, p. 218) states that the country was named Jejakabhukti after the Candella Jejjaka, the king of the dynasty, who flourished in the middle of the 9th century

Watters, vol. II, p. 242.
 Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. I, p. 91; EI., vol. VIII, p. 188.

⁶⁸ Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. I, p. 93.

Dharmāditya, though the date given by the pilgrim does not agree with his. Silāditya, as Mr. Smith suggests, 69 "must have been the king of Mo-la-p'o by conquest in addition to his ancestral realm of Valabhi." The pilgrim relates that the king had great administrative ability, and was of rare kindness and compassion. 70

Mo-la-p'o seceded from the Valabhi kingdom during the reign of Dhruvasena II. The pilgrim tells us that Mo-la-p'o was an independent country in 640 A.D., and Kaira (or Cutch), Vaḍnagar, Kathiawar, A-t'a-li were its dependencies. As about that time the Valabhi kingdom extended up to the Ratlam State, it is doubtful whether Mo-la-p'o had any real sway over those countries.

Hiuen Tsang visited Wu-she-yen-na in the month of February, 641 A.D. He found there a member of the Brahmin caste as the ruler of the country.⁷¹

The history of Mālava from 641 A.D. till the rise of the Pratihāras, in the early years of the 8th century, is almost blank.

⁶⁹ EHI., p. 344.

⁷⁰ Watters, vol. II, p. 242.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 250.

Reviews and Notices

BY THE EDITOR

THE STORY OF KĀLAKA: "Texts, History, Legends, and Miniature Paintings of the Svetāmbara Jain Hagiographical Work, the Kālakāchāryakathā (with 15 Plates)" by W. NORMAN BROWN, Professor of Sanskrit in the University, Pennsylvania, and Curator of Indian Art in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art: published by Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1933, as Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Series No. I, 144 pp., 145-49 Index, size 14" × 103/4".

Primarily this is a book on Indian Art (Painting). The paintings found in the Mss. of the Kālakāchārya-Kathā and other Jain works, dated from Saṃvat, 1184 (1127 A.D.) to Saṃvat 1682 (1625 A.D.) are reproduced in 15 plates, as examples of 'the Western School of miniature painting'. The discussion on the art is in Chapter II. Prof. Brown thinks that the characteristic angular lines of these paintings originated in Svetāmbara temples (p. 17). But this is hardly acceptable. I have seen secular and religious pictures of the same type in Orissan manuscripts. One may trace its descent even in the pictures of 'the Kālīghāṭ School' and of the old variety of Nāthdwārā. The peculiarity is neither Western nor Jaina.

The Kālaka-Āchārya-Kathā or Kathānaka is well-known in this country, having been translated in vernaculars several times. Its historical importance on the question of the incoming of the Sakas into Western India was pointed out by the late Dr. Bhau Daji and then by Dr. Jacobi. Numerous Jaina scholars have written on Kālaka, the most notable and recent paper being by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya. There is very little room for any original contribution left. Prof. Brown has done the task of editing the two texts with care. But his interpretation of the reading of Saga-kūla [for its variant Saga-kula] is unfortu-

nate. There can be the kūla ('bank') of a river, but not of a country or people. The alternative reading kula gives the natural meaning ('Saga-kula'='Saka tribe'). Prof. Brown's translation 'Saka-bank' (p. 9) is too Western and opposed to the Indian notion and idiom. There can be 'the French Coast' in a European language but not a 'Ceylon bank' or 'Prayāga bank', not a 'Vākāṭaka bank' or a 'Chedi bank' in an Indian language. Mr. Brown's supposition that it refers to the bank of the Indus is contradicted by his text at p. 74, verses 53-54, which suppose that the Sakas were not on the Indus but had to march with the army to reach the Indus. If kūla be supposed to be a foreign word and not Sanskrit, one might say that "the Lake of Seistan" ('kūla=lake) is meant. Mr. Brown's interpretation in any case is absolutely inadmissible.

It is old knowledge that there were three Kālakas amongst the Jainas. But Mr. Brown's analysis at pp. 5-6 is certainly wrong when he transfers Balamitra and Bhānumitra from the time of the Kālaka of the Saka immigration to an earlier Kālaka (his Kālaka I). The Balamitra-Bhānumitra story is so interconnected with the story of Kālaka of the Sakas that it cannot refer to another Kālaka. According to the texts these princes became subordinates of the Shāhi.

Further, we cannot, without straining, take that "Balamitra and Bhānumitra," whose period is up to 114 B.C. according to Jaina chronologies, could be contemporary kings of the time of Kālaka I who was dead as early as 151 B.C. (Brown p. 7.) Nor is there any evidence to suppose, as Prof. Brown has supposed, that the date of Kālaka II (teacher of the Sakas)—74 B.C. or 91 B.C. (Vīra Era 453, JBORS., I, 103)—is the date of Kālaka's suri-ship. He took 'Sarasvatī' in that year, which evidently refers to a supposed date of the recovery of Sarasvatī. The 'Balamitra-Bhānumitra' is a period. We have to suppose that the last prince of the line was Bhānumitra. The Jaina dates for early pontiffs and kings calculated

¹ See Monier-Williams Dictionary for a similar meaning in Sanskrit lexicons.

by Mr. Brown on the basis of Vīra Era (527 B.C.) are liable to be shifted up by about 17 years which represents a difference between two views as pointed out in *JBORS*., vol. I, 103.

It may be noted here that the Gardabhilas of the Purāṇas are given about 10 years per succession. This is exactly like their date for republican rulers (JBORS., XX, 86-87). It is very likely that the Gardabhilas were presidents of the Mālava-gaṇa (Mālava Republic). That a common victory against the Sakas was claimed by both the Mālavas and the Sātavāhana is becoming clearer. The oldest Vikrama Era date now discovered at Nandsā (Mewār), which is equivalent to 225 A.D. (IA., 56. 53), calls the reckoning 'the Era of Krita,' i.e. as marking a new political and social epoch. It comes from the heart of the old Mālava republican country. Gardabhila was an old Hindu family-name. It was borne by a Jaina ascetic of Rajputana. It seems that the seven or ten Gardabhilas were Mālava republicans.

We are thankful to Prof. Brown for giving us in a handy volume the Kālaka literature in English. The plates are very successfully executed.

KĀTYĀYANA-SMŖITI-SĀRODDHĀRA, by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., Bombay, 1933, pp. 372+xlii, published by the Author; price Rs. 4/-

This is a collection of law-texts of Kātyāyana from quotations in Digests and Commentaries. Dr. Nārāyaṇa-chandra Bandyopādhyāya, acting on my suggestion in my Tagore Lectures, collected about 800 verses of Kātyāyana and published them in a well-arranged text-book, with a good introduction. Mr. Kane has added more verses bringing them to 973. The original had many more. Mr. Kane has given a translation of his texts in English and a few notes. The restored texts of Kātyāyana now occupy the same position as the collected Smriti of Brihaspati by Dr. Jolly in the Sacred Books of the East Series. Kātyāyana's law book is a product of the Gupta period and marks the highest point in matters of procedure. Mr. Kane's edition is a valuable contribution.

GĀTHĀ OF ZARATHUSHTRA, by JATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJEE, M.A., with Gujarātī translation by Ardashir N. Bilimoria, 400+viii pp., published by Ardashir N. Bilimoria, Cherag Office, Navasari, 1933.

Mr. J. M. Chatterjee has rendered the Zoroastrian Gāthā in Sanskrit (Nāgarī) characters and given literal Sanskrit and Enlish translations. Mr. Chatterjee has appended grammatical notes from the Sanskrit point of view, showing unity of Avesta and Sanskrit. The desire of the Gujarātī Cherag publishing office under Mr. Ardashir N. Bilimoria and Mr. Chatterjee is to make the Gāthā available to the Hindu public in a cheap volume. The volume will be found a great help to Indian students willing to have their first acquaintance with the sister religion of their Vedic brothers, the Pārsīs. The restoration of the Avestan forms into Sanskrit in the Sanskrit literal rendering is very useful. The utility of that rendering is enhanced by doing it in 'prose order' marking each word with figures. Mr. Chatterjee is good at his Pāṇini and Nighaṇṭu.

THE BRONZES OF NĀLANDĀ AND HINDU-JAVANESE ART, by Dr. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS; published by Brill Ltd., Leiden, 1933 (pp. 78+10; plates 33).

It is a thoughtful study of the bronzes of Nālandā and Java and their historic connection. The author finds the influence of the Pāla art on Eastern Java. We have, however, definite evidence for the period immediately before the Pāla period in the Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa which ends its history with the fall of the Later Guptas (called the Gauda Dynasty) and the reign of Gopāla. The M. Mūlakalpa says that there was a school of art-professors who discussed the mysteries and implications of icons, and that several artists travelled to the Islands (that is, the Indian Archipelago) and decorated monuments and monasteries. The art which flourished under the Pālas was thus the continuation of the Later Gupta Art which had travelled to Insulindia. There is no chronological diffi-

culty, (p. 71), which arises only on the assumption that the Nālandā art is Pāla and not pre-Pāla.

The Kurkihar finds to which reference is made by Dr. Kempers (p. 15) and which will be the subject-matter of an independent treatment by me, belong to the Pāla period, as the important pieces are dated in the reign of several of the Pāla kings. They carry on the Nālandā tradition, and are later than some of the Nālandā bronzes. The latter are to be studied along with the stone and stucco images of Nālandā which have a continuous history from about 600 A.D. onwards. The Mañjuśrī history notes that on the decline of Buddhism it became necessary to attract the laity by art.

Dr. Kempers exhibits the same thoughtful, logical, and cautious method which marks out the Dutch school of Indologists. He has an attitude free from bias and preconception, an impartial mind, with no disinclination to consider what Indian Indologists have to say.

HISTORY OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS, by Pandit BISHESWAR-NATH REU, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, 'Jodhpur Darbar, 1933; pp. 143; 8 index; price Rs. 2/-; size 6' × 93/4".

The author has already published his views on the Rāshtrakūṭa history in *JRAS*., 1930, 1932; *IA*., 1930 and his Hindī book *Bhārata ke Prāchīna-rājavamśa*. The main thesis put forward is that the Gāhaḍavālas belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family. But there is no new evidence in support of the theory. The objections to the theory are not insurmountable, yet further evidence is desirable to establish the thesis.

All the inscriptional references to the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gāhaḍavālas have been collected in the volume. This is certain that the original name of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was the vernacular R a ṭ ṭ a as noted in a dynastic inscription IA., XII, 218—'Raṭṭavaṃśodbhava'. Hence it is very likely that the Rāshṭrakūtas arose out of the Rāshṭrakūtas of Aśoka, but to connect them with the Punjab (p. 2) is not warrantable.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Saturday, the 9th of September, 1933.

Present:

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair).

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on July the 30th, 1933.
- 2. Passed the accounts for the months of July and August, 1933.
- 3. Re-elected Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri as a representative of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on the Sanskrit Convocation.
- 4. Read Mr. Fawcus's letter, dated the 23rd August, 1933.
 Resolved that the offer of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur
 Radha Krishna Jalan to print the Shahabad and Bhagalpur
 Buchanan Reports be accepted on the terms offered:—
 - (a) that not less than 500 copies of the report be printed
 - (b) that he would supply the Research Society with as many copies as it requires for distribution according to its ordinary free distribution list;
 - (c) that the sale proceeds of any copies sold by the Society, or by its selling agents, or by the Law Press would be the property of the Law Press;

Resolved further that the Society's thanks be conveyed to the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan for his most generous co-operation.

- 5. On a motion of Mr. G. E. Fawcus, seconded by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, resolved that the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan be elected a Vice-Patron of the Society in view of his most valuable assistance to the Society.
- 6. Considered the report of the Sub-committee appointed to enquire into the storage of books presented by Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana.

Resolved that the books be stored in the Hon. Secretary's room in the Society's building.

Resolved further that almirahs similar to those at present in use in the Society's Library be purchased for their storage.

Resolved further that the sum of Rs. 324-13 paid by the Museum authorities for freight, etc., on these books be refunded, the necessary funds for this and the purchase of the almirahs being taken from the Mayurbhanj fund.

7. Read the Hon. Secretary's circular letter, dated August the 20th.

In view of the Council's former decision, resolved that the printing of the Patna-Bihar Buchanan Report be left with the Oriental Press, Calcutta.

8. Read the Hon. Secretary's circular letter, dated August the 25th.

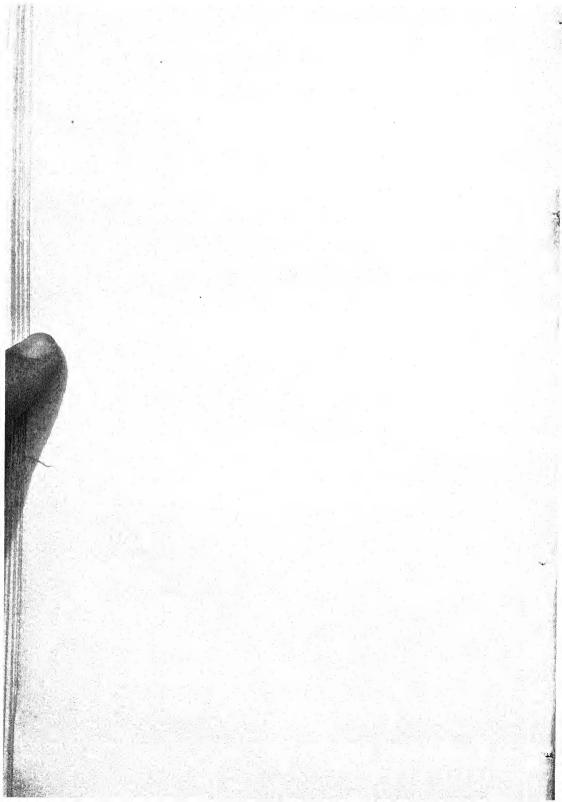
Resolved that the Society's name may be given as the publishers of the proceedings of the Oriental Conference held in Patna in the year 1930.

- 9. Read and recorded Mr. J. Rahman's letter, dated the 11th August, 1933.
 - 10. Elected Mr. Audh Bihari Jha a member of the Society.
- 11. Read Mr. Jayaswal's letter, dated the 18th August, 1933, asking to be relieved of the editorship of the Society's Journal.

Resolved that consideration of this, with Mr. Jayaswal's permission, be postponed.

J. L. HILL, Honorary General Secretary

12. 9. 1933.



Appendix to J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX

SANSKRIT RESTORATION OF YUAN CHWANG'S VIJNAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI-SĀSTRA

By Tripiṭakācārya Rev. Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana

with the help of

Mr. Wong Mow Lam

Editor, "The Chinese Buddhist"

PRINTED BY M. N. PANDEY AT THE ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS ALLAHABAD

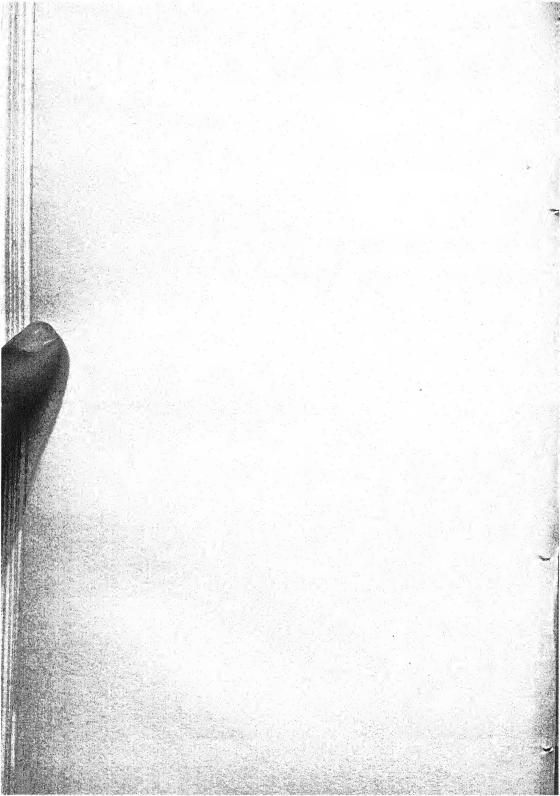
PUBLISHED BY K. P. JAYASWAL EDITOR, J. B. O. R. S., PATNA

"(अथ) धर्मपालादिबोधिसस्त्रेः कृते, अधिगत-(राजा-)ऽऽज्ञेन त्रिपिटक-धर्माचार्येण युन्-स्त्रेङा (च) अनूदिते

विज्ञिप्तमात्रतासिद्धि-शास्त्रे

प्रथमः खंडः।"

['Nanjio's Catalogue no. 1197.]



श्रथ विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः

(प्रथमः परिच्छेदः)

विज्ञप्तिमात्रतायां ये परिशुद्धाः पूर्णतोंऽशतः । 4 नत्त्वा तान् सत्त्वसौख्याय व्याख्यायन्ते तदुक्तयः ।। 5

य्रंथ-प्रयोजनम्

[स्थिरमितः] — उभय*शून्यतयोरप्रतिपन्न-विप्रतिपन्नानां यथा-र्थप्रतिपत्तिलाभार्थे एतच्छास्नारम्भः । प्रतिपत्तिर्हि उभयस्थूलावरण्-प्रहाणार्था । त्रात्म-धर्म-प्राहाभ्यां उभयोरावरणयोः समुत्पादः । उभय-

[&]quot; आचार्यसिल्वे-लेवी-सम्पादितायां त्रिंशिका-विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धौ
१५ पृष्ठ— "पुद्गल-थर्म-नैरात्म्ययोरप्रतिपन्न-विप्रतिपन्नानामिवपरीतपुद्गलधर्मनैरात्म्य-प्रतिपादनार्थं त्रिर्शिकाविज्ञप्ति-प्रकरणारम्भः । पुद्गलधर्मनैरात्म्य-प्रतिपादनं पुनः, क्रेशक्षेत्रयावरण-प्रहाणार्थं । तथा द्यात्मदृष्टिप्रभवा रागादयः क्रेशाः । पुद्गल-नैरात्म्याववोषश्च
सत्कायदृष्टेः प्रातिपक्षस्वात् तत्प्रहाणाय प्रवर्तमानः सर्वक्रेशान् प्रजहाति । धर्मनैरात्म्यक्षानादिष क्षेयावरणप्रतिपक्षस्वात् क्षेयावरणं प्रद्दीयते । क्लेशक्षेयावरणप्रहाणमिष मोक्षसर्वकस्वाधिगमार्थं । क्लेशा हि मोक्षप्राप्तेरावरणमिति, अतस्तेषु प्रदृणिषु मोक्षोऽधिगम्यते ।
क्षेयावरणमि सर्वास्मन् क्षेये क्षानप्रवृत्तिप्रतिवन्धभृतं अक्लिष्टमज्ञानं । तस्मिन् प्रदृणि
सर्वोक्षरे क्षेयेऽसक्तमप्रतिहतं च क्षानं प्रवर्तत हत्यतः सर्वज्ञस्वमिधगम्यते । अथवा धर्मपुद्गलाभिनिविष्टाश्चित्तमात्रं यथाभृतं न जानन्तीत्यतो धर्मपुद्गल्ननेरात्म्य-प्रदर्शनेन
सफले विज्ञप्तिमात्रेऽनुपूर्वेण प्रवेशार्थ प्रकरणारम्भः । अथवा विज्ञानविद्ववेयमिष द्रव्यत एवेति
केचिन्मन्यन्ते । विक्षयवद् विज्ञानमिष संवृतित एव न परमार्थत इत्यस्य द्विप्रकारस्याप्येकान्तवादस्य प्रतिवेषार्थं प्रकरणारम्भः ।"

शून्यताऽवबोधश्चेत् ते त्रावरणे त्रजुप्रहीयेते। त्रावर-प्रहाणं हि उभयानुत्तर-फललाभार्थम् । सन्ततोत्पन्न-क्लेशावरण-प्रहाणात् (प्रथमं त्रजुत्तरफलं) मोत्तः । ज्ञान-प्रतिबन्धकस्य ज्ञेयावरणस्य प्रहाणात् (द्वितीयं त्रजुत्तर-फलं) महाबोधिप्रतिलम्भः । 9

त्रथवा (चित्रमान्वादयः)—भर्म-पुद्गलमिथ्याऽभिनिवेशात चित्त-मात्रे विप्रतिपन्नान् जनान् उभयशून्यतावबोध-प्रदर्शनेन विज्ञप्ति-मात्रं एव सत्त्यं इति बोधियतुं (प्रकरणारम्भः)। 11

अथवा (धर्मपालः)—विज्ञप्तिमात्रेऽप्रतिपन्न-विप्रतिपन्नाः केचित् (१) (सर्वास्तिवादिनः) विज्ञानवत् वाद्यं विषयं अनमाव(=द्रव्य)-तया मन्यन्ते; (२) (माविववेकादयः) विषयवद् आम्यन्तरं विज्ञानं (अपि) असद्भृतम्; (३) अथवा (एके महायानिकाः)—भिन्नप्रवृत्तीनां (अपि) सर्वेषां विज्ञानानां तुल्य-स्वभावतां मन्यन्ते; अथवा (४) (सौत्रान्तिकाः)—चित्तात् पृथग् नान्यान् चैत्तान् (मन्यन्ते)। एतेषां विभिन्नवादानां प्रतिषेधार्थं, गम्भीरं सूद्रमं विज्ञप्तिमात्रतावादं यथासत्त्यं अववोधियतुं (च) एतच्छास्त्रारम्भः। 15

(द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः)

त्रात्मग्राहः । धर्मग्राहः

(नतु) विज्ञानमात्रं ऋस्ति चेत्, कथं लोके ऋार्यशास्त्रेषु च ऋात्म-धर्मी स्त (इति) उच्यते ? कारिकायां (तत्) प्रत्युच्यते 16—

> त्रात्म-धर्मोपचारो हि विविधो यः प्रवर्तते । 17 विज्ञानपरिणामोऽसौ, परिगामः स च त्रिधा ॥ १॥ 18 विपाको मननारूयश्च विज्ञप्तिर्विषयस्य च ॥ 19

- १.—(इति) शास्त्र ज्कम् । लोक आर्यशास्त्रेषु (च), आत्मा धर्माश्च संति (इति) केवलं उपचारत उच्यते; न तु सङ्कृतस्वभावतया । आत्माऽस्ति स्वामी, धर्माः आश्रयः । तदुभयं नानाकार-विपरिणतम् । आत्मनो नानाकारा नाम सत्त्व-जीवाद्यः (बाह्यदर्शने); स्रोत-आपन्न-सकृदागामीत्याद्यः (बौद्धदर्शने)। धर्माणां नानाकारा नाम द्रव्य-गुण-कर्मादि (वैशेषिकदर्शने), स्कन्धायतनधात्वादि (बौद्ध-दर्शने)। "प्रवर्तत" अनुप्रत्ययं उपचारभेदा भवंति (इति)। 24
- २.—(ननु) एवं सर्व श्राकारा उपचारत उच्यंते चेत्, किमा-श्रित्य सिध्यंति त उपचाराः ?—विज्ञान-विपरिणामं श्राश्रित्त्य सर्वा उपचार-व्यवस्थाः 125
- ३.—"विज्ञानं" श्रस्ति चित्तं; तत्र चित्तराब्दे चैत्ता श्रप्युप-संगृहीताः, (उभयोः) श्रवश्यं संप्रयुक्तत्त्वात् । 26
 - ४. विज्ञान-परिगामः। (स्थिरमति-धर्मपालादयः)।---

क, "परिणामो" ऽस्ति विज्ञानस्य स्वभावः, निमित्त-दर्शनोभय-भाग-तया परिण्मनं, स्व-संवित्ति(-भाग)ोत्पन्नत्त्वात्। एतद्भागद्वय-माश्रित्त्य त्रात्म-धर्मोपचारः, तयोः एतद्भिन्नाश्रयाभावात्। 2

ल. श्रथवा (नन्द-वन्धुश्यादय:)—श्राभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं वाह्य-विषय-सादृश्येन विपरिएाम्यत (इति मन्यन्ते)। 3

श्रात्म-धर्म-विकल्पात् वासना-बलात् (च), विज्ञानं उत्पत्ति-काल श्रात्म-धर्मसादृश्येन विपरिग्णम्यते । श्रात्म-धर्म-निमित्तानि एतानि श्राभ्यन्तरे विज्ञाने स्थितान्यपि विकल्प(-वश)।त् बाह्यार्थ-सादृश्येन प्रादुर्भवन्ति । सर्वे सत्त्व-निकाया श्रनादिकालत एतदालंब्य श्रात्म-धर्मसादृश्यं सद्भूततया गृह्णन्ति । यथा दुःस्वप्रायमानस्य जनस्य चित्तं दुःस्वप्रवशात् नाना-बाह्यविषयाकारतया प्रादुर्भवति । एतत्(स्वप्न)-कार-णात् (स) बाह्यं विषयं सङ्कृततया गृह्णाति । 6

श्रन्तयाहद्वयम् — श्रस्ति श्रात्मा, सन्ति धर्मा (इति) श्रज्ञजनानुमतं; (वस्तुतस्तु) श्रसन्तस्ते, केवलं मिध्याप्रत्ययं श्राशित्त्य विकल्प्यंते। तस्माद् श्रोपचारिकं इदं वदामः। श्राभ्यन्तर-'विज्ञान-परिणामो'' यद्यपि श्रात्म-धर्म-सदृशो भवति, न तु वस्तुत श्रात्म-धर्म-स्वभावः, श्रापितु तयोरिव प्रादुर्भवति। तस्मात् मिध्या (=संवृतिसद्) इति उच्यते। 10

५. बाह्यविषयाः संविदं त्राश्रित्त्य विकल्प्यन्ते, तस्मात् न विज्ञ-प्रिवत् सङ्गृताः । त्राभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं हेतु-प्रत्ययं प्रतीत्य संजायते, तस्माद् (बाह्य -)विषयवत् नासद्भूतम् । पतेन वृद्धिः, उच्छेद (इत्यन्त-) प्राहद्वयं *प्रतिषिद्धम् । 12

सत्यद्वयम्—(बाह्यो) विषय आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं आश्रित्त्य विक-ल्प्यते, तस्मात् (स) केवलं संवृतिसद् । विज्ञानं विकल्पित-(बाह्य) विषयाश्रयवस्तुत्त्वात् परमार्थसद् अपि । 13

६. (नतु) कथं विज्ञेयं—बाह्यार्थो न सङ्गृतः, श्राभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं एव (सङ्गृतं, तदेव) बाह्यार्थतया परिग्रतं इति ?—सङ्गृतयोः श्रात्म-धर्मयोः श्रतुपलभ्यमानत्त्वात् । 15

वाद्यार्थ-स्वीकारः, आभ्यन्तर-विज्ञान-प्रतिषेध इत्यन्तप्राहद्वयम् ।

कथं सद्भृतस्य त्रात्मनोऽनुपलम्भः ? 15-

ऋात्मग्राहः

१. सर्वे श्रात्मप्राहाः समासतः त्रिविधा भवन्ति 16—

प्रथमे — (सांख्य-वैशेषिका:) मन्यन्ते — श्रात्मा स्वभावतो नित्त्य श्राकाशवत् सर्वत्रगः; तस्मात् सर्वत्र कर्म श्रनुतिष्ठति, उपलभते च सुखं दुःखम् । 17

द्वितीये—(जैना) मन्यन्ते—स्वभावतो नित्त्योऽप्यात्मा परिमा-ऐ तु अनियतः, दीर्घ-हस्व-कायमनु संकोच-विकास(शोल)-त्त्वात्। 18

तृतीये-—(पाशुपत-परिवाजकादय:) मन्यन्ते—श्रात्मा स्वभा-वतो नित्त्यः परमागुवत् श्रतिसूद्तमः, काय-विनिहित-सर्व-कर्म-कारि-त्वात्। 20

क. प्रथमो हि न न्याय्यः, कस्मात् ? 20—

- (१). श्रात्मा नित्त्य श्राकाशवत् सर्वत्रग (इति) मन्येत (चेत्) न स्याद् कायानुसारं सुख-दुःखाद्युपलम्भः । 21
- (२). नित्त्यं सर्वगतत्त्वात् न स्यात् गतिः भ्रमिः; कथं (तर्हि) कायानुसारं कुर्यात् कर्माणि ? 22
- (३). पुनश्च त्रात्मा सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां एकः भिन्नो वाऽभ्युपग-म्यते ? (क) समान (=एक) उच्यते चेत्, एकस्य कर्म-करणकाले सर्वेः कृतं स्यात्, एकस्य फलोपलम्भ-काले सर्वेक्तपलव्धं स्यात्, एकस्य मोन्नो-पलम्भ-काले सर्वे मुकाः स्युः। त्रथ स्याद् महान् दोषः। (ख) भिन्न उच्यते चेत्, सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां त्रात्मानोऽन्योन्यावृता (=त्र्यन्योन्य-व्यापका) स्युः; त्रथ स्वभावोऽपि क्रान्योन्य-मिश्रितः स्यात्। 26
- (४) पुनश्च—सर्वेषां आत्मनां स्थान(तो) ऽभेदात् यदा एकः कर्म करोति फलं वा उपलभते, सर्व (एव) कुर्वन्ति उपभुंजते च (इति) वक्तव्यम्। उपभोग-कर्मणी एकैकेन (आत्मना) पृथक् सम्बद्धे इति चेत्, नैवं न्यायतोऽदोषं; सर्वेषां आत्मनां कर्म-फल-शरीरान्योन्य-संबद्धत्त्वात्। तस्मात् नेदं न्यायाऽविरुद्धम्। ।

(५) एकस्य विमुक्तिकाले च सर्वे विमुच्येरन्, आचीर्ण-भावितयोः धर्म(-फल)योः सर्वैः श्रात्मिभः संबद्धस्वात्। 2

स्त. द्वितीयोऽपि न न्याय्यः । कस्मात् ? (१) आत्मा स्वभावतः नित्त्यो ध्रुवः (चेत्) न स्यात् काय(परिमाणानुसारं) संकोचिवकास-(शील)ः । (२) संकोच-विकास-(शीलः) चेत् भस्त्रावाद्य(गत) नायु-वत् न स्यात् नित्यो ध्रुवः । (३) शरोर-(परिमाण)।नुसारी आत्मा विभाज्यः स्यात्, (श्रथ) कथं मन्यते आत्मनः स्वभावत एकत्त्वम् ? तस्माद् अयं वादो बालक्रीडितं इव । 6

ग, चरमोऽपि न न्याय्यः। कस्मात् १ परमाग्णुवत् आत्म-परि-मागां अतिसूद्दमं (चेत्), कथं (युगपद्) महाकाये सर्वत्र गतिं कुर्यात् १ आगुत्त्वेऽपि, अलातचक्रश्रमिवत्, चिग्नं परिशरीरं सर्वत्र श्रमित (इति) उच्यते चेत्; अथ एवं ग्रहण आत्मा न एको न (च) नित्त्यः, गमनागमनशीलानां नित्त्यैकत्त्वाभावात्। 8

२. पुनश्च ज्ञात्मग्राहो त्रिधा भवति । प्रथमे (ज्ञात्मा) स्कन्धाद-भिन्नः; द्वितीय स्कन्धाद्भिन्नः, तृतीये स्कन्धात् नाभिन्नो न भिन्नः । 11

क. प्रथमे—स्कन्धात्मनोरभेदः ऋहेतुकः । एवं हि स्कंधवत् श्रात्माऽपि न नित्त्यो न (च) एकः स्यात्— 12

- (१) श्राभ्यन्तरं रूपं (=५ इन्द्रियाणि) न स्यात् सद्भूत श्रात्मा, भौतिकत्त्वात् (=संयुकत्त्वात्) बाह्य-रूप (=५ इन्द्रिय-विषय)-वत्। (२) चित्त-चैत्ता* धर्मा श्रापि न सद्भूत श्रात्मा, श्रानित्त्यसन्तान्(-त्त्वात्) हेतुप्रत्ययपारतंत्र्यात् (च)। 14
- (३) शेषः (चित्त-विष्रयुक्तः) संस्कारः, शेषं (अविज्ञप्ति-) रूपं च न सद्भूत आत्मा, आकाशाद्वित् अचेतन-स्वभावात्। 15

ल. द्वितीये (सांख्यमते) स्कन्धात्मनोरभेदः (अपि) अहे-

^{*} चैत्ताः—वेदना-संज्ञा-विज्ञान-स्कंधाः, संस्कार-स्कंधैक-भागः (=संप्रयुक्त-संस्कारः)।

तुकः । तथा चेद् श्राकाशवत् (कर्म)-कारक(त्त्व-फल)-लाभ(वत्त्वा) ऽभावात् । 16

ग. चरमे (वात्तीपुत्रीयमते)—(स्कन्ध)ात्मनो (भेंदाभेदेति) डभयाभावो ऽन्याय्यः। स्कन्धं उपादाय (श्रात्मनः) सिद्धिः, स्कंधात् भिन्ना-भिन्नश्च (श्रात्मा) इति स्वीकारे हि घटादिवत् । श्रात्मा न सद्भूतः स्यात्। (२) पुनश्च (तैः,) (श्रात्मा) न उच्यते संस्कृतः, (न) श्रापि श्रसंस्कृतः; न च उच्यते श्रात्मनः सद्भावः, (न च) श्रात्मनोऽभावः तस्मात् तेषां मते श्रसिद्धः सद्भूत श्रात्मा। 19

१-सामान्यतः खंडनम्।

क, तेषां च सद्भूतात्मस्वभावमते (श्रात्मा)—(१) श्रस्ति चेतनः (इति सांख्याः), (२) नास्ति चेतनः (इति वैशेषिकाः)। चेतनस्वे-ऽनित्त्यः स्यात् सर्वदा चिंतनाभावात् । श्रचेतनस्वे न स्यात् कर्मणः कर्त्ता न च फलस्य भोका । तस्माद् एतत् मतं उभयथाऽसिद्धम् । 23

ल, तेषां च सद्भूतात्मस्वभावमते (श्रात्मा)—(१) श्रस्ति सिक्रियः; (२) श्रस्ति निष्क्रियः। सिक्रियत्त्वे हस्तपादादिवत् श्रनित्त्यः स्यात्। श्रक्रियत्त्वे शशर्श्वंगादिवत् श्रसद्भूतः स्यात् श्रात्मा। तस्मात् श्रयं श्रात्मग्राह उभयथाऽसिद्धः। 27

ग. तेषां च (वात्सीपुत्रीयाणां) सद्भूतात्मस्वभावमते— ऋस्ति (श्रात्मा) श्रात्मदृष्टेः विषयो न वा ? नास्ति श्रात्मदृष्टेः विषयश्चेत् कथं भवता ज्ञायते—सद्भूत श्रात्मा (इति) । श्रस्ति श्रात्मदृष्टेः विषयश्चेत् , सद्भूता (विद्यमाना) श्रात्मदृष्टिः (भगवता) न हि स्यात् विपर्यासेषु परिगृहीता, सम्यग्ज्ञानत्त्वात् । एवं चेद् श्रात्मभावग्राहे (बौद्धो) जनः कथं श्रद्ध्यात् ? कथं सर्वा श्रायं-देशना निन्दुः श्रात्मदृष्टिं, प्रशंसेरन् (च) नैरात्म्यदृष्टम् ? उक्षं (च) "नैरात्म्यदृष्ट्या साज्ञात्करोति निर्वाणम्, 4

[†] वात्सीपुत्रीयनये घटस्य मृत्तिकया न अभेदः, नापि भेदः।

श्रात्मदृष्टिप्राहात् निमज्जते संसारे।" कथं स्यात् मिथ्यादृष्ट्या निर्वाण-साज्ञात्करणेऽलं; सम्यग्दृष्ट्या च विपर्ययात् संसारे निमज्जनम् ? 5

पुनश्च—आत्मदृष्टिः न आलम्बते सद्भूतं आत्मानं, सालम्बन-न्वात्, अन्यालम्बन-चित्तवत्। (व्यितिरेकतः) आत्मदृष्टेः आलम्बनं न स्यात् सद्भूत आत्मा, सालम्बनत्त्वात् अन्यधर्मवत्। तस्माद् आत्मदृष्टिः नालम्बते सद्भूतं आत्मानं; अध्यात्मविज्ञान-परिणामान् सकन्धान् एव आलम्बते। (त एव स्कंधाः) स्विमध्यारुच्यनुसारं विविध(त्माकारतया) विकल्प्यन्ते। 9

२-ग्रात्मग्राह-विभंगः

- क. (वस्तुतः) तु सर्व त्रात्मत्राहाः समासतो द्विधा भवन्ति । श्राद्यः सहजः, द्वितीयो विकल्पितः। 10
- १. सहज त्रात्मग्राहः त्रमादिकालागता-ऽऽभ्यन्तर-मिथ्यावासना हेतु-बलात् नित्यं काय-सहगतः, मिथ्यादेशनां मिथ्याविकल्पं चानपेच्य स्वरसेन प्रवर्तते; तस्मादुच्यते सहज इति । त्रयं च द्विधा 12—
- (१) त्राद्यः—निरन्तरसन्तिः त्रष्टमं विज्ञानं त्रालंब्य सप्तमे विज्ञाने (तिष्ठति); उत्पाद्यति (च) खस्मिन् निमित्त, (यच) सद्भूतात्मतया गृह्यते । 14
- (२) द्वितीयः—सान्तर-सन्तितः—सामान्येन पार्थक्येन वा (यद्) विज्ञान-परिणामान पंच उपादानस्कंधान् त्रालम्ब्य, तस्मिन् षष्ठे विज्ञाने (तिष्ठति); उत्पादयति (च) स्वविज्ञाने निमित्तं, (यच) सद्भूतात्म-तया गृह्यते। 15

इमो द्वौ (सहजौ) त्रात्मग्राहौ सूत्त्मत्त्वात् दुश्च्छेद्यौ । चरमे भावना-मार्गेऽभीद्रणं त्रमुत्तर-पुद्गलशून्यता-भावनां भावियत्त्वा, त्रथ छेतुं त्रालम् । 17

२. विकल्पितात्मग्राह: (न केवलं आभ्यन्तरं हेतुं), विद्यमानं बाह्यं श्रिप (हेतु-)प्रत्ययं (आश्रयते); तस्मात् न कायसहगतः । मिथ्या-देशनां मिथ्या-विकल्पं च अपेद्य उत्पन्नस्वात् विकल्पित इति । (अयं) पष्ठे मनोविज्ञान एव भवति । अयमिप द्विधा 20—

- (१) प्रथम*:-—मिध्यादेशना-प्रोक्तान् स्कन्धान् त्रालम्ब्य मनो (विज्ञानं) स्वस्मिन् निभित्तं उत्पादयतिः; (तच्च) विकल्प्यमानं, चिन्त्य-मानं सद्भूतात्मतया गृह्यते । 21
- (२) दितीयः ं मिथ्यादेशनात्रोक्तं आत्मनिमित्तं आलम्ब्य मनो(विज्ञानं) स्वस्मिन् निमित्तं उत्पादयितः; (तच्च) विकल्प्यमानं चिन्त्यमानं सद्भूतात्मतया गृह्यते। 22

इमौ श्रात्मेप्राहौ श्रोदारिकत्त्वात् (=स्थूलत्त्वात्) सुच्छेद्यौ । प्रथम-दर्शन-मार्ग-(लाभ-)काले सर्व-धर्म-पुद्गल-शून्यतायाः तथतां भावयन् तु श्रलम् । 23

ख, एवं उक्ताः सर्व आत्मग्राहाः, स्वचित्तवाद्यान् स्कन्धान् (विज्ञान-परिणामान्) आलम्बन्ते नापि वा (आलंबन्ते); स्वचित्ताभ्यन्तरान् स्कंधान् (तु) सर्व (एव) आलंबन्ते । तस्मात् सर्व आत्मग्राहा अनिन्यान् पंच उपादान-स्कंधान् (विज्ञानस्य) निमित्त(–भागान्) आलम्बन्ते । (ते निमित्तभागा) मिथ्या (एव) आत्मतया गृह्यन्ते । इमे तु (पंच) स्कंध-निमित्त(-भागाः) प्रत्यय-जनिताः, तस्मात् मायावत् विद्यमानाः, मिथ्या विकल्पनया ते मिथ्येव आत्मतया गृह्यन्ते; तस्मात् नेव संति (इति)। अतएव सूत्र उकं—"जानीथ मिन्नवः ! लोकं अमण-ब्राह्मणादीनां (याः) सर्वा आत्मदृष्टयः, सर्वाः (ताः) पंच उपादान-स्कंधान् आलम्ब्य जायन्ते ।" 29

३. विरोध-परिहारः

१. (नतु) आत्मा नास्ति चेत्, कथं उपलभ्यन्ते—स्पृतिः, उपलिधः, अध्ययनं, भावना, उपकृतिः, क्रोध इत्याद्यः ?—नित्त्योऽविपरि-गामो सद्भूत आत्मा गृह्यते चेत् , अनागतेऽपि अतीतवद् भविष्यति अस्य स्वभावः, (तेन अन्तरालोत्पन्नायाः स्मृतेः स्थाने); अतीतेऽपि अनागतवत् न स्यात् अस्य स्वभावस्याभावः, तस्माद्धि अती-तानागतस्वभावयोः न भेदः। (एवं तर्हि क तादृशे आत्मिन स्मृत्यादीनां संभवः) ? 3

^{*} स्कन्धात्मनोरभेदवादे । † स्कन्धात्मनोर्भेदवादे ।

(नतु) श्रात्मनः कारित्रं श्रतीतानागतयोः विपरिवर्तते, न (तु) श्रात्मनः स्वभाव इति चेत्; श्रयं हेतुरिप न युक्तः, कारित्र-स्वभावयोरभे-दात्। स्वभावात् श्रभिन्नं चेत्, (श्रात्मनः) कारित्रं श्रिप नित्त्यं स्यात् (श्रात्मनः स्वभावस्य नित्त्यत्त्वात्); (स्वभावः कारित्रात् श्रभिन्नः चेत्, स्वभावोऽपि) न नित्त्यः स्यात्, (कारित्रस्यानित्यत्त्वात्)। 5

वस्तुतस्तु, सत्त्वानां एकैकस्य (पृथग्) भवति अनुलोम-संतानं मूल(=श्रालय)-विज्ञानम् । (तत्र भवति) सर्वेषां धर्माणां बीजं (=वासना) अन्योन्यकारणम् । वासना-बलाद् (एव) स्मृत्युपलब्ध्या-दीनां वस्तूनां तथा उपलम्भः । तस्माद् अयं उद्भावित आन्तेपो युष्माकं (मते) भवति दोषाय, न (जातु) अस्माकं मते। 8

र. (नतु) सद्भूत आत्मा नास्ति चेत् , कः कर्त्ता कर्मणां कश्ची-पभोक्ता फलानाम् ? 9

सद्भूतस्य आत्मनो प्रह्णेऽपि, आकाशवत् अविपरिणामी (स) कथं (स्यात्) कर्मणां कर्त्तां, फलानां (च) उपभोक्ता ? विपरिणामी चेत् न स्यात् नित्त्यः । 11

वस्तुतस्तु, सत्त्वानां चित्तचैत्ता धर्मा हेतु-प्रत्यय-बलात् निरन्तरं सन्तन्यमानाः कुर्वन्ति कर्माणि, उपभुंजते च फलानि—इति सिद्धान्तोऽ दोषः। 12

३. (नतु) सद्भूत च्यात्मा नास्ति चेत्, कस्तावत् जन्म-मृत्यु (-संसारे) सर्वासु गतिषु पुनरुत्पद्यते ? कः पुनः जुगुप्सते दुःखं, पर्येषते (च) निर्वाणम् ? 14

सद्भृतस्यात्मनो ग्रहणेऽपि, जन्म-मृत्यु-विरहितस्य (तस्य) कथं वाच्यः जन्म-मृत्त्यु (-संसारे) उत्पादः ? त्राकाशवन्नित्त्यो दुःखानुत्पी-डितः कथं जुगुप्सेत, जह्यात् (च दुःखं), पर्येषेत (वा) निर्वाणम् ? तस्मात् तेषां नित्त्यवचनं खयं विप्रतिषिद्धं भवति । 16

वस्तुतस्तु, सजातीय-काय-मनः-सन्तानाः सत्त्वाः क्लेश-कर्म-वशात् संसरंति सर्वासु गतिषुः, दुःखं जुगुष्समानाः (च) निर्वागं गवेषन्ते । 18

उपसंहार:—तस्माद्धि ज्ञायते—(१) न सद्भूत श्रात्माऽस्ति । (२) विज्ञानानि एव सन्ति (तेषु) श्रनादिकालतः पूर्व-विनाश 19 उत्तरो- त्पाद (इति) कार्य-कारण-सन्तिः । (३) (सा एव सन्तिः) मिथ्या (-विकल्प)-वासनात आत्माकारा भासते ; तत्र (च) अज्ञा जना मिथ्येव आत्मश्राहिणः । 20

धर्मग्राहः।

तीर्थिकाः, श्रन्ययानिकाः।

(नतु) कस्मात् न विज्ञानात् पृथग् सद्भूता धर्मा उपलभ्यन्ते ?— यतः अन्यतीर्थिकैः अन्ययानिकैः (चबौद्धैः) च सद्भूततया गृहीता आत्मधर्मा न सन्ति न्यायानुमताः। 22

क. तीर्थिकाः।

(ननु) कस्मात् तीर्थिक-गृहीता (धर्माः) न विद्यन्ते ? 22

१, सांख्याः।

सांख्यानां मते—आत्माऽस्ति चेतनो, भोक्ता (भोग्यानां) सत्त्व-रजस्-तमोभ्यः कृतानां महदादीनां त्रयोविंशतिधर्माणाम् । त्रिगुण-विनिर्मिता अपि महदादयो धर्माः प्रत्यचलभ्यत्त्वात् सद्भूताः, न कल्पिताः । 25

एतन्मतं न न्याय्यं; कस्मात् ?— 25

- (१) महदादयो धर्मा नानावस्तुविनिर्मितत्त्वात् सेनावनादिवत्
 स्युः कल्पिताः, न सद्भूताः ; (श्रथ) कथं प्रत्यत्त-लभ्या (इति) उच्यते ?
 (२) महदादयो धर्माः सद्भूताश्चेत् मृतप्रकृतिवत् न स्युः त्रिभिः (गुणैः) समुदिताः (=विनिर्मिताः)। 28
- २. (१) सत्त्वा-दीनां त्रयाणां महदादि-साम्यत्त्वे महदादिवत् (इमे) त्रयोऽपि स्युः समुद्तिः। (२) विकृतयः (=विपरिणामिनः) श्रपि श्रनित्याः पूर्व-हेतुना। I
- (५) पुनश्च, त्रयाणां मूलपदार्थानां (=गुणानां) एकैको नानाका-रित्रः, (त्रथ तेषां) स्वभावोऽपि स्यात् नाना, कारित्र-स्वभावयोरेकस्वात् । (३) त्रयाणां गुणानां सर्वगत्त्वे एकस्मिन् स्थाने (रूप-)परिवर्तने, स्रविशष्टे-ष्विप तथा स्यात् , (सर्वत्र) स्वभावा-भेदात् । (४) एतेषां त्रयाणां ३ गुणानां



एकैकस्य खभाव-लत्त्रणयोः भेद अभ्युपगम्यते चेत्, कथं परस्पर-समुद्येन एकलत्त्रणस्य (महत) आरम्भः ? न हि स्यात् समुद्य-काले एकलत्त्रणतया परिणामः, असमुद्दितेऽपि खभावस्याभित्रत्त्वात् । (५) उच्येत—त्रयाणां गुणानां खभाव (एव) भिन्नः, लत्त्रणं समानं (इति)—(अथ) स्वभाव-लत्त्रणैकत्त्व-खमत-विरुद्धम् । (६) खभाव-लत्त्रणयोः साम्ये तमः (सत्त्वरजोभ्यांच) समानं स्यात्। खभाव-लत्त्रणयोः साम्ये (त्रयोऽपि गुणाः) स्फुटं त्रिविधाः, तस्मात् न वाच्यं—त्रयाणां समुद्यात् एको भवति (इति) 7

३. पुनश्च—(१). त्रयः (गुगाः) सन्ति विशेषः, महदादीनि (त्रिगुर्णपरिस्मानत् च) सन्ति सामान्यं; (अथ गुर्सानां महदादीनां चैक-त्त्वात् स्यात्) सामान्य-विशेषयोरेकत्त्वं, तस्मात् नाऽस्ति त्रयाणां एकत्त्वम्। (२) इमे त्रयो (गुणाः) परिणामकाले संगम्य न चेत् एक-लत्तरणारम्भकाः, (अथ) अपरिणता इव स्युः; कथं एतिह दृश्येत-अस्ति एक (-समो) वर्णादिः ? (३) त्रयः संगता एकलज्ञाणा भवन्ति चेत्, अथ परिहीयेत (तेषां) पूर्वतनो विशेषाकारः; (एवंच) स्यात् स्वभावस्यापि परिहािणः। (४) न च वाच्यं—त्रयाणां (गुणानां) एकैकस्य भवति लच्चणद्वयं—एकं सामान्यं, द्वितीयं विशेषः (महदादि-सामान्य-धर्माणां विशेष-भूत-त्रिगुण विपरिणामत्त्वात्); सामान्यं ऋस्ति विशेषः, ऋथ सामान्ये(-धर्मा) श्रपि (गुणैरिव) स्युः त्रि(-तत्त्त्त्णाः), कथं तर्हि दृश्येरन् एक(-तत्त्त्त्णाः) ? (५) उच्येत-एकैको (गुणो) भवति त्रिलच्तणः, व्यतिमिश्रणात् दुर्झेयः, तस्मात् दृश्यत एक(-लन्न्गः:)।—(क) त्रिलन्न्गाञ्चेत् कथं दृश्येत एक-(-लत्तरा:) १ (स) कथं च विज्ञेयं—त्रयो गुणा भिन्ना (इति) १ (ग). तेषां एकैकस्मिन त्रीरयपि लक्त्यानि परिपूर्णानि चेत् , एकैकोऽपि गुग् श्रारम्भकः स्यात् रूपादीनां, (श्रथ) किं प्रयोजनं त्रयाणां संयोगस्य ? (घ) (तथा च सति) एकैकस्याऽपि (गुग्गस्य) स्वभावः स्यात् त्रि-(विघः), स्वभाव-लत्त्रणयोरभेदात्। (ङ) त्रि(-गुण-)संगता (श्रथ) महदादयो धर्माञ्च न स्युः मिथो भिन्नाः। 17

एवमथ कारण(=महद्)-कार्य (=ग्रहंकार)-(पंच) तन्मात्रा-(पंचमहा)भूत-(दशे-)-िन्द्रयाणां भेदोऽसिद्धः । तथा सति, एकं इन्द्रियं उपगृह्णीयात् सर्वोन् विषयान्, सर्वे विषयाश्च सर्वेरिन्द्रियैः गृह्णोरन । (एवं च) लोके प्रत्यज्ञतो दृश्यमानानि सन्त्वाऽसन्त्व-शुद्धाऽशुद्धानि 25 वस्तुनि प्रत्यज्ञाऽनुमानादोनि (च) सर्वाणि स्युरभिन्नानि; श्रथ स्यान्महान् दोषः । 21 तस्मात् तैः (सांख्यैः) गृहीताः सद्भूता धर्मा श्रसिद्धाः, केवलं मिथ्याकल्पनाविजृम्भिताः । 22

२-वैशेषिकाः

वैशेषिका मन्यन्ते—द्रव्यादयो नाना पदार्थाः सत्स्वभावाः प्रत्यज्ञ-प्राह्याः । 23

तेषां मतं न न्याय्यं, कस्मात् ? 23

१. पदार्थ-निरासः ।

क. ये हि नित्त्या ध्रुवाः पदार्थाः, (ते) चेत कार्ये उत्पादयंति, (श्रथ) न स्युः नित्त्याः, सिक्रयत्वात्, तज्जन्यकार्यवत् । श्रथ (चेत्) न उत्पादयन्ति कार्ये, न स्युः विज्ञानात्त्रथग् सत्स्वभावाः, शशश्रुंगादिवत् (क्रिया-भिन्न-तदुपलम्भ-साधना-ऽभावात्)। 26

स. ये (पदार्थाः) त्रानित्त्याः, ते चेत् सावरणाः, त्रथ साकाशाः, (एवं च) स्युर्विभाज्याः, सेनावनादिवतः, न सत्स्वभावाः। न चेत् सावरणाः, (त्रथ) चित्त-चैत्तवत् न स्युः तेभ्यः (चित्त-चैत्तभ्यः) भिन्नाः सत्स्वभावाः। 28

२. द्रव्य-गुग्ग्-निरासः।

पुनश्च तैः मताः पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायवः न सावरणद्रव्य-पदार्थेषु परित्राह्माः, कायेन्द्रियेण स्प्रष्टव्यत्त्वात्, खर-स्नेहो-ष्णता-गति-(गुण)वत्। ा

किंच तैर्मताः --खर-स्तेहो-ष्णतादयो न अनावरण-गुण-पदार्थेषु परिप्राह्याः, कार्येन्द्रियेण स्प्रष्टव्यन्वात् , पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायुवत् । 3

पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजसां (श्रपि) चजुर्द्धश्यैः नीलवर्णा-दिभिः सह संबन्धे स एव दोषो युज्यते । 4

तस्मात् ज्ञायते—न पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायवः खर-स्तेहाऽऽद्भ्यः पृथक् सत्स्वभावाः ; न (च) चत्तुः पश्यति (खराद्भ्यो भिन्नानि) सद्भूतानि पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजांसि । 5

३. पदार्थ-सामान्य-खंडनम् ।

पुनश्च तेषां नये—द्रव्यपदार्थेषु (ये) सावरणा नित्याः; ते सावरणत्त्वात् स्थूलपृथिव्यादिवत् न स्युः नित्त्याः। 7

पदार्थेषु (पंच-)भौतिकेन्द्रिय-प्राह्या (ये) स्रानावरणा धर्माः; (ते) स्युः सावरणाः, भौतिकेन्द्रियप्राह्यत्त्वात्, पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायुवत्। 9

पुनश्च तैर्मता ऋद्रव्या गुणादयो न स्युः विज्ञानाद् भिन्नाः पृथक् स्वभावाः, द्रव्या-ऽपरिगृहीतत्त्वात् बन्ध्यापुत्रवत् । द्रव्यादयः सत्ताभिन्नाः न स्युः विज्ञानाद् भिन्नाः पृथक्-स्वभावाः, सत्ताऽपरिगृहीतत्त्वात्; खपुष्पादिवत् । 12

४. महासत्ता-पदार्थ-सामान्यादि-निराप्तः ।

(क). तैर्मतं सामान्यं न द्रव्यादिभ्यो भिन्न-सत्ताकं, अभावत्त्वात्, द्रव्यगुणादिवत्। द्रव्यादिभ्योऽभिन्नं चेत् नाऽभ्युपेयं सामान्यं, द्रव्यादिभान्नात् अत्यन्ताभावादिवत्। अन्यसामान्यं विनाऽपि सामान्यं अनभाव(स्वरूपं) चेत्, कर्थं (तिर्हि) द्रव्यादीनां स्यात् स्वसत्तार्थं पृथक्-सामान्यं (अपेन्तितम्) विद्यमान-धर्माद् अपि भिन्नं पृथग् असामान्यं (अपेन्तितं) स्यात्। न चेदेवं कथं तत् तथा १ 17

तस्मात् तेषां सामान्य-पदार्थो मिथ्याकल्पनामात्रम् । 18

(ख). विशेष: 1

पुनश्च तेषां मते द्रव्यत्त्वं गुण्यत्वं कर्मत्त्वं (चेति विशेषाः) द्रव्य-गुणकर्मभ्यः पृथक्। नहि तन्न्याय्यं—अन्यथा इदं (द्रव्यत्त्वं) अपि न (द्रव्यत्त्वं), द्रव्य-गुण्-कर्मा-दीनां द्रव्य(त्त्वा)दिभिन्नत्त्वात्, गुण्-कर्मादिवत्। 20

पुनश्च, द्रव्याद्यो न द्रव्यादिपरिगृहीताः, द्रव्यादिभिन्नस्य द्रव्यक्त्वादेरभावात्, गुणकर्मवत् । एवं द्रव्यादीनां, पृथिवीक्त्वादीनां पृथिव्यादीनां (च) मिथः संबंधे (ऽपि) प्रश्ना विज्ञेयाः। न चेत् द्रव्यक्त्वाद्योऽपि न स्युः पृथक् द्रव्यक्त्वादिभ्यः 123 द्रव्यादिभ्यः पृथक् द्रव्यस्वादयः सन्ति चेत्, श्रद्रव्यस्वादयो (ऽपि) श्रद्रव्यादिभ्यः पृथक् स्युः। तच्चेत् नैवं, इदं (श्रपि) कथं तथा ? तस्माद् विशेषः मिध्याकल्पनामात्रम्। 26

(ग). समवायः ।

पुनश्च तेषां मते (श्रस्ति) समवायः पदार्थः । (स च) नैव सद्भूतः (=पदार्थः) श्रसामान्यत्वात् , द्रव्यादि-सर्व-धर्माऽपरिगृही-तत्त्वात् , श्रत्यन्ताऽभाववत् । 27

तेषां मते—द्रव्याद्यः प्रत्यस्त्रप्राह्याः । (ते) तु हेतुभिः परीचिता न सङ्ग्ताः । स्वयं च अभ्युपयंति ते—समवायः पदार्थो न प्रत्यस्त्रप्रह्य (इति)। सद्भृतः स्याच्चेत् प्रत्यस्विषयत्वेन समवायस्योपलम्भः स्यात् । तस्माद् अपि पूर्वहेतुभिः न सद्भृतः । 29

वस्तुतस्तु, तेषां द्रव्याद्यः (पदार्थाः) न श्रभ्युपेया विज्ञानात् पृथग् सत्त्वभावाः प्रत्यचप्राद्याः, ज्ञेयत्त्वात् (ज्ञेयानां चित्तान्तर्गत्त्वात्), कूर्मलोमादिवत् । 3

पुनश्च, द्रव्यालंबनं ज्ञानं, विज्ञानात् पृथक् द्रव्यपदार्थ-स्वभावा-लम्बिनि प्रत्यच्ञाने न परिगृहीतव्यं, मिश्रितहेतूत्पन्नस्वात्, गुणादि-प्रत्यच्चवत्। विस्तारवचने तावत्—समवायालम्बनं ज्ञानं न विज्ञानात् पृथक्, समवाय-स्वभावालम्बिनि प्रत्यच्चज्ञाने परिगृहीतात् मिश्रितहेतोरु-त्पन्नत्वात्, द्रव्यादि-ज्ञानवत्। 6

तस्मात् वैशेषिकानां ऋषि द्रव्यादयः पदार्थाः संति मिथ्याकल्पना-विजृंभिताः । ७

३, माहेश्वराः

भवित मतं—श्रस्ति एको महादेवो देवः, सत्स्वभावः, विभुः, नित्यः, धर्माणां उत्पादकः। तन्मतं न समंजसम्। कस्मात् १ धर्माणां उत्पादक-श्चेत् न स्यात् नित्त्यः (यथा पृथिवी जलं वा); ये हि श्रनित्त्या न ते विभवः (यथा घटः); ये हि न विभवः न ते सत्स्वभावाः (यथा पात्रम्)। 10

(महेरवरः) नित्त्यो विभुः सर्वशक्तिमांश्चेत्; सर्वत्र सर्वेदा युगपद् उत्पादयेत् सर्वान् धर्मान् । इच्छां प्रत्ययं वा ऋषेद्य रचयति (इति) चेत्, कारणैकत्त्वमतं जातु व्याहन्येत । ऋथवा इच्छा-प्रत्ययाविष युगपद् उत्पद्येतां, कारणस्य (महेश्वरस्य) नित्त्यं विद्यमानत्त्वात् । 12

४, ज्रन्ये सप्ततीर्थिकाः

अन्ये मन्यन्ते—अस्ति एको महाबद्धा, कालः, दिक्, पूर्वकोटिः, स्वभावः, आकाशं, आत्मादिः (वा), नित्त्यो ध्रुवः सर्वशिक्तमान् सर्व-धर्मात्पादकः। ते (ऽपि) सर्वे तद् (=माहेश्वरमतं) इव निरस्याः। 14

५. द्वी शब्दवादी

संति एके विभुत्त्वप्राहिणः (मीमांसकाः)—नित्त्यो वेद-शब्दः शक्यो भवितुं धर्माणां विधायकः प्रकाशकः (चेति)। 15

श्रस्ति (वैयाकरणानां) मतं—नित्याः शब्दाः प्रत्ययापेचया श्रम्भव्यज्य, उत्पद्य व्यक्तीभवन्ति । 16

उभयं अन्याय्यम् । कस्मात् ? वेदशब्दो व्यंग्योऽभ्युपेतः चेत्, व्यंग्यत्त्वात् न स्याद् नित्त्यो ध्रुवः, अन्यशब्दवत् । अन्ये शब्दा अपि न नित्त्या भवंति, शब्दस्वभावानां घटपटादिवत् अन्यशत्ययापेत्तत्त्वात् । 19

६, लोकायताः

श्रस्ति तीर्थिक-मतं—सद्भूता नित्त्याः पृथिव्य-ऽप्-तेजो-वायु-परमाणवः सृजन्ति स्थूलं रूपम्। (तच) सृष्टं स्थूलं रूपं कारण-परिमाणाऽनिधिकं, श्रनित्यमपि सद्भूतम्। 21

तद्प्ययुक्तम् । कस्मात् ? 21-

क, परमाणवः—(१) सिद्ग्विभागा (=सिच्छिद्राः =साकाशाः) अभ्युपेताश्चेत्, पिपीलिका-पंक्त्यादिवत् न स्युः सत्स्वभावाः; (२) विगत-दिग्वभागाश्चेत् चित्त-चैत्तवत् (मिथः) संयोगेन स्थूलकार्यरूपाणां न स्युः जनियतारः; (३) कार्याणां उत्पादियतारश्चेत् (इमेऽपि) तदुत्पन्न(कार्य)वत् (स्युः)। कथं (तिहं) उच्येत—परमाणवो नित्त्या ध्रुवा (इति)। 24

ख. १. पुनश्च—न (चेत्) तदुत्पन्नं कार्यं कारणपरिमाणाधिकं, परमाणुवत् नाम न (स्यात्) स्थूलं रूपं; अथ न स्यादिदं कार्यं रूपं चज्ज-रादिभौतिकेन्द्रियप्राह्यम्। तच स्वाऽभ्युपगमविरुद्धम्। २७

२. (वेशेषिकै:) कार्यं रूपं परिमाण्गुणेन समवेतं अस्थूलं अपि स्थूलवत् भौतिकेन्द्रिय-प्राह्यं उच्यते चेत्; 28 स्थूलं कार्य-रूपं कारण- परिमागा-समत्त्वात्, न स्यात् स्थूल्(ता)-गुण-समवेतं; परमागा-वोऽपि वा स्थूल्(ता)-गुग्ग-समवेताः(स्युः), स्थूलकार्यरूपवत्, स्रवकाशाऽभेदात्। 29

- ३. (वैशेषिकै: लोकायतैश्च) उच्येत चेत्—कार्यं रूपं तिष्ठति कृत्क्षशः स्वकारणे स्थितं, कारणानेकत्त्वात् स्थूलं इति ।—तिहं अस्य कार्य-रूपस्य स्वभावो(ऽपि) स्याद् अनेकः, स्वाधिकरण(कारण) वत्, कारणदेशानां मिथो भेदात् । कार्य(-रूपं) एवं (अनेकं) चेत्, निह भवेत् स्थूलं; अतो न भौतिकेन्द्रियप्राह्मम्। 3
- ४. नानाकार्यावयवाः संहताः स्थूलं (रूपं इति) उच्यते चेत्, नाना परमाणवो(ऽपि) संहता न स्यः सूक्ताः, (तिह्) (चत्तुरादि-) इन्द्रिय-प्राह्याः सम्पद्यरेत् । (अथ) किं प्रयोजनं कार्यस्य (कल्पनया) ? नानावयवसंपन्नाश्चेत् न स्यः सद्भूताः । अथ (एवं) युष्माकं मतं मिथः पूर्वाऽपर-विरुद्धं (अपि भवति) । 6

५. पुनश्च, कार्य कारणं च उमे सावरणे,—(श्रथ) न स्यातां समानाधिकरणे, यथा परमागुद्धयम् । ७

चेदुच्येत—अन्योऽन्यधारण-व्यापनं कार्य-कारणयोः स्वभावः, यथा सिकता धारयति जलं, रसायनं व्याप्नोति द्वृतं ताम्नं (इति)।—कः श्रद्धत्ते—सिकता ताम्नपिंडो (वा) धारयति जलं रसायनं (वेति)। व्याप्येन परिवर्त्यते (चेत्) न (स्याद्) एकं, न (च) नित्यम्। 9

६. स्थूलं—रूपकार्थं स्वभावत एकं अस्ति चेत्, एकभागो-पलव्धिकाले सर्वं उपलब्धं स्थात, तथोः (उपलब्धानुपलब्धभागयोः) एकत्त्वात्। तस्माद् इदं (अपि) तद्धद् (एव)। अस्वीकारे न्यायविरोधः, स्वोकारेऽथ वस्तुविरोधः। 12

तस्मात् तन्मतं परीच्चयाऽसिद्धं मिथ्याकल्पनाऽनुकल्पितम् । 13

९, सामान्येन निरासः।

नानाविधा त्रापि तीर्थिकाः, तेषां (सर्वेषां) धर्मसद्भाव-दृष्टयः न चतुराधिकाः। 14

१. प्रथमे मते—सद्भूता धर्माः सत्तादि-स्वभावाश्च । (त्रथ) तेषां स्वभावा (त्रपि) समानाः स्युः, यथा सांख्यादीनाम् । 15 तन्मतं न समंजसम् । कस्मान्न ?-सर्वे धर्माः समानाः सत्तास्वभावत्त्वात् ; यथा सर्वे सत्तास्वभावा श्रमिन्नाः। 16

श्रथ (स्वमत-)विरुद्धं, त्रयाणां गुणानां श्रात्मादीनां (च) स्वभावभेद(-स्वीकारात्)। लोकमपि विरुणिद्धि, सर्वेषां धर्माणां भेद (-दरानात्)। पुनः, रूपादिस्वभावेषु रूपादयः समानाः चेद्, रूपादिषु न स्यात् नीलपीतभेदः। 18

२. द्वितीये मते-सद्भूता धर्माः सत्तादिस्वभावाः च, स्वभावे भिन्नाः; यथा वैशेषिकादीनाम्। 19-

तन्मतं न समंजसम्। कस्मात्र ? सर्वे धर्माः त्रसत्तास्वभावाः, तस्मात् प्रध्वंसाभावस्वभाववद् अप्राह्याः । अथ द्रव्यादि-स्वभावान् अनभाववतो विरुध्यति; विरुध्यति च प्रत्यत्तं वस्तुसत्तादर्शिनं लोकं। यदि च (नीलपीत-)रूपादयो न सन्ति रूपादिस्वभावाः, (तिहै) शब्दादिवत् न (स्यः) चत्तुरादिविषयाः। 23

३. रुतीये मते—सद्भृता धर्माः सत्तादिधर्मैः समाना भिन्नाश्चापि यथा निर्यन्थादीनाम् 24-

तन्मतं न समंजसम्। कस्मान्न ? 24-

(१) भिन्नाऽभिन्न(-मतेऽपि) पूर्ववत् (=सांख्य-वैशेषिक-मतवत् विज्ञेये,) भिन्नाऽभिन्नयोदोषभावात्।(२) श्रास्ति द्वयं लच्चाएं (सुख-दुःखवत्) इतरेतर-विरुद्धस्वभावं, भिन्नत्त्वात् । (३) भिन्नाऽभिन्नस्वभावौ न एकस्मिन् ; उभयोरेकस्मिन् श्रसिद्धत्त्वात् । 26

सर्वे धर्माः समाना एकस्वभावा वा भविष्यंति, (विरुद्धानां धर्माणां ऋषि समत्त्व=एकत्त्व-स्वीकारात्)। भिन्नाऽभिन्न(-मतं हि) कल्पना(मात्रं) न सङ्कृतं; न्यायासिद्धं (अपि एतद्) सत्याभासं गृहीतम् 27

४. चतुर्थे मते—सङ्कृता धर्माः सामान्यादिस्वभावाश्च "न भिन्ना न (च) त्रभिन्नाः" यथाऽऽजीवकादीनाम् 28-

तन्मतं न युक्तं; कस्मान्न ?—(१) नाऽभिन्ननभिन्न-मतस्य मिन्नाऽभिन्नेन सादृश्यात् । (२) नाभिन्न-नभिन्न-कथनं (किं) ऋस्ति प्रतिषेधः स्वीकारो वा ? केवळं स्वीकारोऽस्ति चेत् 2,

J.B.O.R.S.]

न स्यात् द्विः प्रतिषेधः । केवलं प्रतिषेधः ऋस्ति चेद्, वाद् (=प्रतिज्ञा)।भावः । स्वीकारोऽपि प्रतिषेधोऽपि (इति हु) इतरेतरिवरुद्धः ।
न स्वीकारो न (ऋषि) प्रतिषेधः (चेत्), वित्रण्डावादो भवेत् । पुनश्च
"नाभिन्न-नभिन्न" (-वादः) लोक-विरुद्धः । सर्वे जानन्ति—सन्तीह भिन्नान्यभिन्नानि वस्तूनि (यथा नोलं पीताद्भिन्ननं नोलाद्भिन्नम्) । रूपाद्यः
सद्भूता थर्माः सत्त्यं एव विद्यन्त इति स्वमतविरुद्धं द्यपि । तस्मात्
तन्मतं केवलं दोषपरिहारे (ऽसफलप्रयन्नमात्रं) प्राज्ञजनैर्नाऽभिमतम् । 6

ख. अन्ययानिकाः

श्रन्य(=हीन)-यानिका मन्यन्ते—सन्ति विज्ञानात् (=चित्त-चैतेभ्यः) पृथक् रूपादयः (=रूपं, विष्ठयुक्ताः, श्रसंस्कृताः) (इति तन्न-न्याय्यम्)। कस्मात् ?—न विद्यन्ते तैरिभमतानि रूपाणि, विष्ठयुक्ताः संस्कृताः, श्रसंकृताश्च, हेत्त्वभावात् । 8

१, रूपम्।

ते हि मन्यन्ते—रूपं द्विधा भवति। (१) प्रथमं सप्रतिषं रूपं परमासुमयं (चन्नुरादीनि आद्यानि दश आयतनानि); (२) द्वितीयं "अप्रतिषं "रूपं अपरमासुमयं (धर्मायतनैकभागः, ग्रिमधर्म-कोश १।२९)।—(भौतिकं अभौतिकं रूपम्)। 10

(१) सप्रतिवं रूपम्।

तेषां, सप्रतिषं रूपं नहि सद्भूतं, आरंभकपरमारण्नां असद्भूत-त्वात्। 11

- १. श्राह—परमाणवः सावरणाः (=सपरिमाणाः) चेत् , घटा-दिवत् स्युः मिथ्याः, न सद्भूताः। श्रनावरणाश्चेत्, श्ररूपकल्पाः कथं संहत्त्य श्रारभेरन् घटपटादीन् १ 13
- २. चेत्, (सौत्रांतिकानां मते यथा परमाणवः) साकाशाः(=दिग्देशिवभक्ताः) (त्रथ) संति विभाज्याः, तस्मात् न सङ्कृताः। (सर्वास्तिवादिनां इव)न साकाशा (=दिग्देशाविभक्ताः) चेत् 14—
- (क) कथं (ते) अरूपिणोऽपि संहताः प्रकाशं लभन्ते, उत्पाद-यन्ति (च) छायाम् १ सूर्यस्योदये स्तम्भादि (संघातरूपं यदा) प्रकाशते, 15

तदा (तस्य) पूर्वपश्चिमभागयोः एकैको (भागो) विद्योतितोऽन्धकारितश्च दृश्यते । प्रकाशप्राहकं तमउत्पादकं (चेति द्वयं) स्थानं नहि (संभवति) समानं, तस्मात् परमाणवः साकाशा (=दिग्देशविभक्ताः) अभ्युपेयाः । 17

- (स) यदा च (वयं) कुड्यादीनि वस्तूनि पश्यामः स्पृशामो (वा), तदा केवलं द्यवरं पार्श्वं उपलभामहे, न (तु) परं पार्श्वम्; संहतं वस्तु, (तदारम्मक-)सर्व-परमाग्गु-तुल्यं (भवति)। तस्माद् इमे परमाग्गवः स्युः साकाशाः। 19
- (ग) पुनश्च, परमागुषु तिस्थितिस्थानानुसारं हि भवन्ति ऊर्ध्वा-ऽधर(-पूर्व-दिज्ञिण-पश्चिमोत्तरेति-)चतुर्दिग्भेदाः, अन्यथा मिथः संहता न विद्योतिताः स्युः। 21
- (प्राचीनसर्वास्तिवाद-मते*) (घ) (श्रन्योऽन्य-)व्याप्ता वा न स्युः स्थूलाः, तस्माद्धि परमाणवः साकाशाः । 22
- (ङ) यदि मन्यते—परमाग्णुभिः तुल्यं सप्रतिघं रूपं अनाकाशं (=अदिग्देशविभक्तं) (अस्ति), (अथ) न स्यात् प्रतिघातविभक्तं (=सप्रतिघं); एवं चेत् न तर्हि सावरणं सप्रतिघं (वा)। 23

तस्माद् भवन्मते परमाणवः त्रवश्यं साकाशाः (=िद्ग्देशविभक्ताः); साकाशत्त्वात् विभाज्याः, (त्रथ) नूनं न सङ्गूताः । 25

तस्मात् सप्रतिघं सङ्गृतं रूपं श्रासिद्धम् । 25

(२) विज्ञानस्य श्राश्रय श्रालम्बनं च

(चन्नुरादीनां) पंचानां विज्ञानानां कि न आश्रय (=रूपीणि इन्द्रियाणि), विषयो (=रूपिणो बाह्या अर्था) वा (इन्द्रियं अर्थश्चेति उभयं) संस्कृतं रूपम् ? 26

न जातु रूपस्याभाव (इति ब्रूमः), विज्ञानविपरिग्णामस्तु तद् । उच्यते—(श्रष्टमं) विज्ञानं उत्पादकाल श्राभ्यन्तरहेतु-प्रत्यय(=इन्द्रिय-बीजा-ऽर्थ)-बलेन विपरिग्णम्य, चन्नुराद्याकारेग्ण (=निमित्तेन) 28 रूपाद्या-

नव्यसर्वास्तिवादमतं आचार्यसंघभद्रस्य । प्राचीनं विभाषायाः ।

कारेण (=निमित्तेन वा) जायते; तत्र विपरिणामः (पंचानां विज्ञानानां भवति) श्रालम्बन-प्रत्ययः । 28

(क)-आश्रयः

चजुरादीन्द्रियं विज्ञानोत्पादन-क्रियाऽनुमेयं नतु प्रत्यच्नप्राह्यम्, न भवति सद्भूतं। इदं (इन्द्रियं) राक्ति-मात्रं, न बाह्य(- भूत-)निर्मितं बाह्यं (वस्तु)। सप्रतिष्यं रूपं पूर्वोक्तहेतुभिरसिद्धं; तस्मात् सन्ति केवलं आभ्यन्तर-विज्ञान-परिग्णामतः प्रादुर्भूतानि=उत्पन्नानि चज्जु(विज्ञाना)दीनि (पंच) विज्ञानानि, चज्जरादीनि (पंच) इन्द्रियाणि (इति) दश आयतनानि। इमानि (चज्जरादीनि इन्द्रियाणि) आलम्ब्य चज्जविज्ञानादीनि उत्पद्यन्ते। 3

(ख) यालम्बनम्

चजुरादि-विज्ञान-बाह्य श्रालम्बनप्रत्ययः (श्रस्योत्यत्र) नास्ति हेतुः, तस्माद्धि श्रभ्युपेयं—स्वस्वविज्ञान-परिणामः (=निमित्तभागः) श्रस्ति श्रालम्बनप्रत्यय (इति)। 5

- (क) (त्रालम्बन-प्रत्यय-लज्ञण्म्)—(सम्मितीय-भिन्नाः सर्वे एव होनयानिका) त्राहुः—युष्माकं मते च स्वाभासस्य विज्ञानस्य योऽमौ जनको भवति त्रालम्बन-प्रत्त्ययः, (स तु) न कारणत्त्वमात्रेण त्र्प्रपितु हेत्वादि(-समनन्तरा—ऽधिपति -) प्रत्त्ययेभ्यः (भवति, यथा इन्द्रि-यस्य त्रालम्बन-प्रत्त्ययता)। 6
- (स) (सौत्रान्तिक-मतम्)—श्रापि नाम श्रयं हि विज्ञानस्य श्रालं-बनप्रत्ययः । (यदा) चज्जुरादीनि पंच विज्ञानानि रूपादीनि उपगृह्णन्ति, तदा संघातमात्रं श्रालम्बन्ते तदाकार-सादृश्यात् ; न (तु) संहताकारान् भिन्नान् सत्स्वभावान् परमार्ग्ण्न् इति—(;तन्न), तस्य (संघातस्य) विभाग-काले तदाकार-विज्ञानस्यैव श्रनुत्पादात् । न चेद् एतेषां (परमार्ग्ण्नां) संघाताकाराः सङ्ग्लाः, श्रथं न वाच्यं—(संघाताः) सन्ति पंचानां विज्ञानानां (श्रालम्बन-)प्रत्यय (इति); नहि (भवन्ति श्रसङ्ग्ला) द्वितीय-चन्द्रादयः निर्वर्त्तकाः पंचानां विज्ञानानाम् । 11
 - (ग) (सर्वास्तिवाद-मतम्)।(१) प्राचीनसर्वास्तिवाद

(=विभाषा)-मते—परमाणवो मिथः संहतायां श्रवस्थायां पंचानां विज्ञानानां एकैकस्य श्रालम्बन(-प्रत्यया) भवन्ति—(तन्न,) तस्मिन् विज्ञाने हि न (श्राभासते) परमण्वाकारः । न (च) परमाणवो भवन्ति संहताकाराः, श्रसंहतकालेऽतदाकारत्त्वात् । संहतावस्थायां श्रसंहतावस्थायां च नहि एतेषां परमाण्यां भिन्नाकारता भवतिः तस्मात् संहतावस्थायां (श्राप) श्रसंहतकालवद् रूपादिपरमाणवो न पंचानां विज्ञानानां विषयाः (=श्रालम्बन-प्रत्ययाः) । 16

(२) केचित् (नव-सर्वास्तिवादिन: संघमद्रपुरोगा:) मन्यन्ते— रूपादीनां एकैके परमाणवः श्रसंहतकाले न पंचानां विज्ञानानां विषयाः; संहतावस्थायां (तु) श्रन्योन्यसाहाय्येन स्थूलाकारातामापन्नाः तेषां विज्ञानानां विषया भवन्ति । स (च स्थूला-) ऽऽकारः सद्भूतः, (तस्माद्) श्रस्ति श्रालम्बन (-प्रत्यय इति) । 18—

तन्न एवं मंतव्यं—(१) (उभयोः) संहताऽसंहतावस्थयोः (परमाग्रु-)स्वभावाकारयोरेकत्त्वात्। (२) (येषां) घट-कपालादि-वस्तूनां परमाग्रवः समानाः; अथ तेषां आकारश्राहकं विज्ञानं अपि मिथोऽभिन्नं स्यात्।(३) संहतावस्थायां हि एकैके परमाग्रावो हास्यंति (स्वा-)ऽग्रुत्त्व-पारिमाण्डल्य-स्वभावम्।(४) स्थूलाकार-प्राहकं विज्ञानं निह (आलम्बेत) सूद्रमाकारं विषयं, अन्यालम्बनविज्ञानानां अन्यालम्बनाऽनुपप्रहात्; (यथाहि शब्दालम्बनं श्रोत्रविज्ञानं नोपगृह्णाति रूपं आलम्बनम्)।(५)(इत) एकं विज्ञानं (युगपद्) आलम्बेत सर्वान् विषयान्। 23

परमाण्नां सद्भावस्य स्वीकारे, इमेऽन्ये च दोषा श्रापतिनत, श्रतो विज्ञानात् पृथक् न सद्भृताः परमाण्वः । तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—रूपा-द्याकारसदृशः स्व-विज्ञान-परिणाम श्रालम्बन-प्रत्ययो भवति । 25

(परमाणी सिद्धान्तपद्म:)। मन्यते—तद् (=विज्ञानं) तदालम्ब्य उत्पन्नं हि तिन्निमित्तं धत्ते। वस्तुतो विज्ञानं विपरिणामकाले महद्णु-निमित्तानुसारं युगपद् एकाकारं उत्पद्यते; न (तु) अयुगपद् (परमाणु-रूपेण प्रथमं) विपरिणम्य, (ततः) नाना-परमाणु-संघातनिर्वर्तितं एकं (स्थूलं) वस्तु (जायते)। 27

ये हि मन्यंते—स्थूलं रूपं श्रस्ति सत्स्वभावं इत्यादि। (तान् प्रति) वुद्धेनोक्तं—संति परमाणवः (इति। तच्) तान् विभन्य (स्थूलरूपस्या-सद्भावतां प्रदर्शयितुम्)। न (च) डक्तं—रूपाणि संति सद्भूताः परमाणव (एवेति)। 29

योगाचार्यै: कल्पनाप्रज्ञाबलेन तत्र स्थूल-रूपाकारः क्रमशः (तावद्) विभन्यते, यावत् अविभाज्यं (जायते; तदेव) कल्पनया उच्यते परमागुः (इति)। साकाशः सन्नपि अयं परमागुरिस्त अविभाज्यः । भूयो विभजनेऽथायं आकाशवद् भासेत, न (च तद्) रूपं उच्येत। तस्मादु-च्यते—परमागुरिस्त रूपाविधः। 3

तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—सर्वे सप्रतिघं रूपं विज्ञानपरिणाम न (तु) परमाणु(-मयम्)। 4

(२) अप्रतिषं रूपम्

रोषं अप्रतिघं रूपं (अपि) तत् (=सप्रतिघ)-रूप-सादृरयात्, न सद्भृतं; अथवा अप्रतिघत्वात् चित्त-चैत्तवत् (इदं) रूपाकार-सदृशं अपि वस्तुतो न रूपम् । सप्रतिघं रूपं (अपि) उक्त-हेतुभिः परीक्त्णे न तावद् विज्ञानात् पृथक् । अप्रतिघं रूपं (तु) न रूपाकारं दृश्यते; अथ (कथं) सद्भृतं उच्येत ? 8

(क) (सर्वास्तिवादिनां मते—) रूप-धर्माः (सन्ति) द्विधा— विज्ञप्तिः, अविज्ञप्तिः (चेति)*। रूपं न सद्भूतं न (च) इमे सद्भूते। कस्मात् १ 9—

१. कायविज्ञप्ति-रूपं सङ्कृतं श्रस्ति चेत् किंस्वभावं तर्हि ?— (क) (सर्वास्तिवादिन) चेद् श्राहु:—श्रस्ति संखानं (इति); श्रथ न (तत्) सङ्कृतं, विभाज्यत्त्वात्। दोर्घत्त्वादीनां परमाणौ श्रनभ्युपगमात् (न सम्भवति रूप-संखानम्)। 111

(ख) यच (सम्मितीया:, वात्सीपुत्रीयाश्च) श्राहु:—(काय-

^{*} विज्ञप्ति-रूपं हि दिधा कायविज्ञप्तिः, वाग्विज्ञप्तिश्चः; अविज्ञप्तिरूपं च काय-वाक्कर्मणी (अभिधर्मकोशः ४।१-३)।

विज्ञप्ति-रूपं) श्रास्ति गतिः (इति)। तथापि न सङ्कृतं,(यत्)सद्य उत्पद्य निरुध्यते (तद्) गत्यर्थे न हेतुः; संस्कृता धर्मा हि हेन्वनपेत्ताः निरुध्यन्ते । हेत्वपेत्तो निरोधश्चेत्, नहि स्यात् निरोधः। 13

(ग) चेत् (दाष्टीन्तिका") श्राहु:—यद् रूपं वर्णविरहितं संस्थानविरहितं चित्तनिर्वृत्तं हस्तादीनां गतिकारकं च; (तद्) उच्यते कायिवज्ञप्ति कर्म । 14

तद्प्ययुक्तम्। गतिरस्ति चेत् (तद्) पूर्व (-दत्त-)हेतुभिः प्रतिषिद्धम्। गतिहेतुरस्ति चेत् तुल्यं स्यात् वायुधातुनाः वायुः (हि) न विज्ञापयिति, (तस्मात्) न वक्तव्या विज्ञितिः। स्प्रष्टव्यं पुनः कुशलाऽक्तशल-स्वभावयोरपरिगृहीतं (श्रतः) न (विज्ञिप्तिकर्मे)। वर्ण-गंध-रसाद्यो (ऽपि) स्प्रष्टव्यवद् विज्ञेयाः। 17

तसात् कायविज्ञप्ति कर्म नैव सङ्कृतम्। 18

- (ङ) (सिद्धान्तपद्मः)। वस्तुतस्तु चित्तहेतुतया निरन्तरं गतिमदिव विज्ञान-विपरिणामं रूपं हस्ताद्याकारं उत्पद्यते निरुध्यते (च), अन्येषु स्थानेषु प्रवर्तमानं प्रचलत् विज्ञापयति चित्तं; तस्मात् उपचारतः कायविज्ञप्तिरुच्यते। 20
- २. (वाग्विज्ञप्तिः) । वाग्विज्ञप्तिरपि न सद्भूत-स्वभावा नाम— (१) शब्दस्य एकस्मिन् चर्णेऽविज्ञापनात्; (२) त्रानेकच्राणसन्तानस्य त्रासद्भावात्; (३) बाह्य-सप्रतिघरूपस्य पूर्वे प्रतिषिद्धन्त्वात् (च)। 22

वस्तुतस्तु, चित्तहेतुतया विज्ञान-परिणामः शब्दः सन्तन्यमान उत्पद्यते निरुध्यते; (स च) विज्ञप्तिवद् (भासते), वाग्विज्ञप्तिरुपचारत उच्यते; इत्ययं हेतुः श्रदोषः । 23

^{*} युन्-च्वाङ्-अन्तेवासिनः ''क्त-इ-िक'' पंडितस्य कथनेन बुद्ध-िनर्वाणतः पश्चात् दितीय-शतके कुमारता प्रभृतयः पंच आचार्या नवशतशास्त्रप्रणेतारः, स्योदयस्येव पंचानां भारतानां विद्योतितारः, तेन लब्ध-सूर्योद्यिकसंज्ञा अभूवन् । दृष्टान्तमालाशास्त्र-प्रणायकत्त्वात् त एव दार्ष्टान्तिका उच्यन्ते । सौत्रान्तिकानां त एव पूर्वगमा इति । (कैस्तव-चतुर्थ-शतके सौत्रान्तिक-वादोत्त्पत्त्या तु तेऽन्य एव सौत्रान्तिकाः स्युः)।

३. (त्रविज्ञप्तिरूपम्)। विज्ञप्तेरसङ्कृतत्त्वे कथं स्याद् त्रवि-ज्ञप्तिः सङ्कृता ? 24

वस्तुतस्तु, कुशलाकुशल-चेतना-प्रणिधि (स्त्राशित्य) कालिवशेषे उपचारतोऽस्त्रविज्ञप्तिरिति प्रसिद्धिः; इत्यत्र (न्याया)ऽविरोधः। 25

एतेनोच्यते—(१) विशेष-(=उत्तम)कायवाक्कर्मोत्पादकस्य कुशलाऽकुशलचेतनाबीजस्य उत्कर्षावस्थाया एषा संज्ञा । 26

(२) ऋथवा समाधि उपादाय तत्र काय-वाग-ऽकुशल-कर्म-निरोधिका चेतना एवं संज्ञायते । 27

तस्माद् (श्रविज्ञप्तिः केवलं) प्रज्ञप्ति (=संवृति)-सद् (नतु परमार्थ सद्)। 27

४. (कर्मत्रयम्)। (ननु) भगवता सूत्रे उक्तं—"(सन्ति) इह त्रोणि कर्माणि"। तत्र (मानस-कर्म-मात्रं अभ्युपेत्त्य) काय-वाक्-कर्मणोः प्रत्याख्यानं किं न सूत्र-विरुद्धम् ? 28—

न किमिप प्रत्याख्यायते । नास्ति (काय-वाक्-कर्म) रूपं (इति) तूच्यते । (१) काय-भ्रामिका कायकर्मण उत्पादिका चेतना (काय-कर्मेति) उच्यते । (२)वाग्(-उत्पादिका) चेतना वाक्-कर्म नाम । (३) मनो हि, उपनिध्यानं सन्तीरणं (इति) द्विविधं चित्त-संप्रयुक्तं (कर्म) चोदयति, तस्माद् (तत्) मानसं कर्म उच्यते । 1

कायेन वागुत्पादिको सिक्किया चेतना कर्म नाम । (१) मार्गवद् उपनिध्यान-सन्तीरण-चेतनया (संकीर्ण)त्वात् । (२) सुख-दुःख-विपाक-फलोत्पादनाश्रयत्त्वाचापि मार्ग इत्युच्यते । 3

तस्मात् त्रान्यैक्षिभिरभिध्यादिभिरिव त्राद्याः सप्त कर्मपथा* त्रपि चेतना-स्वभावाः। 4

त्रथवा-काय-वाग्-विज्ञप्तो चेतनोत्पन्नत्त्वात् उपचारत कर्मेति उच्येते; चेतनयाऽऽक्रान्तत्त्वात् कर्मपथः (च)। 5

तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—नास्ति बाह्यं रूपं आभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं एव विप-रिएाम्य रूपाकारं जायते । 6

^{*} प्राणातिपातादयः त्रयः कायिकाः, मृषानादादयः चन्तारो वाचिकाः।

२. विप्रयुक्ताः संस्काराः

(चित्त-)विषयुकाः संस्कारा श्रापि न सङ्कृताः ? कस्मात् ?— प्राप्त्यप्राप्त्यादयो (विषयुक्ताः) रूप-चित्त-चैत्तौरिव न स्वरूपतः उपल-भ्यन्ते; न (च) रूप-चित्त-चैत्तानां कारित्राद् भिन्नं (रूपं) उपलभ्यते । तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—(इमे) नैव सङ्कृताः; किंतु रूपाद्यवस्थां उपादाय विकल्प्यन्त (इति)। 10

१. एवं इमे (=विप्रयुक्ताः) न रूप-चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्नाः सत्स्व-भावकारित्राः, रूप-चित्तादीनामिव स्कंध-परिगृहीतत्त्वात् । 11

२. त्रथवा रूपा-चित्त-चैत्ता-ऽसंस्कृतेषु त्रपरिगृहीतत्त्वाद् श्रत्य-न्ताभाववत्, नैव सद्भूताः। 12

(१) प्राप्तिः, श्रप्राप्तिः।

अथवा (यथा सर्वास्तिवादिनां मते) शेषाः (रूप-चित्त-चैत्त-मिन्नाः)धर्मा अपरिगृहीतत्त्वान् शेषैः कल्पितैः धर्मेरिव न सत्स्वभावाः। 13 (अथ) कथं तैर्ज्ञायते—प्राप्त्यप्राप्तो रूप-चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्ने

सत्स्वभावकारित्रे ? 14-

सूत्रवचनात् । तथाहि उच्यते—"एवं पुद्गलः कुशलाकुशलधर्म-समन्वागतः । त्र्यार्य दशा-ऽशैत्तधर्मसमन्वागताः" । त्र्यपि चोक्तं—"पृथ-ग्जनो न समन्वागत त्र्यार्यधर्मैः, त्र्यर्हन् न समन्वागतः क्रेशैः ।" (इह) समन्वागमा-ऽसमन्वागमौ सूचयतः प्राप्त्यप्राप्ती । 18

सूत्रे नोक्तं—इमे (=प्राप्त्यप्राप्ती) रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्ने सङ्कृत-स्वभाव-कारित्रे । साध्यं (इदं) न (तु) सिद्धम् । 19

(क)—श्रिप (च) (सूत्र) उक्तं—'राजा चक्र(वर्ती) सप्तिमः* रत्नैः समन्वागतः'। कथमथ परेषां परिणायकादोनां कायैः, चक्रादिभिः श्रिचत्तकैः (च) समन्वागतः (इति) १ चेदुच्येत—रत्नेषु श्रिस्ति विशिता (सैव) उपचारतः कुशलाऽकुशलधर्मैः समन्वागम (इति) उच्यते। 20

^{*} चक्र-इस्त्य-ऽश्व-मुक्ता-परिणायक-गृहपति-स्त्रीरत्नानीति सप्त ।

कथं नैवं (प्राप्तिविषयेऽपि) अभ्युपगम्यते ? (कस्मात्) सद्भूता प्राप्तिः गृह्यते ? चेदुच्येत—सप्त रक्षानि तत्र विद्यमानानिः; तस्माद् उपचारत उच्यते समन्वागमः। कथं ज्ञायते—(येः) कुशला-ऽकुशलादिधर्मैः समन्वागतः, (ते) वर्तमानात् पृथक् विद्यन्ते; निह् वर्तमानात् पृथग् सद्भूतेषु धर्मेषु हेतु-सद्भावः ? 23

(अतीते प्रत्युत्पन्ने वा विद्यमाना धर्माः) कुशलादिवीजैः (संयुक्ता)

भवन्ति, (विद्यमान)त्त्वात्। 23

(ख), पुनश्च—प्राप्तिः कतमेन विशेषकारित्रेण धर्मेण सहिता श्रास्त ?

(सर्वास्तिवादिभिः)चेदुच्येत—(प्राप्तिरस्ति) उत्पादिका।—अथ (१) उत्पादयेद् (अनुत्पन्नान्) असंस्कृतानः (२) (अप्राप्तिमत्त्वात्) सर्वेऽचित्तकाः सर्वदा न प्रादुर्भवेयुः (३) (येषां प्राप्तिः) अप्राप्ता विनष्टा (वा ते धर्माः) न कदापि उत्पद्येरन् । 26

सहजा प्राप्तिः उत्पादक-हेतुरस्तीति मन्यते चेत् , जातिद्वयं ("जातिः, जातिजातिः" श्रमिधर्मकोशे २।४६) श्रथ भवेत् निष्प्रयोजनम् । 26

पुनश्च—श्रस्त (प्राप्तिः कुत्रचित् पुद्गले) कुराला, श्रकुराला-श्रव्याकृता (वेति चेत्); (ति तेषां सर्वेषां) कुरालाऽकुरालाऽव्याकृतानां (धर्माणां) स्याद् युगपद् सम्मुखीभावः १ प्राप्तिः (श्रस्ति) श्रन्यहेतु-सापेचा (इति) चेत्, ति निष्प्रयोजना (एषा)।

(नव्यसर्गास्तिवादिभिः उच्येत-) प्राप्तिः सत्त्वानां धर्माप्रहाणे हेतुः, सत्त्वाः तद् (-बलात्) (धर्मैः) समन्वागता श्रविनाभूताः । — (इति चेत्) प्रत्युच्यते — सर्वेंस्ते समन्वागताःस्युः धर्मैरविनाभूताः । विनाभूताः चेत् न स्युः समन्वागम्याः । श्रथोभयथा (उत्पादक-पालकतया) धर्माणां प्राप्तिः स्यात् निष्प्रयोजना । 1

(ग), प्राप्तेरसद्भावात् अप्राप्तेरिप अभावः। 2

२.सिद्धान्तपद्मः—वस्तुतस्तु, समन्वागम्यानां धर्माणां (नाना श्रवस्थाः समपेद्य, उपचारतः सिध्यंति त्रिविधाः समन्वागमाः 3—प्रथमो बीजसमन्वागमः, द्वितीयो वशित्त्वसमन्वागमः, तृतीयः समुदाचार-समन्वागमः। 4

तद्वयतिरेकेण उपचारतः सिध्यति श्रसमन्वागमो नाम । अस्य भेदा श्रमेके, अथापि त्रिषु धातुषु दृष्टिच्छेद्यानां (क्लेश-)बीजानां नात्यन्त-चिञ्जनाऽवस्था अपेद्य उचारतः सिध्यति श्रमाप्तिः। (अप्राप्तिः) नाम पृथग्जनन्त्वं; तत्र सर्वेषामार्यधर्माणां असमन्वागमात्। 6

(२) सभागता

१. पुनश्च कथं ज्ञायते रूप-चित्तादिभिन्नाऽस्ति सद्भूता सभा-गता १ ७—

(सर्वास्तिवादिन:)—सूत्रोकत्त्वात् । तथाहि सूत्र-वचनं—"एवं देव-सभागतां (गच्छति) एवं मनुष्य-सभागतां" इत्यादि विस्तरेणोक्तम् 8—

(प्रतिवचनं)—अस्मिन सूत्रे रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाऽस्ति सद्भूता सभागता (इति) नोक्तम् । (तद्धि) साध्यं न सिद्धम् । 9

२. (सर्वास्तिादिनः)—(साऽस्ति) सामान्यबुद्धि-प्रज्ञप्त्योहेंतुः, एतदुत्पन्नत्त्वात् , (तस्मात्) ज्ञायते सद्भूता (इति) चेत् 10—

(प्रतिवचनं)—श्रथ स्थृलवृत्तादीनां (श्रपि) भवेत् सभागता, (कथं युष्मामिः सचित्तकानां सत्त्वानां एव सभागता स्वीक्रियते)? 11

पुनश्र—सभागतायां उत्पन्ना सामान्यवृद्धि-प्रज्ञप्ती स्तः सभागता, श्रथ स्यात् (सभागतायामपि) सभागता। तच्चेत् नैवं, कथमिदं तथा ? 12

३. (नव्यसर्वास्तिवादिभिः) चेदुच्येत—(सभागता) श्रस्ति (समानाजीव-समानच्छन्दयोः) उत्पत्तिहेतुः । (दृश्यंते हि) समानाजीवा (मनुष्याः), (समान)-छन्दाः (च देवाः), (तस्मात्) ज्ञायते सद्भूता सा 13।—

(प्रतिवचनं)—(त्रयं) त्रपि न हेतुः; पूर्वजन्महेतुतः समानौ त्राजीवच्छन्दौ उत्पद्येते । कि प्रयोजनं भिन्नायाः सद्भूतायाः सभागतायाः प्रहृषो १ 14

बस्तुतस्तु, सत्त्वानां काय-चित्त-सादृश्याऽवस्थाभेदान् श्रपेद्वय उपचारतः सभागता सिध्यति । 15

(३) जीवितेन्द्रियम्

पुनश्चेदानीं (सर्वास्तिवादिनो) मन्यन्ते—रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नं

ऋस्ति सद्भूतं जीवितेन्द्रियं, सूत्रोक्तत्त्वात् । तथाहि सूत्र उक्तं—"श्रायुः, उद्मा, विज्ञानं (इति) त्रोणि जानीथ ।" (श्रत्र) श्रायुर्नाम जीविते-न्द्रियम् । 17—

१. (प्रतिवचनं)—श्रत्र सूत्रे नोक्तं— रूपचित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नोऽस्ति

सद्भूत त्र्रायुस्त्रभावः । साध्योऽसौ, न (तु) सिद्धः । 18

पूर्व साधितं च (श्रस्माभिः) — रूपं न विज्ञानात् पृथक् । इदं (श्रायुः) विज्ञानात् पृथक् श्रस्ति (चेत्) न (स्यात्), जीवितेन्द्रियम् । यदि च जीवितेन्द्रियं विज्ञानात् पृथक् सद्भूतं, श्रथ जीवितेन्द्रियं वेदनादिवत् न सद्भूतम् । 20

२. (क) एवं चेत् कथं सूत्र उक्ताः त्रयोधर्माः (-म्रायुः, उप्मा, विज्ञानं) ? 21 —

(एक एव विज्ञानधर्मः) श्राकारभेदेन त्रिधा उक्तः, यथा चत्त्वारि सम्यक्-प्रधानानि (एकस्य वीर्यस्य श्राकारभेदाः)। 22

(ख). (एवं चेत्) श्राचित्तकावस्थायां (श्रासंज्ञिकसमापत्तौ, चित्तविरहात्) श्रायुः उष्मा (च) न स्याताम् । किं नोक्तं सूत्रे—"विज्ञानं न जहाति कायं" (इति) । एवं चेत् कथं नाम श्राचित्तकावस्था ? 23—

तत्र निरुध्यते प्रवृत्ति-विज्ञानं न तु त्र्यालय(-विज्ञानम्)। त्र्यस्ति इदं विज्ञानं (इति) हेतुं परस्तात् विस्तरेण वच्यामः। 24

- ३. (क). इदं (त्रालय-)विज्ञानं त्र्यस्त धातु-गति-योनि-स्वभावं, सर्वत्र सर्वदा सन्तन्यमानत्त्वात्, विपाकफलत्त्वात् (च)। (तस्मात्) सद्भूतस्य जोवितेन्द्रिस्य पृथग् शहर्णं नापेचितम्। 26
- (ख), वस्तुतस्तु, एतद्-(श्रालय-)विज्ञानोत्पादितं बीजं (श्रालम्ब्य) (श्रतीत-) कर्मणोत्पादितः नाना शक्ति-विशेषः श्रितिकाले उपचारतो जीवितेन्द्रियं उच्यते । 27
 - (४) श्रचित्तकसमापत्तिः, श्रासंज्ञिकसमापत्तिः । 28

पुनश्च, (सर्वास्तिवादिभिः) कथं ज्ञायते—द्वे श्रवित्तकसमापत्ती (=श्रसंश्चिसमापत्तिः, संशावेदित-निरोधसमापत्तिश्च) श्रसंज्ञि-विपाके रूप-चित्तादिभ्यः पृथक् सत्स्वभावे । 29 न चेत् सद्भूते सत्स्वभावे, (अथ) न स्यातां काये चित्त-चैत्त-धर्माणां अनुभूततोत्पाद्ने प्रतिबंधिके ? 1—

(प्रतिवचनं)—श्रचित्तकावस्थः पृथक् सद्भूतो धर्मः । 1 रूपचित्तादिभ्योभिन्नः चित्त-प्रतिबंधकः (धर्मः) श्रचित्तक-समापत्तिर्नाम 12

(क) (एवं तर्हि) स्याद् आरूप्यकाले पृथक् सद्भूतो धर्मः, रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नो रूप-प्रतिबंधकः आरूप्यसमापत्तिर्नाम । तच्चे-न्नैवं कथं इदं तथा ? 3

कस्मात् पुनः चित्तप्रतिबंधकः सद्भूतो धर्माऽपेद्यते ? प्राकारवद्, श्रौपचारिकोऽपि (धर्मः) प्रतिबंधकः स्थात् । 4

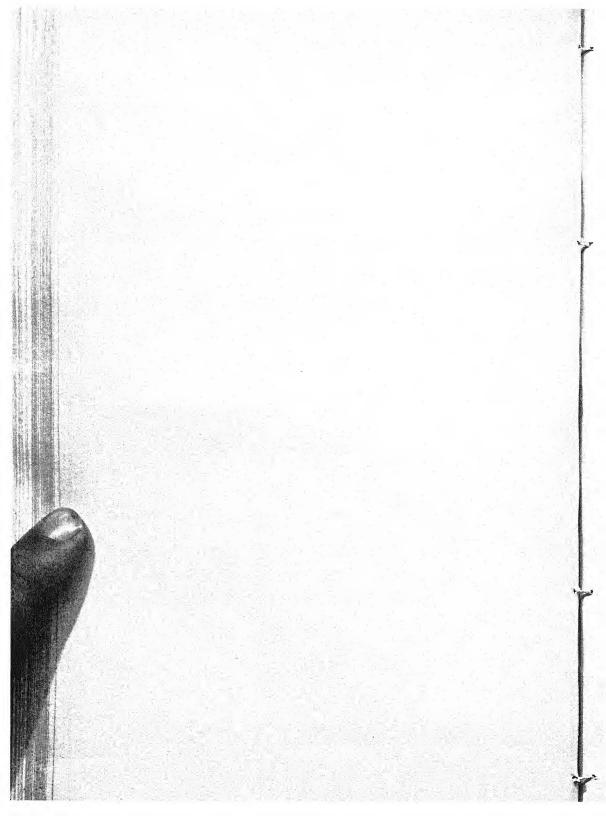
- (स) (१) (श्रत्र) वदामः—ध्यानाऽभ्यासकाले प्रायोगिक-ध्याने चित्त-(वेदनादि-)चैत्तानां स्थूल-चलभावात् तेषां विदूषण्या (=जुगुप्सया) उत्पादयति प्रणिधानं, तावत्कालं प्रतिबद्धं चित्त-चैत्तान्; (तच्च) निर्वर्त्तयति (च) चित्त-चैत्तान् क्रमशः सूदमात् सूदमतरान् (=अण्वण्यून्)। अण्वणु-चित्तकाले वास्यते विपाक*-विज्ञानं, निर्वर्त्त्यं-अधिमात्रतम् विदूषणा-चित्तादि-बोजम् । एतस्मात् प्रतिबंधकचित्त-बोजात् स्थूलानि चलानि चित्तादीनि तावत्कालं अकर्मीणानि (जायन्ते)। एतां अवस्थां अपेद्य (उपचारतः) समापत्तिद्वय-सिद्धः। एतद्बीजं कुशलं, तस्मात् समापत्तिरिप कुशला नाम। 9
- २. श्रासंज्ञिकसमापत्त्यारम्भे श्रासंज्ञिक-फलेप्सया तद्वासना-बीजभावितात् तद्विपाक-विज्ञानं लभते । ध्यान-बलात् स्थूलानि चलानि चित्तादीनि न प्रवर्तन्ते तस्यां श्रवस्थायाम् । तत उपचारतः सिध्यति श्रासंज्ञिक(-समापत्तिः) । विपाकवशात् (जाता चैषा) विपाकनाम्ना प्रसिद्धिं लभते । 12

तस्माद् इमे त्रयो धर्माः (=समापत्तिद्वयं, श्रासंज्ञिकफलं च) श्रपि न सद्भूताः। 13

(इति) विज्ञिप्तमात्रतासिद्धिशास्त्रे प्रथमः खंडः ।

^{*} अष्टमं आलयविज्ञानम् ।

(अथ) धर्मपालादिबोधिसस्वैः इते, अधिगत(राजाः)ऽऽज्ञेन त्रिपिटकधर्माचार्थेण युन्-च्वेङ्। (च) अनृदिते विज्ञिसिमात्रतासिद्धि-शास्त्रे द्वितीयः खंडः।



(५) संस्कृतलचाणानि

पुनश्च, कथं ज्ञायते—सर्वाणि संस्कृतत्त्वणानि रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नानि सन्ति सत्स्वभावानि ?—सूत्र-वचनात्। तथाहि सूत्रवचने— "सन्ति संस्कृतानां त्रोणि संस्कृत-त्वण्ञानि" इति विस्तरेण कथनम्। 20

अत्र सूत्रे नोच्यते—रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नं ऋस्ति (संस्कृत-तन्न्रणं) सत्स्वभावम्। साध्यं (तद्) न सिद्धम्। 21

क. (१) न (च) षष्ठो विभक्तिः दर्शयति भिन्नस्वभावतां (संस्कृतलच्चायोः), रूपचित्त-स्वभावो (हि) रूप-चित्तादिभिः तुल्यः। 22

(२) न तत्त्त्रणस्य स्वभावो तत्त्व्याद् भिन्नः, न हि खरत्त्वा-दयः पृथिव्यादिभ्यो भिन्नाः। 23

(३) संस्कृतस्य तत्त्रणं तदय-खभावाद्भिन्नं चेत्, असंस्कृत-

लच्च एस्वभावो (ऽपि) लच्याद् भिन्नः स्यात् । 24

(४) पुनश्च, जात्यादीनां तत्त्रणं स्वभावेन (सह) युगपत् तिष्ठति चेत्, (तर्हि) सर्वदा युगपद् जायेत (तेषां) कारित्रम्। (क) यदि (जाति-स्थित्यादिलज्ञणानां) (परस्पर-) विरोधात् कारित्रं न युगपद् उत्पचेत; स्वभावोऽपि विरुद्धः, कथं (तर्हि तस्य) सहभावः ? (ख) स्थिति(-लज्ञणं) निरोधाद् भिन्नं, (तस्मात्) न स्याद् युगपद्। 26

(५) (जात्यादि-) लज्ञ ए-(संस्कृतधर्मादि) लज्ञ्ययोः स्वभावाः सर्वदा सह भवंति, (श्रतः) कारित्रमपि स्यादेवं (इति चेत्); न, भिन्नस्वभावत्त्वात्। चेदुच्येत—तेषां कारित्रं हेतु-प्रत्त्ययाऽपेज्ञं (श्रथ) (हेतुप्रत्यया हि न सर्वदा भवन्ति, तस्मात्) हेतुप्रत्ययापेज्ञं (कारित्रमपि) न स्यात् सर्वदा। 2

(६). श्रथ जात्यादीनां स्वोकारश्च निष्प्रयोजनः । लच्यं (=संस्कृतं) सर्वदा जात्त्यादिमद् भवति (चेत्), श्रसंस्कृता धर्मा श्रपि जात्यादिमन्तः स्युः; तत्रास्य भेदहेतोरनुपलम्भात् । 4

(७) (क). श्रतीतानागताध्वनोर्न नित्त्यं सद्भावः (तस्माद्) श्रानित्त्यौ; खपुष्पवत् न द्रव्यसत्स्वभावौ स्याताम्। (ख). जातिनीम सत्ता, कथं (सा स्यात्) श्रनागते ? निरोधो नाम श्रसत्ता, कथं स्यात् वर्त-माने । निरोधश्चेत् न श्रसत्ता, जातिः (=जन्म श्राप्) न भवेद् सत्ता, (जातिनिरोधयोः परस्परविरोधात्)। निरोधः पुनः स्थितेविरोधी (श्रथ) कथं स्यात् (स्थित्त्या) तुल्यकालम् ? स्थितिने जातेः विरुद्धा (श्रथ) कथं न (ते) स्यातां तुल्यकाले ? 7

तस्मात् तेषां मतं वितथं विगतहेतुकम्। 8

- (ख). (सिद्धान्तपत्तः)। वस्तुतस्तु, संस्कृता धर्मा हेतुप्रत्त्यय-बलात् प्रागभूत्त्वेदानीं भवन्ति, ज्ञ्णां स्थित्त्वा अभावं उपगच्छन्ति। असंस्कृतात् (एतेषां) भेदं प्रदर्शियतुं उपचारतः (चतुर्विध-)लज्ञ्ण-कल्पना। 10
- (१) (वस्तु) प्रागभूत्त्वा इदानीं भवति, (इतीयं भावा-)ऽवस्था जातिर्नाम । जातस्य चर्णं स्थितिः, (इयमेव) स्थितिरथोच्यते स्थिति-रिति । स्थित्तवा (चर्णं) पूर्वतोऽन्यथा भवति, अयं पुनरुच्यतेऽन्याथामावो नाम । (सोऽपि) भूचर्णं त्त्वाऽभावं उपगच्छति, (इत्ययं) निरोधो नाम । 12

त्राद्याः त्रयः (=जाति-स्थिति-जरेति) सत्ता, तस्मात् ताः प्रत्युत्पन्न (-कालोनाः); त्रम्त्या एका (=िनरोधः) त्रसत्ता, तस्मात् त्रातीत- (-कालीना)। 13

- (२). कथं (निरोधो)ऽभावधर्मो (ऽपि) स्यात् (विद्य-मानस्य) संस्कृतस्य लच्चणम् ? (वस्तुनो)ऽनागताभावदर्शने (ऽपि तत्) लच्चणं स्याद् (इत्यत्र) को दोषः ? जातिः दर्शयति—धर्मा वर्तमाने (सन्ति), अतीते नाऽभूवन्। निरोधो दर्शयति—धर्मा वर्तमाने (संति) अनागते न भविष्यंति। जरा (=अन्यथाभावः) दर्शयति—इमे धर्मा न स्थायुकाः। स्थितिः दर्शयति—इमे धर्माः च्चणं सिक्रयाः। तस्मात् चच्चारि लच्चणानि संस्कृत-धर्माणां संज्ञापकानि व्यंजकान्यपि, (तेषां) व्यंजने तु अस्ति भेदः। 16
- . . . (३). इमानि चत्त्वारि लच्चणानि चिर्णकानि उपचार-कल्पितानि।

एककालस्थितिकान्यपि उपचारतः सिद्धानि । आद्या स्थितिः जातिर्नाम । अनागतेऽभावो निरोधोऽनाम । उत्पद्य सभागसंतितः स्थितिर्नाम । तस्याः संततेः अन्यथाऽभावो जरा नाम । 19

तस्मात् चत्त्वारि लच्चगानि संति उपचार-ऋल्पि-तानि । 19

(६) नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि ।

कथं (सर्वास्तिवादिभिः) ज्ञायते— नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि रूप-चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्नानि संति सङ्कृतानि व्यंजकानि ?—सूत्रवचनात्। तथा हि सूत्र उच्यते—"बुद्धो (भूत्त्वा) लभतेऽद्भुतं नाम-पद-व्यंजन (-कायम्)।" 20

(प्रतिवचनं)—श्रस्मिन् सूत्रे नोच्यते—रूप-चित्ता-दिभ्यो भिन्नं सद्भूतं नामादि । साध्यं (तद्) न सिद्धम् । 22

(क). (१). यदि नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि शब्दाद् भिन्नानि सद्भू-तानि; (तर्हि) न स्युः वस्तुतो व्यंजकानि, यथा रूपादि । 23

(२) (सर्वास्तिवादिन) आहु:—शब्दा नाम-पद-व्यंजनानां जनकाः। येषां शब्दानां अस्ति स्वराकुंचनं (स्वर-निमित्तं); तेऽलं व्यंजयितुं (श्रथ) कि प्रयोजनं नामादीनाम् ? 25

(३) (सर्वास्तिवादिनः) चेद् श्राहुः—शब्देषु स्थितं स्वरा-कुंचनं (=क-ख-गादिस्फुटवर्णव्यक्तिः) नाम-पद्-व्यंजनैस्तुल्यं, (तच) शब्द(ायतनाद्) भिन्नं सद्भूतम् । 26—

द्रष्टव्ये (ऽपि तर्हि) रूपे चाक्तत्याकुंचनं स्यात् पृथक् सत्स्वभावं रूपायतनाद् भिन्नम् । 27

(४). चेदाहु:—शब्दगतं खराकुंचनं वीणावाद्यशब्दवत् न व्यंज-कम्।—इदमपि स्यात् तद्वत्, न (च) पृथग् जनयेत् नामादि। 28

(५). ते चाहु:—तेनैव व्यंजकाः शब्दाः, अथ वात-यण्टादिशव्या अपि व्यंजकाः स्यः। व्यंजनोपयोगाय इदं स्यात्, यस्मादसौ (वायुशब्दः) न पृथक् उत्पादयति सद्भूतं नाम-पदव्यंजनं चेत्, (अथ) वाक्छब्द एव नामादीनां उत्पादकः कथं नेष्यते ? 2

(६) (त्राहुः)—केवलं वागेव व्यंजिका कस्मात् हेतोः विज्ञेया ?— व्यंजकः तुल्यो वाचा । कथं ज्ञायते वाग्मिन्नं पृथग्मूतं व्यंजकम् ?—वाचो J,B.O.R.S.]

न भिन्नं व्यंजकं (इति तु सर्वे) देव-मनुष्या जानन्ति; वाचो भिन्नो व्यंजकं (इति तु) देवानान्त्रिया (=मूर्खा) मन्यन्ते नाऽन्ये । 4

- (ख) (सिद्धान्तपत्तः), (१) वस्तुतस्तु वाक्छ्रब्दानां उपचारतः किल्पता नानाऽवस्था नाम-पद्-व्यंजनानि । नाम व्यनिक्त (वस्तु-) स्वभावं; पदं व्यनिक (कालादि)विशेषं; व्यंजनं श्रचरं वा भवति श्रभयोराश्रयः। 6
- (२). इमानि त्रीणि शब्दात्प्रथगिप न भिन्न-स्वभावानि। (शब्दः यदिप सत्स्वभावः, नामादीनि तु संवृतिसदिति नामादीनि) भिन्नानि श्रिप न तुल्यानि भवंति शब्देन। ७
- (३). एतस्पाद् (हेतो: श्रस्माकं मते) धर्म-प्रतिभानसंविदो: न विरोध: । प्रतिसंविदोरालंबने (हि) भवतो भिन्नौ । (प्रथमाया श्रालंबनं सद्भूतं, द्वितीयायाः कल्पितम्) । 8

शब्दो नामादीनि (च) स्कन्धा-ऽऽयतन-धातुषु परिगृहीतान्यपि परस्परं भिन्नानि भवन्ति । 9

(४). किंच इदं (बुद्ध-)त्तेत्रं उपादाय उच्यते—नाम-पद्-व्यंज-नानि उपचारकित्पतं शब्दं त्राश्रयन्ते; न (च) उच्यते सर्वत्र (इति)। त्रम्येषु बुद्धत्तेत्रेषु तु प्रभा-सुगंध-रस-(स्प्रष्टव्यानि) हि त्राश्रयंते त्रौपचारिकानि त्रीणि (नाम-पद-व्यंजनानि)। 11

(७) अनुशयाः।

केचित् (महासांघिक—महीशासकाद्य:) मन्यन्ते—श्रनुशयाः चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्नाः, विष्ठयुक्तसंस्कारस्कंधे न परिगृहीताः ।—तज्ञ न न्याय्यं, (तेषां) रागादिनामत्वात् , यथा वर्तमाना रागादयो न विष्ठयुक्ताः । 13

(केचित्) मन्यन्ते—संति भिन्ना श्रन्ये विप्रयुक्ताः; संस्कृत-(निर-सन) उपयुक्ताभिर्युक्तिभिः ते प्रत्याख्येयाः। 14

३. ग्रसंस्कृताः ।

श्रसंस्कृता धर्मा रूप-चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाः सद्भूताः खलु (इत्यत्र) हेतुर्नोपलभ्यते । 15

(१) सामान्यतः प्रत्याख्यानम्—

किंच खलु धर्माः समासतो भवन्ति त्रिविधाः (क)।—१. प्रत्यत्त-प्राह्या धर्माः, यथा रूप-चित्ताद्यः । (ल) २ प्रत्यत्तत उप-भोग्या धर्माः, यथा घटपटाद्यः । एतान् द्विविधान् धर्मान् सर्वो (ऽपि) लोको जानाति, (तस्मात्) न भवति हेत्वपेत्ता साधने । (ग) ३. धर्माः भवंति कारित्रेण् (ज्ञेयाः), यथा चलुः श्रोत्रा-दोनां स्वस्व(=एकैक)-कारित्रेणाऽनुमीयते सत्ताज्ञानम् । श्रसंस्कृताः सन्ति (इति) न लोकाः सर्वे जानन्तिः, न च (तेषां) चलुःश्रोत्रादीना-मिव कारित्रम् । सकारित्रस्वीकारे न भवेयुः नित्त्याः । तस्मात् न मन्तव्यं—श्रसंस्कृताः सद्भूता (इति)। वस्तुतस्तु ज्ञेयस्वभावत्त्वात्, रूप-चित्तादि-व्यज्य-स्वभावत्त्वाद्वा, रूप-चित्तादिवत् न मन्तव्यं—रूप-चित्तादिभिन्नाः सत्स्वभावा श्रसंस्कृता (इति)। 23

(२) त्राकाशादि-प्रत्याख्यानम्---

१. त्रथ त्राकाशं त्रस्तिएकं त्रनेकं वा १ यदि त्राकाशं स्वभाव-तोऽस्त्येकं रूपादिधर्माधिकरणस्वात् सर्वत्रगं; (त्रथ) त्राधेयधर्म-स्वभावानुसारं भवेदनेकं एकाधिकृतस्थानस्याऽन्याऽनिधकृतस्वात्। नैवं धर्मा भवंति त्रान्योन्यव्यापकाः। चेदाह—त्राकाशं नास्ति धर्मैराहितं;— (तर्हि) त्रान्येरसंस्कृतैरिव न स्यादिधकरणम्। 27

पुनश्च, रूपादिषु श्रस्ति श्राकाशं न वा ? श्रस्ति चेत् स्यात् संकर: (=नैकत्त्वं); नास्ति चेत् (श्राकाशं) न स्यात् सर्वत्रगम्। 28

२. (प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधस्य † एकत्त्व) एकभागैकवर्ग-संयोजन-धर्माणां छेदनकाले लभ्येतान्येषां भागानां अन्येषां 29 वर्गाणां प्रतिसंख्यानिराधः । 74 P.

३. (अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधस्य एकत्त्वेऽपि तथा-) । एकस्य धर्मस्य हेत्वभावात् अनुत्पादकत्त्व(=अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध)-लाभकाले, स्यात् सर्वेषां अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधलाभः । (यदि) अस्य (अप्रतिसंख्या-निरोधस्य) स्वभावैकत्त्वं मतं, तहिं स्यादेवं हेतुः । 1

^{*} व्यापारेण, कियया । † अभिधर्मकोशे १।५,६;२।३६ ।

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४. (ते) चेत् स्वभावतः सन्त्यनेके, अथ सभागाः स्युः रूपादिवत् श्रसङ्कृता श्रसंस्कृताः । श्राकाशं पुनः न स्यात् सर्वाधारम् । 3

५. अन्ये निकाया मन्यन्ते— चित्त-चैत्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाः सङ्कृता असंस्कृता (इति); (तत्रापि) युज्यते पूर्वे कृतं प्रत्याख्यानम् । 4

६. श्रसंस्कृताः पुनः हेतु-फल-विरहिता श्रभ्युपगताः, तस्मात् शश-विषाणवत् न स्युः चित्तादिभ्यो भिन्नाः । 5

(३). सिद्धान्तपत्तः—

बस्तुतस्तु सूत्रे (यद्) उक्तं (तत्सत्त्यम्) । सन्ति (त्रय) त्राकाशद्योऽसंस्कृता धर्माः (ते) समासतो भवंति द्विविधाः 6।—

(क) प्रथमे (त्रयोऽसंस्कृताः) त्रालम्ब्य विज्ञानविपरिणा-मान्, उपचारतः विकल्प्यन्ते । पूर्वत त्र्याकाशीदोनां नामकथनं त्र्याकर्ण्य, त्रकाशादिलच्चऐन सह. त्रजुविकल्प्यन्ते । त्रभीच्एां (तादृशविकल्पना-) ऽभ्यास-बलात् चित्ताद्य उत्पत्तिकाले त्र्याकाशाद्यसंस्कृतलच्चएवत् उत्पद्यंते । ते चोत्पद्यमानाः प्रथमं (त्रभ्यस्तं विकल्प-) निमित्तं त्र्यनुहरंति, न भवंति परिवर्तिताः, (त एव) उपचारतो नित्त्या उच्यन्ते । 10

(ल) द्वितीये (त्रयोऽसंस्कृताः) धर्मतां (=भूततथतां) त्रालम्ब्य उपचारतो विकल्प्यन्ते । सा भूततथता नैरात्म्यात् शून्यतया व्यज्यते । इयं त्र्रास्त सत्ता-उसत्ता-सत्ताऽसत्ता-नसत्तानासत्ता-संयुक्तयोः वाक्-चित्तयोः पथातीता, श्रस्ति सर्वैः धर्मैः निमन्ना, नामिन्ना (निमन्नाऽभिन्ना, ननभिन्नननभिन्ना) । श्रस्ति धर्माणां सङ्गूतं तत्त्वं, तस्माद् धर्मता नाम । 12

कथं हि भूततथता त्राकाश-प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधा-ऽप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधा-ऽऽनिज्यद्वय-संज्ञावेदितनिरोध-नामभिः उपकल्प्यते ?—

- (१) (नात्रियते नावृणोतीति) सर्वावरण-विमुक्तत्त्वात् श्राकाशं नाम । 12
- (२) निर्विद्धा=साज्ञात्कृता प्रतिसंख्यानबलात् निरोधयति सर्वीन् क्लेशान, तस्मात् प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधो नाम । 13
- (३) प्रतिसंख्यानवलं विना मूलस्वभावतः परिशुद्धा, प्रत्यय-वैकल्यभाविता वा (श्रस्ति) तस्माद् श्रप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधो नाम । 15

- (४) सुखां दुःखां (च) वेदनां नाशयतीति त्र्यानिःथं नाम। 15
- (५) संज्ञावेदनयोरसमुदाचारात् संज्ञावेदितनिरोधो नाम । 16

सर्व इमे पंच (श्राकाशाद्यः) भूततथतां श्रालम्ब्य उपचारतो विकल्प्यन्ते । भूततथताऽपि श्रस्ति उपचार-विकल्पिता । नास्तीति प्रत्याख्यातुं उच्यतेऽस्तीति । (महीशासकानां) श्रस्तीति मतं प्रतिषेद्धं श्रून्यतेति उच्यते । (एकव्यवहारिकाः—) वदन्ति—श्रून्यं माया (इति) तस्माद् उच्यते सङ्कृता । न मिथ्या (न) वितथा, तस्माद् भूततथता नाम । 19

(युष्माकं महीशासकानां च मते को भेदः) तेऽप्यभ्युपयन्ति सद्भृततया कुशलभूततथतां, ऋकुशलभूततथतां, ऋव्याकृतभूततथताम् ?)।

श्रन्यनिकायिकैरिव न (वयं प्रतिजानीमः)—श्रस्ति रूप-चित्ता दिभ्यः पृथक् सङ्ग्रतो नित्त्यो धर्मो भूततथता नाम (इति)। 20 तस्माद् श्रसंस्कृता न सङ्ग्रताः । 20

४. ग्राह्मं, ग्राहकम्

(क), तीर्थिकैरन्ययानिकैः (च) गृहीता चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो भिन्ना धर्मा न सत्स्वभावाः, प्राह्यत्त्वात् चित्तचैत्तादिवत्। (रूपादि-)प्राहिका सा बुद्धिरिप तान् नालम्बते, प्राहकत्त्वात् प्राह्यवत् । 23

(ख) (ज्ञानं) इयं बुद्धिः (=) चित्त-चैत्ता स्त्रपि, पर-प्रत्ययोत्पन्नत्त्वात्, मायावस्तुवत् न भूततो द्रव्यसत् । 24

(ग) (विज्ञप्तिमात्रम्) । चित्त-चैत्तेभ्यो बाह्यः सद्भूतोऽस्त्यर्थ इति मिथ्यात्राहं प्रतिचेत्रुं विज्ञप्तिमात्रमुच्यते । विज्ञप्ति (=विज्ञान)-मात्रं भूततो द्रव्यसद् (इति) मन्यते चेत् , बाह्यार्थप्राहवद् (अयं) अपि स्याद् धर्मप्राहः । 26

५, धर्मग्राह-विभंगः

- (क), धर्माणां प्राहस्तु समासतो द्विधा भवति—प्रथम: सहजः, द्वितीयो विकल्पितः ।27
- १. सहजो धर्मप्राहोऽनादिकालागतिमध्यावासना-(स्वरूपा-) ऽऽभ्यन्तरहेतुबलात् सततं कायसहगतो (भवति) । मिध्यादेशनां मिध्या-

विकल्पं चानपेत्य स्वरसेन (=तत्कालं) विपिणमनात् सहजो नाम । 29

त्रयं पुनर्द्विविधः—(१) प्रथमोऽविच्छित्र-सन्तानः सप्तम-विज्ञाने, त्रष्टमं विज्ञानं त्र्रालम्ब्य उत्पद्यते, स्वचित्ताकारः (च) गृह्यते सङ्कृतधर्मतया।(२) द्वितोयो विच्छित्र(-सन्तानः) षष्टविज्ञाने विज्ञान-विपरिणामान् स्कन्धा-ऽऽयतन-धातु-लत्त्रणान् त्र्रालम्ब्य क्रत्स्त्रशो भाग-शो वा उत्पद्यते, स्वचित्ताकारः (च) सङ्कृतधर्मतया गृह्यते। 3

इमौ द्वौ धर्मप्राहौ सूरमत्वात् दुरखेद्यौ, चरमायां दशम्यां भूमौ अभीद्यां अनुत्तरां धर्मशून्यता-भावनां भावयन् (तौ) छेत्तुं अलम् । 5

२. विकल्पितधर्मप्राहोऽपि वर्तमान-बाह्य-प्रत्यय-बलात् कायासह-गतो मिथ्यदृष्टिं मिथ्याविकल्पनां चाऽपेच्य उत्पद्यते, तस्माद् विकल्पितो नाम। (स चायं) षष्ठे मनोविज्ञान एव भवति। 7

श्रयमि द्विधा—(१) प्रथमो मिथ्यादृष्टिदेशितान् स्कन्धा-ऽऽयतन-धात्वाकारान् श्रालंब्य स्विचत्ताकार उत्पद्यते; (स च) विकल्प्य-मानः सद्भूतधर्मतया गृह्यते।(२) द्वितीयो मिथ्यादृष्टिदेशितं स्वल-च्चणाद्याकारं श्रालम्ब्य स्विचत्तकार उत्पद्यते; (स च) विकल्प्यमानः परिकल्प्यमानः सद्भूतधर्मतया गृह्यते। 10

इमौ द्वौ धर्मप्राहौ स्थूलौ तस्मात् सुच्छेद्यौ। प्रथमभूमिप्रवेश-काले सर्वेषां धर्माणां धर्मश्र्न्यतां भावयन् भूततथतां छेत्तुं त्रालम्। 2

(ल) एवमुक्तेषु सर्वेषु धर्मप्राहेषु स्वचित्तवाद्याः (कदाचिद्) विद्यंते (कदाचिद्) न वा (विद्यन्ते); स्वचित्ताभ्यन्तरा धर्माः (तु) सर्वेदा भवन्ति । तस्मात् सर्वे धर्मप्राहाः स्वचित्तमालम्ब्य धर्मप्राहवत् सद्भूततया प्रादुर्भवन्ति । 14

वस्तुतस्तु, धर्मनिर्भासाकाराः (ते) प्रतीत्त्र्यसमुत्पन्नत्त्वात् मायेव विद्यमानाः, मिथ्याविकल्पनादेव सद्भृततया गृह्यन्ते, न (च) विद्यन्ते-तराम् । एतस्मादेव भगवतोक्तं*—''मैत्रेय ! विज्ञानीहि विज्ञानानां श्रालम्बनं, विज्ञाननिर्भासमात्रं परतन्त्रोत्पन्नस्वभावं, यथा मायावस्तु" इत्यादि । 17

उपसंहार:---

१. एवं तीर्थिकैरन्यनिकायिकै: (च) गृहीता विज्ञानात् पृथक्

त्रात्मधर्मा न सद्भूताः। तस्मात् चित्तचैत्ता नैव स्युः बाह्यरूपादीनां धर्माणां त्रालम्बनप्रत्ययः, प्राह्यकारित्रस्यावश्यं द्रव्यसत्स्वभावाश्रित-त्त्वात्। 20

- २. तत्कलापभवाः चित्त-चैत्ता धर्मा श्रवत्कलापविज्ञानानां श्रनन्त-रालम्बनप्रस्थयं नालम्बंते, श्रपरकलापपरिगृहीतत्त्वात् । तत्कलापभवाः चैत्ता श्रपि न (प्रत्ययः), तत्कलापचित्तस्य स्वभावभेदात्, श्रपरा-प्रत्यज्ञवत् । 22
- ३. तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—वस्तुतो नास्ति बाह्योऽर्थः; श्रभ्यन्तरं विज्ञानं एव बाह्यार्थनिर्भासं जायते । एतस्माद् (लंकावतार्)सूत्र-गाथायां चक्तं 24—

"बाह्यो न विद्यते हार्थो यथा बालैर्विकल्प्यते । वासनैर्लुटितं चित्तं अर्थाभासं प्रवर्तते ॥" 26

उपचारः।

- १. केचित् (वैशेषिका) इमं दोषं उद्भावयंति—न चेत् विज्ञा-नात् पृथक् सद्भूता श्रात्मा धर्माश्च; (तिह) उपचारतोऽपि न स्युः, उपचार-सिध्यर्थ(हि) श्रपेक्तितानि (त्रीणि वस्तूनि)—(१) सद्भूतं वस्तुः; (२) सदृशं वस्तुः; (३) समाना गुणाः। यथाऽस्ति (१) सद्भूतो-ऽप्तिः, (२) श्रात्त श्रप्तिसदृशः पुरुषः (=माण्वकः); (३) स्तः (तत्र) कपिलत्त्व-तीक्ण्त्व-धर्मी। श्रथ शक्यं एवं वक्तुं—श्रप्तिः पुरुष (=माण्वकः)। (पुरुष-)वृषभादिकथनोपचारे (ऽपि) एवमेव विज्ञेयम्। श्रात्मा धर्माः (च) न संति चेत्, किमाश्रयं उपचारकथनम् ? यदि साम्यं एव न सिद्धं, (श्रथ) कथं उच्यते वायुर्बाह्यार्थवत् परिणामी ? 2—
- २. प्रत्याख्यानम् । नासौ दोषो न्याय्यः; विज्ञानात्पृथक् श्रात्म-धर्माणां प्रागेव प्रत्याख्यानात् । जात्याश्रितं द्रव्याश्रितं (हि) उप-

^{*} सन्धिनिर्मोचनस्त्रे थैसो-त्रिपिटके १६तमे पुस्तके ६९८ पृष्ठे, १ स्तम्भे ।
† अन्यो नन्जिओ-संपादिते लंकावतारस्त्रे, २८५ पृष्ठे, (सगाथके, १५४,

चारकथनम्। (क) श्रग्न्यादीनां श्रसिद्धत्त्वाद् जात्याश्रिते उपचारकथने हेतुरेवासिद्धः, तीह्ण-लोहितादिगुणानां (श्रग्नि-)जातौ श्रस्त्वात्। समानगुणामावं(ऽपि) उपचारकथनं चेत् तिर्हं जलादाविप श्रग्न्यादिनाम उपचारत उच्येत। चेदुच्येत—यदिप तीह्णाद्यो न गुणाः, श्रथापि न मिथोऽविनाभूताः, तस्मात् युक्तं उपचारकथनम्।—इदमपि नैवं; मनुष्यजातौ बलादयः वर्तमाने दृश्यमाना श्रपि भवंति मिथो विप्रयुक्ताः, तस्माद्धि जातौ न गुणाः। पुनश्च, मिथो विप्रयुक्तेऽपि भवंति मनुष्ये श्रग्न्याद्युपचारकथनम्। तस्माद् विज्ञेयं— उपचारकथनं न जात्याश्रयेन व्यवस्थापितं (इति)। (श्व) द्रव्याश्रयेण उपचारकथनमपि हेतुतोऽसिद्धम्। तैह्ण्य-किपलत्त्वाद्यो गुणा (श्रपि) उभयद्रव्ययोर्यस्मात् न समाना भवंति। तैह्ण-किपलत्त्वाद्योऽग्नौ 10 (भवंति); तयाः स्वभावः प्रत्येकं भिन्नः, भिन्ना-ऽऽश्रयत्त्वात्। (श्रतः) समानानां (गुणानां) उपचार(-कथनं) न पूर्ववद् सदोषम्। पुरुषान्याः गुणसाम्यात् चेदुच्यते,—(श्रथ) युक्तं उपचार-कथनम्। 12

श्रनेनाऽपि हेतुना नैवं वाच्यं, श्रम्नो हि (ये) विद्यामाना गुणाः, पुरुषेऽविद्यामानाः (ते), तस्मात् उपचारकथनं न द्रव्याश्रयेण सिद्धम्। पुनश्र, उपचारो हि न सद्द्रव्याश्रयेण सिद्धः, नाऽपि युक्तिसहः। 14

३. (सिद्धान्ते उपचारस्वभावः)।—

(क) वस्तुसद् श्रस्ति स्वलच्चणं संवृतिज्ञान-विकल्पनयोः श्रवि-षयत्त्वात्। श्रथवा संवृतिज्ञान-कल्पना-ऽग्राह्यं स्वलच्चणं; (तच) धर्म-सामान्यलच्चणेषु प्रवर्तते। 16

अपि (च) न इतोऽन्योस्ति प्रज्ञापनोपायः । (अत्रव्व) स्वतन्त्रणं उपचारस्य आश्रयः। 17

(स) वस्तुतस्तु संवृतिज्ञानं विकल्पनं (च) श्रवश्यं शब्दं श्राश्रित्त्य उत्पद्येते। (गंधाद्यः इन्द्रियैः स्वकाय-प्राप्तमाद्याः, श्रातः प्राप्ता-यतना नाम) शब्दः (तु) श्रप्राप्तायतनः। (तस्मात्) इमे (संवृति-ज्ञान-विकल्पने, शब्दाश्रिते) न प्रवर्तेते (सदुपकरणेषु)। श्रमिधाना-ऽमिधेये उमे न स्वलच्चणे, तस्माद् विज्ञेयं—उपचारो न स्वलच्चणा (=सद्भूता)ऽऽश्रय (इति)। 19

त्रतएव केवलं सदृशं वस्तु त्राशित्त्य प्रवर्तितो प्रवर्धितः (च) उपचारो न सद्भृत-लक्तगः । शब्दः (तद्-) त्राशित्त्य वर्धितः सदृशाकारं प्रवर्तते । तस्मात् न वाच्यं—उपचारोऽस्ति द्रव्याशितः । तस्माद् त्रयं दोषो न सद्युक्तिसहः । 22

वस्तुतस्तु विज्ञान-विपरिणामाश्रयां मिथ्यादृष्टिं प्रतिषेद्धुं, उपचा-रोक्त्या उक्ता वस्तुसत्य(तया) श्रात्म-धर्माः । तस्माद् (हि) (धनव्यूह-) सूत्रे गाथायां उक्तं 23—

"बालानां सङ्कृतात्मधर्मशाहस्य प्रतिषेधार्थः; हि विज्ञानपरिणामा उपचारत उक्ता त्रात्मा धर्मा इति।" 25

(तृतीयः परिच्छेदः)

विज्ञानपरिगामः

विज्ञानपरिणामा* आकारेऽनेकविधा आपि, परिणामिविज्ञानं तु त्रिविधं एव । —(१) प्रथमं विपाकः, अयं अष्टमं विज्ञानं, अनेक-विपाकस्वभावत्त्वात् (विपाक इत्युच्यते); (२) द्वितीयं, मनना सर्वदा नितोरण-मनन(स्वभाव)ात्; इदं सप्तमं विज्ञानम्; (३) तृतीयं, आतम्बन(= विषय)-प्रहणं, आद्यानि षड् विज्ञानानि (=चज्जः-श्रोत्र-द्वाण-जिह्वा-काय-मनो-विज्ञानानि), स्थूलविषयाकारप्रहणात्। 29

(कारिकायां) ''च'' शब्दः षण्णां संघातस्य एकविधतां प्रदर्शयति । 29

इमानि त्रीणि, परिणामि-विज्ञानं नाम । 1

परिणामि श्रस्ति द्विविधं—(क) प्रथमं हेतुपरिणामः, श्रयं श्रष्टमविज्ञानस्य निष्यन्द्-विपाक-हेतुद्वय-वासना । निष्यन्द्-वासना (श्रस्ति) कुरालाऽकुरालाऽव्याकृताद् विज्ञानसप्तकाद् वासनानां जननं वृद्धिः (च)। विपाकवासना (श्रस्ति) सास्त्रव-कुरालाऽकुराल-विज्ञान-षद्कात् वासनानां जननं वृद्धिः (च)। 4

(ल) द्वितीयं, फलपरिग्णामः, श्रयं श्रस्ति प्रथमो(क्त-) द्विविध-वासना-बलात् श्रष्टमविज्ञानस्य जननं, नानाकारेग्ण प्रादुर्भावः । 5 हेतुप्रत्ययमृतया निष्यन्दवासनया श्रष्टौ विज्ञानानि नाना

^{* &}quot; परिणामः स च त्रिथा ॥ १ ॥ विपाको मननाख्यश्च विक्रप्तिविषयस्य च ॥" (कारिका १,२)।

स्वभावाकारा उत्पद्यन्ते, (तस्मात्) निष्यंदफलं नाम, फलस्य हेतु सा-दृश्यात्। ७

श्रिपितिप्रस्ययभूतया विपाकवासनया जायते श्रष्टमं विज्ञानं; श्राक्षेपिक्रयासंबंधवशात् निस्यसन्तानस्वात् (च), उच्यते विपाको नाम । श्राद्यं, विज्ञानषट्कसुपादाय परिपूरकित्रयासंबंधात् विपाकतो जातस्वात् (च) विपाकजो नाम; न (तु) सिवच्छेदात् विपाको नाम । श्रयं प्रथमो विपाको विपाकजश्च विपाकफलं (इति) उच्यते, फलस्य हेतोर्भिन्नस्वात् । 11

श्रत्र (कारिकायां विपाक-शब्देन) सूचयति, श्रात्त्मराग-प्राह-स्थानं संक्लेशबीजप्राहकं फलपरिणामिविज्ञानं (=श्रष्टमं विज्ञानं) इति । (केवलं) श्रष्टमं विज्ञानं विपाक(-फलं, श्रस्तीति) नोक्तम् । 12

(चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः)

श्रालय-विज्ञानम्

सर्वेऽपि त्रयः परिणामिनः पूर्वं समासत उक्ताः विस्तरेण तु न व्याख्यातानि त्रयाणां परिणामिनां लच्चणानि । त्रथ, (किं) प्रथमं परि-णामि, तस्य लच्चणं (च) किं (इति) कारिकामिकच्यते 14—

तत्रालयास्यं विज्ञानं विपाकः सर्व-बीजकम् ॥ २ ॥ 15 त्रमंविदित-कोपादि-स्थान-विज्ञप्तिकं च तत् । सदा स्पर्श-मनस्कार-वित्-संज्ञा-चेतनाऽन्त्रितम् ॥ ३ ॥ 17 उपेचा वेदना तत्राऽनिवृता-ऽन्याकृतं च तत् । तथा स्पर्शादयः, तच्च वर्तते स्रोतसोघवत् ॥ ४ ॥ 18 तस्य न्यावृत्तिरर्हन्वे; 18

१. ग्रालयविज्ञान-लज्ज्यानि

(१) त्रालयः

(श्रत्र) शास्त्र उक्तं (यत्) प्रथमं परिगामि-विज्ञानं, (तत्) महा(यान)-हीनयान-देशनासु श्रालय (इति) उच्यते । 20

इदं विज्ञानं श्रस्ति, श्रालयः, श्रालीयमानं, प्राहः(वा), श्रालयार्थ-त्त्वात्। श्रस्य संक्लेशैस्सह् श्रन्योन्यप्रत्ययत्त्वात् , सत्त्वैः स्वाभ्यन्तरात्मै-कतया हि (एतद्) गृह्यते । 22

इयं (कारिका) सूचयति प्रथमं परिणामि (श्रष्टमं) विज्ञानं सर्व-स्वलज्ञणाकारं, कार्यकारणभावेन स्वलज्ञणत्त्वात् । 23

इदं विज्ञानं स्वलत्तर्णं* अवस्थानां अनेकत्त्वेऽपि। आलय-विज्ञानं विस्तारभिया (अंशत उक्तम्)। 24

(२) विपाकः

इदं (त्रालयविज्ञानं) सर्वासु (लोक-)धातु-गतिषु त्रात्तेपकयोः सत्त्वानां कुरालाकुरालकर्मेणोः विपाकफलत्त्वात् विपाक (इति) उच्यते । नास्मात् पृथग् जोवितेन्द्रियं, सभागतादयः नित्त्य-संतितः । अनुत्तर-विपाकफलं (वा), त्रानुपलभ्यमानत्त्वात् । 27

श्रनेन (विपाक-शब्देन सूच्यंते)—प्रथमस्य परिगामि-विज्ञानस्य सर्वे फलाकाराः । इदं विज्ञानं फलाकारं, श्रथापि नानाऽवस्थासु विस्तरेण नानाविध-विपाकं, (सत्त्वं सत्त्वं प्रति) श्रसाधारणत्वात्; समासत (विपाको) नाम । 29

(३) सर्ववीजकम्

इदं (अष्टमं विज्ञानं) सर्वेषां धर्मबीजानां आधात, अनुच्छिति-कर्त (च), तस्माद् सर्व-बीजकं नाम । एतस्माद् भिन्ना अन्ये धर्मा न धर्मबीजानां आधातारः, अनुपलभ्यमानत्त्वात् । 2

एतेन सूच्यते—प्रथमं परिगामिविज्ञानं श्रास्त हेत्वाकारम् । (यदपि) इदं विज्ञानं हेत्वाकारं, श्रथापि धारयति श्रनेक विधानि बीजानि, (प्रतिसत्त्वं) श्रसाधारणत्त्वात् । श्रंशत उक्कं प्रथमं परिगामिविज्ञानं नानास्वभावलज्ञणम् । समासोक्त्या इदं त्रिविधं एव भवति । 4

२, बीजसिद्धान्तः

सर्वबीजलज्ञगां पुनरपि विभज्यते 5 ।—

(लज्ञणम्)।(क) कोऽयं धर्मो बीजं नाम ? इदं (आलय-विज्ञानं अस्ति) मूल-विज्ञानम्। तत्र अनन्तरोत्पन्ना स्वफलोत्पादिका शक्तिः (=बीजं) ततो भिन्ना भवति। मूलविज्ञानं ततो जातं फलं (च) नाभिन्नं निभन्नं, स्वभाव-कारित्र-कारण-कार्य-हेतूनां एवंभावात्। 7

स्वलक्षणं=स्वभावलक्षणं=स्वरूपलक्षणम् । †यथा महीशासकानां शास्वतस्कंभः।

- (ल) यद्पि (बीजानि विज्ञान-फलयोः) नाभिन्नानि नभिन्नानि, संति तु सद्भूतानि । प्रज्ञप्ति (=उपचार)-धर्मश्चेत्, —न, त्र्रहेतुप्रत्यय-च्वात् । एतादृशा धर्मा यतो नाभिन्ना नभिन्नाः, (त्र्रतः) घटादिवत् स्युः प्रज्ञप्ताः (=किल्पताः), न सद्भूताः । एवं चेत् , (भूत)तथता(ऽपि) स्यात् प्रज्ञप्तिसत् (=संवृतिसत् त्र्रज्ञत्याद्तत्त्वात् , गगनकुसुमवत्)।— त्र्रभ्यपेमः—त्र्रथ न (त्र्रास्त) परमार्थसत् । वस्तुतस्तु, बीजानि लोकानुरोधेनैव सद्भूतानि उच्यन्ते, न तु तथतातुल्यन्त्वेन । 11
- (ग) बीजानि अष्टमविज्ञानाश्रितान्यपि, संति एतद्विज्ञान-निमित्तभागानि, नान्यानि । दर्शनभागा (हि) नित्त्यं तानि आलम्बन-तया गृह्णन्ति । 13
- (घ) सास्त्रवाणि बीजानि च विपाकविज्ञानस्वभावाऽभिन्नत्त्वात् अव्याकृतस्वभावपरिगृहीतानि । कार्य-कारणे उभे कुशलादिस्वभावे, तस्मादेव कुशलादीति । 15

श्रनास्रवाणि बोजानि न विपाकविज्ञानस्वभावपरिगृहीतानि, तस्मात् कार्य-कारणे उभयथा स्तः। कुशलस्वभावपरिगृहीतत्त्वात् केवलं कुशलं नाम ।—एवं चेत्, (योगशास्त्रे) प्रतिबेध-खंड उक्तं—द्वाविंशति इन्द्रियाणि सर्वैः विपाकबीजैः विपाकजैः (च) समन्वागतानि । (तत्र) तु विपाको न श्रव्याकृताश्रयो विपाक उच्यते ; तस्माद् विपाकबीजानि नाम, भित्रस्वभावानि श्रन्योन्याऽश्रितानि चत्तुर्विज्ञानादिवत् 19।श्रथवा श्रनास्रवाणि बीजानि वासनावलात् विपरिणम्यन्ते—विपच्यन्ते, (तेन) विपाक (इति) उच्यते । विपाको नाम न श्रव्याकृतस्वभावोऽत्र गृह्यते । 20

- (बीजोत्पाद:)। १. (ब्राचार्य: चन्द्रपालो मन्यते)—विपाक (-शब्दस्य) इह अर्थो भवति—सर्वाणि बीजानि मूलस्वभावतो जायन्ते न वासनातः;वासनावलात् तु वर्द्धन्ते। तथाहि उक्तः—(क) (ब्रच्चयमित-) सूत्रे—"सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां ब्रनादिकालिका भवंति नानाधातवः, ब्रच्च (=विभीतक)-राशिवत् धर्मतास्थितिकाः।" ब्रत्न हि "धातव" इति बीजानां नामान्तरम्। 24
- (ख). पुनश्च (श्रमिधर्म-)सूत्र उक्तं—"श्रनादिकालिका धातवः सर्वेषां धर्मादीनां श्राश्रयः।" "धातु" (-शब्दः) श्रत्र कारणार्थे। 25

(ग). योग(-शास्त्रे)ऽप्युक्तं—"बीजानि स्वभावतोऽनादिका-लिकानि त्रादिमानि त्रिपि । सास्रवानास्रवकर्मभ्यां तु नवा वासना उत्पद्यन्ते । यदि सत्त्वा त्र्यनादिकालतः परिनिर्वाणधर्मकाः, (तर्हि) (ते) सर्ववीजैः परिपूर्णाः । यदि त्रपरिनिर्वाणधर्मकाः, त्र्यथ त्रिविधवोधिबीज-विरहिताः ।" 28

एवमादीनि सद्यंथ-प्रमाणान्यनेकानि। 29

- २. (क) पुनश्च (लंकावतारसूत्र ेऽन्येषु सद्ग्रंथेषु चोच्यते)— "सत्त्वा हि नाम, प्रक्रत्या पंचविधा भवंति स्वभावभेद्तः, तस्माद् धर्मताबीजादेव (एवं) भवन्ति न (तु) वासनातो जायन्ते"। 1
- (ख). योग(-शास्त्रे) च उक्तं—"नारका अनास्रवेन्द्रियत्रय-सम-न्वागताः।" (तानि इन्द्रियाणि) स्युः बोजानि भूत(कालिका)नि, न तु वर्तमानानि । 3
- (ग). पुनश्च (तत्रैव योगशास्त्रे, बोधिसत्त्वभूमौ)—"ग्रानादि-(-काल)तः (त्र्यविच्छिन्न-)परम्पराक्रमेण त्र्यागच्छिति धर्मताप्रतिलंभकं, (बोधिसत्त्वानां) मूलस्वभाव(=प्रकृति-)स्थं गोत्रम्।" 4

इत्यादिभिः प्रमाणैः त्र्यनास्रवाणि बीजानि धर्मतामूलकानि, न (तु)

वासनातो जायन्ते । 5

३. सास्रवाण्यपि भवंति धर्मताबीजानि वासनातो वर्धितानि, न वासनातः पृथग् जातानि । 6

एवं (कार्य-कारण-भेदः) सिद्धोऽनाकुलः । 6

- (नन्द-श्रीसेनौ) मन्येते—(क) बीजानि वासना जनयन्ति । (परन्तु) भावनोय-भावियतारौ (वर्तमानधर्मा-ऽऽलयविज्ञाने) उभौ श्रमादि(काल) तो विद्येते, तस्माद् बीजानि वासनाश्र न श्रादिकालत उत्पन्नानि । बोजं हि नामान्तरं वासनायाः । भावनात एव वासना जायते पुष्पवासित-तिलगंधवत् । 9
- (क) (१) तथाहि (बुद्धधातुक-)सूत्र उक्कं—"सत्त्वानां चित्तानि हि सास्रवाऽ-नास्रवैः धर्मैर्वासितानि, अपरिमित-बीजसमन्वागतानि।" 10
- (२) (महायानसंग्रह-)शास्त्र उक्तं—"श्राभ्यन्तराणि बीजानि (यदा) वासनावासितानि भवंति (तदैव फलं श्राद्धते); बाह्यानि बीजानि (कदाचित्) वासितानि, नवा (वासितानि) भवंति।" 11

(३) पुनश्च (धर्म-बीज)ादीनि नाम, त्रिविधवासनापरिगृहीतानि । सर्वाणि सास्रवाणि धर्मबीजानि एताभ्यः तिस्रभ्यो वासनाभ्यो जायन्ते; तस्मात् सास्रवाणि बीजानि भावना(=वासना)-पारतंत्रयेण भवन्ति । 13

(४) अनास्रवाणि बीजान्यपि भावना(=वासना)-संगतानिः; (तथाहि महायानसंप्रहे) उकः—"धर्मधातुनिष्यन्दं सद्धर्म श्रुत्तवा श्रुत-वासना (जायते); सद्धर्मवासनातो जातत्त्वात्।" (भूमि-प्रवेशात् प्राक् श्रुतवासना सास्रवा भवति, सा च सास्रवा श्रुतवासना) "अस्ति लोकोत्तर-चित्त-बीज-स्वभावा।" 15

(ख*), सत्त्वाः सर्वदा विभिन्नगोत्रा (त्रिप), न त्रानास्रव-बीजानां भावाऽभावतः; त्रिपितु सावरणा-ऽनावरण-संबंधात् (तथा) सिध्यंति । तथाहि योग(चर्या-भूमि-शास्त्रे) उक्तं—(भूत-) तथताऽऽलम्ब-नेन उभय(क्लेश-झेय)ावरणयोः बीजैः त्रपरिनिर्वाण-धर्मकगोत्रस्य (सत्त्वस्य) प्रतिबंधो भवति । 18

ज्ञेयावरणबीजस्य प्रहाणेन न क्लेश(।वरणबीज)स्य प्रहाणं; एकेन भागेन (मृद्धिन्द्रियक्रमेण) श्रावकगोत्र-प्रतिष्ठितो भवति, एकेन भागेन (तीक्णेन्द्रिक्रमेण) 19 प्रत्त्येकबुद्ध-गोत्रप्रतिष्ठित:। उभयावरण-बीजानां अन्त्यन्ताभावेन च तथागतगोत्र(-प्रतिष्ठितो) भवति। 21

तसाद् विज्ञेयं—मूलगोत्रभेद श्रावरणानुसारेण सिध्यतिः, न (तु) श्रनास्रवबीजेन । 22

यच्चोक्तं श्रास्त्रवबीजसमंगीभावता (नारकाणां, तद्धि) उत्पत्स्य-मानानि श्रधिकृत्त्य, न तु (तत्र) पूर्वतो विद्य-मानानि (बीजानि)। 23 एकेन (धर्मपालेन) व्याख्यातं—बीजानि प्रत्येकं द्विधा—

(क), प्रथमं मौलं (बीजं) नाम, अनादि(काल)तो विपाक-विज्ञाने, या शक्तिः उत्पादयति स्कंघाऽऽयतनधातून् (तया) धर्मतया विद्यन्ते।

इदमेवाधिकृत्त्य भगवता (त्रज्ञराशिस्त्र) उक्तं—"सर्वे सत्त्वा त्रनादिकालतो भवन्ति नाना-धातुकाः, त्रज्ञराशिवत, धर्मतायां (च)

^{*} चंद्रपाल-मत-खंडनम्।

विद्यमानाः।" (इह) पूर्वोद्धृतैरिव अपराख्यिप प्रमाणानि विस्तरेगो-दाहार्य्याणि। इदं नाम मूल-स्वभाव-सिद्धं (=मौलं) बीजम्। 28

(ख) द्वितीयं सादि। इदं श्रनादि(काल)तोऽभीच्यां धर्म-वासना-वासितं भवति। 29

इद्मेवाधिकृत्त्य भगवतोकं—"सत्त्वानां चित्तानि सास्रवाऽनास्रव-धर्मैः वासितानि भवन्ति; यस्मात् नास्ति अभावो बीजमहाराशेः।" अन्यत्रापि शास्त्र उकं—"सास्रवाऽनास्रवािः बीजानि सास्रवाऽनास्रव-धर्मवासनातो जायन्ते।" —इदं वासना-वासितं बीजं नाम। 3

१. (चन्द्रपाल-मत-खंडनम्)—(बीजानि) केवलं मौलानि चेत्, (श्राद्यानि सप्त) प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि न स्युः (श्रष्टमस्य) श्रालय (-विज्ञानस्य) हेतु-प्रत्यय-लच्चगानि । तथाहि (महायानामिधर्म-) सूत्र उक्तं 4—

"धर्मीः (=सप्त विज्ञानानि) त्रालय-विज्ञाने धर्मेषु च विज्ञानं तथा। फलस्वभावाश्चान्योऽन्यं हेतुस्वभावा ऋषि सदा॥" 5

श्रस्यां गाथायां उक्तोऽर्थः—श्रालयविज्ञानां अवृत्तिविज्ञानानि च मिथो हेतुफलभावेन सर्वदाऽन्योन्यजनकानि । 7

महायानसंग्रहे (ऽपि) जकं—"आलयविज्ञानं संक्लेशधर्माश्च मिथो हेतुप्रत्ययभूताः । यथा (दीपस्य) वर्ति-कलिकेऽन्योन्य-संजात-दग्धे, यथा तृणपूलकं वाऽन्योन्याश्रितम् । केवलं अनयोर्द्धयोः (मिथः संबंधेन) हेतु-प्रत्त्यय-स्थितिः; अन्यत्र हेतु-प्रत्त्ययाऽनुपलम्भात् ।" 10

सर्वाणि बीजानि न वासना-जातानि चेत् , कथं (सप्त)प्रवृत्ति-विज्ञानानि त्रालय-विज्ञानं च भवंति हेतु-प्रत्यया (इति) ? 11

वासनयाऽपरिपृष्टानि (इति चेत्) न वाच्या हेतुप्रत्ययाः; कुशला-कुशलकर्मविपाकफलस्य हेतुप्रत्ययभावात् । 12

श्रार्यदेशनासु (सूत्रेषु शास्त्रेषु) चोकं—बीजानि भवन्ति वास-नातो जातानि (इति)। सर्वे विरुद्धं तस्य (=चन्द्रपालस्य) व्याख्यानं, तस्मात् मौत्तमेव भवति हेतुः देशना-प्रत्ययेन । 14

त्रादावुत्पन्नं संस्कृतं त्रानास्रवं एव चेत् , हेतुप्रत्ययभावेन , न स्याद् जन्मलाभः सास्रवस्य । त्रानास्रवबीजाभावे, न जायेत त्रानास्रवं बीजं सास्रवात् । (तथा) स्वीकारे बुद्धानामपि जायेरन् सास्रवाः (धर्माः); जायेरंश्च कुरालादीनि श्रकुरालादिवीजेभ्यः । 17

३. (विशुद्धचित्तवादलंडनम्) । विभज्यवादिनां भवति अयं-वादः—"प्रकृत्या विशुद्धः चित्तस्वभावः एवं क्लेशैः उपिक्तष्टं भवति, तस्मात् (चितं) संक्षिष्टं उच्यते । क्लेशनिर्मुक्तिकाले अनास्रवभावेन वर्तते । तस्माद् अनास्रवा धर्मा न निर्हेतुकाः ।" 19

परन्तु तेषां वादे कोऽर्थः "चित्त-स्वभाव"-शब्दस्य ? 20—

(क), चेंदुच्येत—शून्यता(=भूततथता) (अथ) न (भवति) चित्तहेतुः; न हि नित्यो (=असंस्कृतो) धर्मो भवति धर्माणां बीजं, पूर्वाऽपरस्वभावानां अविपरिणामित्त्वात्। 21

चेदुच्येत—(१) सांख्ये:—चित्तं समानं भवति। रूपे विपरिवर्त्य-मानमपि स्वभावस्तु नित्त्यं समानः।(२)(चित्तं स्वभावतो विशुद्धं, श्रथ) श्रक्कशलाव्याकृते चित्तं श्रिप कुशले मन्तव्ये।(३) श्रथ भवेत् श्रद्धादिसमन्वागतम्।(४)(तथा) श्रस्वीकारेऽथ चित्तं न स्यात् कुशलस्वभावं; न तावत् वाच्यं—(युगपद् तद्) च कुशलं श्रनास्त्रवम्। (५) संक्षिष्टं कुशलं चित्तं हि श्रकुशलचित्तादिवत् न श्रनास्त्रवस्त्रभावम्। तस्मात् नास्ति श्रनास्त्रवन्देतुः, कुशलाऽकुशलादीनां श्रन्योऽन्यादेतु-त्वात्।(६) सास्त्रवचित्तानां स्वभावोऽस्ति श्रनास्त्रवः (चेदथ), श्रना-स्रवचित्तस्य स्वभावो (ऽपि) सास्त्रवः स्यात्, हेतुप्रत्त्यय-भेदानुपलंभात। (७) पृथग्जनस्यापि चित्तं श्रनास्त्रवं श्रस्ति चेत्, तिर्हं पृथग्जनमूमो श्रनास्त्रवः, श्रथापि श्राकारस्तु क्षिष्टो भवति (इति) चेत्; नोच्येत— श्रनास्त्रवं (चित्तं) एतैर्दोषैर्विना, श्रथ चित्तबीजमपि न श्रनास्रवम्। किं (च) युष्माकं मतेन पृथग्जनो भवत्येव श्रनास्त्रववीजसमुपलाभी बीज- समुदाचाराणां (धर्माणां च) स्वभावयोरेकत्त्वात्। 3

^{*}विभज्यवादिनां महासांधिकै-कव्यवहारिक-लोकोत्तरवादि-कौक्कुःटिकानाम् । †"पभस्सरं इदं चित्तं, तंच खो आगन्तुकेहि उपिक्किलेसेहि उपिकिलिट्टं" (अंगु० नि. १।१०)।

यत्तु सूत्रे उक्तं—"चित्त-खभावः शुद्धः", (तद्) वचनं सूचयति चित्त-शून्यतावाद-व्यंजिकां भूततथतां, भूततथतायाः तत्त्वतः चित्त-स्वभावत्वात्। 5

अथवा चित्ते प्रकृत्या नास्ति होशः, तस्मादुच्यते—प्रकृत्त्या शुद्धं न तु

क्तिष्टम् । चित्तस्वभावस्याक्तिष्टत्त्वात् प्रकृतिशुद्धं नाम । 6

(दोष-परिहा्रः) । तस्मात् मन्तव्यं-सत्त्वा भवंति श्रनादि-कालत अ-वासनाजैः धर्मतासमन्वागमितैरनास्रववोजैः समन्वागताः, विशेषावस्था(=मोत्तभागीय)-प्राप्त्यनंतरं वासना वर्धयति (=जनयति) अनास्रवं धर्मम् । (तस्य) जातस्य (अनास्रवधर्मस्य) अयं भवति हेतुः; ग्रनास्रवस्योत्पादकाले च वासना भवति बीजम । ०

सास्रवधर्मबीजं (श्रपि) एतत्सदृशं विज्ञेयम् (-एकं मौलं,

ऋन्यद् वासनोत्पन्नम्)। 10

(ग्राभ्यन्तरबीजवासनम्) ।—श्रार्यदेशनायां (महायान-संग्रहे) यदुक्तं—''त्राभ्यन्तराणां बोजोनां भवति वासना" । ने तु (तत्र) स्फुट उक्तं—''सर्वाणि बीजानि वासनातो जायन्ते।" न युक्तं प्रत्याख्यानं (एतेन) प्रकृतिस्थ(=मौल)बीजानाम् । 12

प्रकृतिस्थं बीजं तु यदा वासनातो वर्द्धितं, अथोपलभते फलम्। तस्मादुकःं (महायानसंग्रहे)—"श्राभ्यन्तराणां बीजानां (श्रपि) भवति

वासना।" 13

(श्रुतवासना) । (महायानसंग्रह उक्तं), श्रुतवासना न केवलं, सास्रवा, सद्धर्मश्रवर्णकाले वासनातो जायते बीजं; (तद्धि) क्रमशः उत्तरोत्तरं (चित्तं) बर्धयति यावल्लोकोत्तरं चित्तं उत्पद्यते। तस्मात्तद् (=अनास्रवं बीजं) श्रुतवासना नाम । 16

(यदा) श्रुतवासनाऽस्ति क्लिप्ट-खभावा (ऋथ) भावनाहेया; अनुत्तरविपाकोपलंभिका लोकोत्तरधर्माणां अनुत्तरोऽधिपतिप्रत्त्ययः। 17

(यदा श्रुतवासनाऽस्ति) श्रनास्रवस्वभावा, साऽहेयपरिगृहीता भवति, लोकोत्तरधर्माणां सम्यग् हेतुप्रत्ययः । सम्यग् हेतुप्रत्ययः सूचमो गुँह्यो दुईचो निहितः स्थूल-व्यक्तोत्तमोऽधिपति-प्रत्ययो भवति। (महयाान-) सँयह उक्कं--'(इयमस्ति) लोकोत्तरचित्त (-बीजम्)'। 20

(गोत्रं, बीजम्)। (योगचर्याशास्त्रानुसारेण) आवरणाद् भवति गोत्रभेदः। श्रन्येऽर्थतो श्रनास्त्रवन्नीजानां भावाभावाभ्यां वा दर्शयन्ति। (पुरुषे) श्रनास्त्रवन्नीजानां श्रन्यन्ताभावरचेत् तस्य जभयावरणवीजानि श्रहेयानि, श्रथ स भवेत् श्रपरिनिर्वाणधर्मकः। जभययानिकं श्रनास्त्रवन्नोजं एव भवेत् चेत्, तत्र झेयावरणनोजं सर्वदा-ऽहेयं, (श्रथ) एकभागतो भवेत् श्रावकगोत्रे, एकभागतो भवेत् प्रत्त्येक-वुद्ध-गोत्रे। (तस्मिन्) बुद्धस्यानास्त्रवन्नोजमिप भवित चेत्, तस्य द्विविधं श्रावरणनीजं सर्वं श्रन्यंतं हेयं, श्रतः स भवेत् तथागतगोत्रे। 26

तस्माद् अनास्रवबीजानां भावाभावत आवरणं भवति छेदां अच्छेदां (वेति) ज्ञायते । अनास्रवबीजं तु सूद्रमं गुद्धं दुर्ज्ञेयं, तस्मात् तदु (=योगचर्याशास्त्रं) आवरणानुसारं दर्शयति गोत्रभेदम् । 28

एवं चेत् तयोरावरणयोरिस्त को भेदो यस्माद् भवित हेया-ऽ हेयत्वम् १ धर्मता (=वस्तुस्वभाव-) तो भवत्ययं आवरणभेदः (इति) उच्यते चेद् , अनास्रवधर्मबोजात्तु कथं न तथा मन्यते १ आदितः सर्वथा नास्ति अनास्रवधर्मबीजं (इति) चेत् , अथार्यमार्गः कदापि न जायेतः (अथ) कोऽलं छेतुं आवरणबीजम् १ उच्यते तु—"आवरणतो भवित गोत्रभेद" (इति)। यतस्तत्रार्यमार्गो (न) जायते, (अथ) तेषां (नारकाणां) अनागतं (मार्गबोजं) अस्ति (इति) कथनं अयुक्तम्। 4

वस्तुतस्तु, त्रार्थदेशनासु सर्वत्र उच्यते—"श्रस्ति पुराणं बीजम्।" सर्वविरुद्धस्तस्य वादः, तस्मात् (सर्वं बीजं) त्रादिमद् एव जायत (इति कथनं) शास्त्र-न्याय-विरुद्धम्। 5

तस्माद्विज्ञेयं धर्मबोजं एकैकं अस्ति द्विविधं—पुराणं, आदौ जातं (चेति)। 6

३. बीजानां षड्लचणं द्वेधाकारणता बाह्याभ्यन्तरबीजानि । (क). बीजानां षड्लचणम् ।

श्रथ बीजानां लच्चगं षोढैव भवति। — 7

१. प्रथमं च्रिण्कं विनाशि वा। (यत्) स्वभावत उत्पत्तेरनन्तरं विनश्यित, कारित्रसमन्वागतं (च) भवित, तद् भवित (इदं) बीजम्। इदं नित्त्यधर्मपरिवर्जितं, नित्त्यं श्रविकारि हि उत्पादिक्रयासमन्वितमस्ति (इति) न वक्तुं शक्यम्। 9

२. (यत्) बीजं जायमानं एव कारित्र*फलधर्माभ्यां समन्वागतं वा, तद् श्रस्ति फलसहभू: । 10

इदं (बीजफलं) पूर्वाऽपर(श्वित)वर्जिता (युगपद्-वर्तमाना) नियता अन्योन्याभिन्ना धर्माः। (बीजानि) नानाखभावानि अपि अविरोधिस्वभावतया समकालं स्थायुकानि, कारिज्ञजनकानि (च)। न एवं मिथ आत्मासहशानि पूवापरोत्पन्नानि, (अन्योन्य-)विरोधीनि (चेत्); न स्युः सहभूनि। यदपि हेतु-फलं समकालं, नतु हेतु-क्रिया वर्तमानकाले समकालं अतीतेऽनागते वा भवति, अस्वभावत्त्वात्। तस्मात् बीजं नाम प्रत्युत्पन्न-फलोत्पादकं, न तु सहशबीजोत्पादावर्षकम्। 15

तस्माद् (बीजं) फलसहभूरेव वक्तव्यम् । 16

३. तृतीयं निरन्तराऽनुप्रवृत्तं—सुदोर्घकालं यावत् समसन्तानं चरमावस्थायां (तत्प्रतिपत्तमार्गोत्पादसमये) बीजं भवति । 17

एतेन (सौत्रान्तिकानां षट्) प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि (श्रपि) प्रतिषिद्धानि । प्रवृत्ति(विज्ञानं) विकारि उपच्छिन्नं, (श्रतो) बीज-धर्मासमन्वागतम् । इति निद्शौयति—स्वसदृशानि बीजानि श्रन्योऽन्यं जनयन्ति । 18

४. चतुर्थे विनियतस्त्रभावं—हेतुसामर्थ्येन कुरालाऽकुरालादि-(धर्म-)निर्वर्तकम् । (तत्-)सामर्थ्यं विनिश्चीयते बीज-हेतुतः । 20

एतेन (प्रत्युक्तं) अपरिनकाय(=सर्वास्तिवाद)मतं—अन्यस्वभावो-ऽन्यस्वभावं फलं जनयति हेतु-प्रत्ययार्थम् । 21

५. पंचमं प्रत्ययसामग्रयपेत्तं —स्वानेकप्रत्ययान् (श्रपेत्त्य) शक्तिविशोषसंचयार्थे बीजं स्वानेकप्रत्यय(-सापेत्तं) भवति । 22

एतेन प्रत्युक्तं तोर्थिकानां मतं—स्वभावो हेतुप्रत्ययाऽनपेचो नित्यं युगपद् जनयति फलं (इति)। प्रत्युक्तं च अपरनिकायानां (अतीतानागतसंत्तावादिनां)—प्रत्ययानां नित्त्यं अनभाव (इति मतम्)। 23

6

^{*}फलात्पूर्व बीजमिति सौत्रान्तिकाः स्थिवराश्च मन्यन्ते । फलासमन्वागतं कारणं इति माहेक्वराः।

(इदं च) निदर्शयति—प्रत्ययस्यानित्त्यस्वभावत्वात् , बीजं न नित्त्यं युगपद् फलं जनयति । 24

६. षष्ठ' स्वफलावाहकं—पृथक् पृथक् रूपचित्तादीनां (बीजानां) स्वस्वफलं त्राकृष्य उत्पत्तेः बीजं भवति । 25

एतेन प्रत्युक्तं तीर्थिकानां मतं—एकमेव कारणं जनयति सर्वं कार्यः; प्रत्युक्तं च अपरिनकाय(=सर्वास्तिवाद)मतं—रूपचित्ताद् योऽन्य-प्रत्यया भवंति । 27

मूल(=त्र्यालय)विज्ञानस्य शक्तिविशेषा भवंति इमान्येव षड्-लच्चणानि बीजानि, न श्रन्यानि । बाह्यं ब्रीहि-गोधूमादीनि, विज्ञान-विपरिणामत्त्वात्, उपचारतो भवंति बीजानि नाम, न तु तत्त्वतो बीजानि । 29

(ख) (द्वेधा कारणता)

यद्वीजवलात् सिन्नहितं प्रधानं फलं जायते, तदुच्यते जनकहेतुः (इति)। (तद्धि) आचिपति चिरं उच्छेषं कार्यः; न (च) युगपद् अवरुणद्धि, तस्माद् आचेपहेतुर्नाम । 1

(ग) बाह्यं श्राभ्यंतर बीजम्।

श्राभ्यन्तरं बीजं वासनातः उत्पादितं प्रबर्धितं (वा) फलानां हेत्प्रत्ययलत्तर्णं भवति । 2

बाह्यं बीजं, (यद्धि) वासनातो भावितं त्रभावितं वा, त्र्राधिपति-प्रत्ययभावेन कार्यं उत्पादयति उपयुंक्ते (च)। तस्य(=कार्यस्य) हेतुप्रत्यय त्र्राभ्यंतरं बीजं, फलं हि सामान्या(ऽऽभ्यंतर)बीजाज्जायते।

४. भाव्यः, (=वास्यः), भावयित (=वासकः)।

यद्विघोऽर्थो वास्यते, स भाव्यो (=वास्यो); (यश्च वासयति) (स भावयिता=वासको) नाम । 5

क. वासकः प्रत्येकं भवति चतुर्लच्चाणः। बीजाद् उत्पद्यते वर्धते तस्माद् वासना नाम। कतमो नाम चतुर्लचाणो भाव्यः ? 6—

१. प्रथमः स्थितिस्वमावः—धर्मश्चेत् त्रादित एकविधसन्तान-स्वभावः, त्र्रथास्ति भाव्यः । एतेन तत्त्राणेन (सौत्रान्तिकानां) प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानं राज्दवाताद्यश्च प्रतिषिद्धाः । श्चस्थितिस्वभावत्त्वात् न (ते) भाव्याः । 9

- २. द्वितीयोऽव्याङ्घतस्वभावः—धर्मश्चेत् तुल्योऽविरोधी (ऋथ वासनो)पलम्भार्दः, ऋस्ति भाव्यः। एतेन तथागतस्य ऋष्टमं श्रादर्शविज्ञानं पुराणं बीजं एव श्रालम्बते, न नवां गह्णाति वासनाम्। 1 1
- ३. तृतीयः भाव्यस्वभावः—धर्मश्चेत्, सद्भूतस्वभावो (=स्वतंत्रो), न (पाषाण-)घनोऽलं (श्रथ) प्रकृत्त्या वासनोपलंभाईः, तस्माद् श्रस्ति भाव्यः । एतेन प्रतिचिप्तं—चैत्ताः श्रसंस्कृता धर्माश्च पाषाणघनपरतंत्राः । तस्मात् न भाव्या (इति मतम्)। 13
- ४. चतुर्थोऽस्ति भावयिता ग्रन्थोन्यिमथुनस्वभावः—चेत् समानकाले समानाधिकरणे भावयित्रा नाभिन्नो नैवभिन्नो, त्रथास्ति भाव्यः। एतेन प्रतिचिप्तः परकीयं—पूर्वापरच्रणमिथुनस्वभावार्थ(क्रेति)। तस्मात् न वासनाभाव्यम्। विपाकविज्ञानं एव परिपूर्णस्वलच्चणं भवति। 17

ख, चैत्तादयः कथं नाम न भावियतारः ? चतुर्भिः प्रकारैः 17—

- १. प्रथमे—अनित्त्य उत्पादनिरोध(-स्त्रभावः) धर्मश्चेत् सकारित्रो (बीज)ोत्पाद-बृद्धिकरः, श्रथ स्यात् भावियता । एतेन प्रतिचिप्तः असंस्कृतः, पूर्वापर(-कालयोः) अविकारी न उत्पादनवर्धनसमर्थः । तस्मात् न भावियता । 19
- २. द्वितीयं—श्रधिमात्रिक्रयश्चेत्, स्यात् उत्पाद्-निरोध-खभावः सबलो (धर्मः) वासनान्तेपकः; श्रथ स्यात् भावयिता । एतेन प्रतिन्तिप्तानि विपाकचित्त-चैत्तादीनि (=श्रष्टमं विज्ञानं) दुर्बलानि । तस्मात् न भावयिता । 21
- ३. तृतीये—बृद्धि-त्त्रयवाँश्चेत्, स्यात् श्रधिमात्रवतः बृद्धि-त्त्रय-भागी वासयिता; श्रथास्ति भावयिता। एतेन प्रतित्तिप्तं—बुद्धस्य पार्रामताफतः सद्धमः, न वर्धते न त्तीयत (इति), (एवम्) न (स्याद्) भावयिता। स चेत् भावयिता, श्रथ पूर्वापरबुद्धफलं श्रपरिपूर्ण, हीन-प्रग्णितं स्यात्। 25
- ४. चतुर्थे—भाव्यसहगतगतिश्चेत्, स्याद् भाव्यः समानकाले समानाधिकरणे नाभिन्नः नैवभिन्नः; अथ स्याद् भावयिता । एतेन

प्रतिचिप्तं परकीयं-पूर्वापरचाणो न सहगतार्थः, तस्मात्र भावयिता (इति)। 27

केवलं सप्त प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानानि तचैत्तानि च भवन्ति वृद्धि-त्त्रययोः सुकारित्रवलानि । परिपूर्णैतचतुर्लेद्यण्(श्चेद्) भवति भावियता । एवं भावियत् भाव्यं चेति उभयं विज्ञानं जायते, उभयं निरुध्यति । वासनार्थं स्थापितं भाव्ये बीजे बर्धते, सुगंधितलबीजवत् ; तस्माद् वासना-भावियत्रुच्यते । 2

ग. बीजानि, धर्माश्च ।

विज्ञानं बीजेभ्यो जातकाले सद्यो भवेत् कारणं, अथ वासना भवित बीजम्। त्रयो धर्मा (भवंति) अन्योन्य-हेतु-फला युगपद् (दीप)-वितिशिखोपमाः—शिखा जायमाना दहित वितिः; तृणपूलीवद् वाऽन्यो-ऽन्याश्रयाः, हेतु-फलयोर्योगपद्याद्। न विरोधः—भावियता जनयित बीजं, बीजं जनयित धर्मे, यथा (हीनयानिकानां मते) सहभूहेतुजनयित पुरुषकारफलम्। बीजं पूर्वापर-सजातीयं मिथो जनयित, सभागहेतुवत् आकर्षति निःष्यन्दफलम्। इदं द्वयं कार्येऽस्ति हेतु-प्रत्यय-स्वभावम्। एतिद्वन्ना अपरे धर्मा न हेतु-प्रत्ययाः चेत्, हेतु-प्रत्ययकथनं उपचारवचनेन विज्ञेयम्।

इति समासतो व्याख्यातं सर्वबीजकम् 19

३. आकारः, आलम्बनम्।

''त्रमंविदितकोपादि-स्थान-विज्ञप्तिकं च तत्।''

संवित्तः=संवेदनं श्रस्ति विज्ञप्तिः । इयं भवति विज्ञानस्य क्रियाऽऽकारा, विज्ञप्तेः क्रियाकारत्त्वात् । स्थानं श्रस्ति श्राधारः= श्रधिकरणं=भाजनलोकः; सर्वेषां एतेषां सत्त्वानां संनिश्रयस्थानत्त्वात् । उपादिः द्विधा, तद्यथा—बीजानि सेन्द्रियकायाश्च । बीजानि सन्ति—निमित्तानि (=श्राकाराः) नाम, विकल्प-वासना (च)। सेन्द्रियकायाः सन्ति—रूपीन्द्रियाणि, इन्द्रियाधिष्ठानानि चेति द्वयम् । सा उपादिः (=श्रालयः) भवति विज्ञानपरिगृहोतस्वभावा, समानक्षेमान्तरायत्त्वात् । उपादिः स्थानं च (इति) उभयं भवति श्रालम्बनम् । 15

आकारः।

श्रालयविज्ञानस्य स्वभावः हेतुप्रत्ययवशात् जातकालेऽन्तरंगतया बीजभावेन विपरिणमते; सेन्द्रियकायः च बहिरंगतया भाजनभावेन विपरिणमते; श्रथ विपरिणतं स्वालम्बनं भवति, क्रियाकारं प्रतीत्य उत्पत्तिलाभात्। तत्र विज्ञप्तिरस्ति विपाकविज्ञानम्। स्वालम्बने भवति विज्ञप्ति-क्रिया। इयं विज्ञप्ति-क्रिया दर्शनभागे परिगृहीता। 19

क. ह्री भागी

श्रनास्रवं तु विज्ञानं स्व-भावोत्पत्तिकाले सदृशाऽऽलम्बनाऽऽलम्बनाकारेण प्रादुर्भवति । तस्मिन् संप्रयुक्ता धर्मा श्रापि तथा विज्ञेयाः । श्रालम्बना-कार-सदृशं (विज्ञानं) नाम निमित्तभागः । श्रालम्बका-कारसदृशं नाम दर्शनभागः । चित्त-चैत्तं चेत् श्रालम्बनाकारं, (श्रथ) न स्यात् प्राहकं स्वालम्बनगोचरस्य, स्याद्या एकैकशो प्राहकं सर्वेषां; यस्मात् (तस्य) स्वगोचरं श्रम्यद्व, श्रम्यद् स्वगोचरमिव 24। चित्त-चैत्तं श्रालम्बकनिमित्तं विना चेत् न स्यात् संवेदकं श्राकाशादिवत् । श्राकाशाद्यि (स्याद्) वाऽऽलम्बकम्। तस्मात् चित्त-चैत्तं भवेतां द्वचाकारे; तथाहि (धनव्यूह-)सूत्र उक्तं—26

"बुद्धेरालम्बनं सर्वः', सा कस्यापि न विद्यते। तदालम्बकालम्बनं प्रतिभाग-स्वभाववत्।"* 28

ख, त्रयो भागाः।

१. स्यान्मतं—(श्रास्त) विज्ञानातृथ्यम् श्रालम्बनविषयः। ते (च पौराणा) श्राहुः—(१) बाह्योऽस्र्यालम्बनं (विज्ञानस्य); (२) निमित्तमागो नाम क्रियाकारो; (३) दर्शनमागो नाम (विज्ञान-)द्रव्यम्। स्वलन्न्यान्त्वात् सन्ति चित्त-चैत्तानि। चित्तं चैत्तं च समाने, श्राश्रया-

^{*} शब्दार्थस्तु—''सर्व प्रवास्ति बुद्धरालम्बनं, बुद्धिरालम्बनं न कस्यापि विद्यते । बुद्धधालम्बनं बुद्धशालम्बनं प्रकेकसागस्वभावं भवति ।''आचार्यः पृषिन् तु— ''वेदकमात्रकं सर्वं वेद्यं जातु न विद्यते । वेदक-वेद्यभागौ तु प्रवर्तते स्वयं पृथक् ॥

ऽऽलम्बन-क्रियाकारेषु समाने, द्रव्येऽपि समाने। लच्चणं तु एकैकस्य भिन्नं, संज्ञा-वेदना-विज्ञाना-चाकाराणां प्रत्येकं भेदात्। 3

२. (नतु) कथं ज्ञायते विज्ञानात् पृथक् आलम्बनविषयः? अथोच्यते-निमित्तभागोऽस्ति आलम्बनं, दर्शनभागो नाम (च) क्रियाकारः।

(नतु) निमित्तं दर्शनं (च विज्ञानस्य) श्राश्रयेतां स्वलत्तगां द्रव्यं इति, तद्गित स्वसंवित्तिभागः ? श्रस्य (भागस्य) श्रभावे न स्यात् श्रनतुभूतार्थवत् स्वानुस्मरगां चित्त-चैत्तादीनां धर्माणाम् । (श्रस्मिन् सित) हि स्याद् समर्तु श्रलम् । चित्तं चैत्तं च तुल्याश्रयेन्द्रियालम्बने; क्रियाकाराः (तु) श्रन्योन्यं पृथक् , स्पर्श-वेदना-विज्ञानादीनां क्रियाणां श्रन्योन्यभेदात् । द्रव्यं (चिज्ञानं तत्संप्रयुक्तं च) तुल्यमपि श्राकारेण तु श्रन्योन्यभिन्नं, वेदनासंज्ञाविज्ञानादीनां स्वभावभेदात् । 8

३. वस्तुतस्तु चित्त-चैत्तं जातकाले पृथक् पृथक् न्यायेन परीत्तितं, एकैकस्य भवन्ति त्रयो भागाः—प्रमेयं, प्रमाणं, प्रमाणफलं (च); भिन्न-त्वात् निमित्त-दर्शन(भाग-)योरवश्यं स्व-भावाश्रयत्त्वात् । तथाहि (प्रमाण-)समुच्चय-शास्त्र-कारिकायां (च दिङ्नागेन) उक्तं *10—

"यदाभासं प्रमेयं तत् प्रमार्गफलते पुनः। प्राहकाकारसंवित्त्योः; त्रयं नातः पृथक् कृतम्॥" 13

ग. चत्त्वारो भागः।

क. चित्त-चैत्तानां सूत्त्मतया विभागकर्णो, चत्त्वारो भागाः भवन्ति—त्रयो भागाः पूर्वसदृशाः, चतुर्थोऽथ भवति संवित्तिभागः । एतमन्तरा, कः संवेद्येत् तृतोयम् ? चित्तभागत्त्वात् हि (अयं) स्वसंवेद्यः । 16

ख, पुनश्च, स्वसंवित्तिभागस्य भावे, किं फलं (स्वसंवित्तेः)? प्रमाणं अवश्यं अपेत्तते फलं, तस्मात् न स्यात् दर्शनभागः तृतीयस्य फलं, दर्शनभागस्य वाः, तदा प्रमाणाऽपरिगृहीतत्त्वात् । अतो दर्शनभागस्तृतीयो न स्वसंवित्ति-फलः स्यात् , प्रत्ययत्त्वात् ।

^{*&#}x27;'समानालम्बनाकारं प्रमेयं, प्राहकाकारस्वसंवित्योः । प्रमाणं फलं च त्रयं, न मिन्न-स्वभावमिदम् ।''

एतेषां चतुर्णां भागानां आद्यं द्वियं भवत बाह्यं, अन्त्यं द्वयं आभ्यन्तरम्। प्रथमो (निमित्तभाग) एव आलम्बनं, अन्त्यं त्रयं (तु) उभयथा युज्यते । द्वितीयो (दर्शन-)भाग एवास्ति संवित्तिः । प्रथमः प्रमाणं अप्रमाणं वा, प्रत्यत्तं अनुमानं वा। तृतीयः (स्वसंवित्तिभागः) संवेदकः। द्वितीयः, (दर्शन-)चतुर्थसंवित्त्व-संवित्ति-भागौ प्रत्यत्तीकुरुतः तृतीयं एव, निह द्वितीयं, अनुपयोगात्। तृतीय-चतुर्थौ उभौ, प्रत्यत्त-परिगृहीतौ ।—तस्मात् आलम्बनालम्बकं वित्त-चैत्तं चतुर्भागसंगृहीतं सिद्धम् । (एवं स्वीकारे) नास्त्यनवस्थादोषः, नाभिन्न-नैवभिन्नस्य विज्ञप्तिमात्रतायां एव सिद्धः। 25

(घनव्यूह-)सूत्रे गाथायां (च) उक्तं 25— ''द्विस्वभावं सत्त्व-चित्तं, बाह्याभ्यन्तरभागतः। त्र्यालम्बनोपलम्भकव्यासक्तमनेकदर्शनम्॥'' 27

श्रस्या गाथाया श्रर्थ उच्यते—सत्त्वानां चित्त-खभावो द्विभाग-संगताकारः—श्राभ्यन्तरवत्, बाह्यवत् । सर्वं भवति श्रालम्बनोपलम्भक-संगतम् । तत्र दर्शनभागस्य सन्ति नानाभेदाः—प्रमाणं श्रप्रमाणं वा, प्रत्यवं श्रनुमानं वा । दर्शनं तत्र हि श्रस्ति दर्शनभागः । 1

घ. भागाः त्रयः, ह्रौ, एकः ।

एवं (दिङ्नागमतेन) चत्त्वारो भागाः त्रिषु वा परिगृहीता भव-न्ति, चतुर्थस्य स्वसंवित्तिभागस्य तृतीये परिगृहीतत्त्वात् ; अन्येषु त्रिषु वा सर्वे परिगृहीता भवन्ति, आलम्बकस्यभावृत्त्वात् । 3

दर्शनभागपरिगृहीतो वा श्रयमर्थः, दर्शनस्य सालम्बनत्त्वात्। श्रथवा एकस्मिन् परिगृहीतो भवति स्वभावाभेदात्। तथा हि लंकावतार-(सूत्रे) गाथायां उक्तं 5—

"स्वचित्ताभिनिवेशेन चित्तं (वै) संप्रवर्तते। बहिर्धा नास्ति वै दृश्यं, श्रतो वै चित्तमात्रकम्।।" 7

^{*} शब्दार्थरतु—''स्वचित्ताभिनिवेशेन चित्तं वाद्याकम्बनवत् प्रवर्तते । तत्र नास्ति दृश्यं, तस्मादुच्यते चित्तमात्रकम् ।"

एवं (शास्त्रेषु) अनेकत्र एकं चित्तमात्रं उच्यते। एतस्मिन् चित्तार्थे चैत्ता अपि परिगृहीताः।

तस्माद् विज्ञानिकयाकाराऽस्ति विज्ञप्तिः; विज्ञप्तिः (च) श्रस्ति विज्ञानस्य । 9

२. ग्रालम्बनम्।

क. त्रश्यों भवत्त्यधिकरणम् । विपाकविज्ञानं साधारणाबीजस्य परिपाकवशाद् रूपादिवत् विपरिणम्यते, भाजनलोकाकारेण त्राभासमानं (तदेव) बाद्यं महाभूतं, तत्कृतं (=भौतिकं) रूपं च । यद्पि सत्त्वानां तद् (=विज्ञान)-विपरिणामोऽन्योन्यभिन्नः, लज्ञणं तु समानं, त्रधिकरणस्य श्रभिन्नत्त्वात्, यथा सर्वेषां प्रदीपानां प्रकाशा एकाकारेण प्रसर्गत्त । 13

(नतु) कानि तानि विपाकविज्ञानानि एतदाकारेण विपरिणम्यन्ते ? कस्य (चित्—चन्द्रामस्य) मतं—तत् (-सत्त्वानां विपाकविज्ञा-

नम्)। कस्मात् ? तथाहि सूत्र उक्तं 14-

"सर्वेषां सत्त्वानां कर्मोधिपतिबलेन (लोकस्य) सहोत्पादात् ।" 15 कस्यचित् (=धर्मपालस्य) मतं—एवं चेत् वस्तुतो बुद्धानां बोधि-सत्त्वानां च (विज्ञानानि) श्रस्मिन् मिश्रित-समल-त्तेत्रे विपरिणम्येरन्; पृथग्जनादीनां हि श्रन्यत्र श्रमुष्मिन् परिशुद्धधातौ उत्तमे त्तेत्रे विपरिणम्येरन् । किश्च, श्रार्था रूपतो विरक्ता श्रारूप्यधातौ जायेरन्, नाधरे परावृत्त्य श्रस्मिन् त्तेत्रे (तेषां विज्ञानानि) विपरिणम्येरन् । श्रथ कि प्रयोजनं, यस्मात् प्रत्युत्पन्ने विद्यमानाः तेऽमुत्र उत्पत्स्यंते, (येषां च) विपाकविज्ञानं विपरिणतं श्रस्मिन् धातौ ? न्नुद्रक-विमंग-सूत्र उक्तं—"समानकर्मणां सर्वेषां सहविपरिणामात्" (इति, एकेऽभिप्रयन्ति ।

क. एवं चेद् भाजनस्योपसंहारकाले वर्तमान-जनिष्यमाणानां (सत्त्वानां) त्रभावात् कस्य विपाक-विज्ञानं विपरिणम्येतास्मिन् धातौ । 21

ख, पुनश्च, पृथग्जनानां रूपे विरक्तानां त्रारूप्यधातौ जातानाः, त्रारूपकायप्रादुर्भावरहितानां, धातौ पूर्वतो विपरिगमने; किं प्रयोजनम् ?

ग (महासांघिकादिवत्) चेदारूप्ये भूमिभाजने च कायः; (अथ) न भवित स्थूलसूद्मयोर्भेदः; न(च)।ऽन्योऽन्यसंनिश्रितोऽयं विपरिणामो भवेत् । अथ तस्य किं प्रयोजनम् ?

वस्तुतस्तु, यदि तस्मिन् भाजने रूपकायस्य संनिश्रय-भोगयोविद्य-मानन्वात्, तत्र (विज्ञान-)विपरिणामो भवति इति, एवं श्रन्यत्र (धातौ) जातस्य स्वभूमिन्नेत्रेऽपि विज्ञानं विपरिणम्येत । श्रथ भाजनलोकस्य उपसंहारे (=विनाशकाले) श्रादिसर्गे, सत्त्वा श्रापि न संविद्यमाना भवेयुः ।

इद्मुक्तं (भवति)—यदि सर्वेषां (सत्त्वानां) साधारणो भोगोऽयं (लोकोऽथ); 2 देव-मनुष्यादयो दर्शनभेदात् विशेषान् भोगाननुवध्नन्तीति हि विज्ञेयम् । 3

बीजानि ।

सर्वाणि हि सास्रवादि-धर्मबीजानि विपाकविज्ञानाश्रितानि विज्ञानस्वभावपरिगृहीतानि, तस्माद् त्रालम्बनम् । 5

श्रनास्रवधमेबीजानि यद्यपि तद्विज्ञानाश्रितानि, न तु तत्स्वभावपरि-गृहीतानि, तस्मात् न श्रालम्बनम् । श्रनालम्बनत्त्वेऽपि,न तु भूततथतावत् (विज्ञानाद्) भिन्नं; (तस्माद्) न विज्ञप्तिमात्रताया विरोधः । 8

सेन्द्रियककायः । विपाकविज्ञानं असाधारणलच्चणबीजपरिपाक-बलेन रूपीन्द्रिये-न्द्रियाश्रयायतनयोराकारेण विपरिणम्यते । ते महा-भूतानि आभ्यन्तराणि रूपाणि च उपादाय, साधारणलच्चणाबीजपरिपाक-बलेन अन्यकायस्थानेऽपि विपरिणम्यन्ते । नैतदेवं चेत् न श्रूयेरन् परकीया भोगाः ।

केषांचित् (=िस्थरमते:) मते, (परकीयं) इन्द्रियमिव विपरि-णम्यते । उक्तं (असंगेन) मध्यान्तिविभंगे—"स्वैरिव हि परकीय-पंचेन्द्रिया-कारेण प्रादुर्भवति ।" केषांचित् (=धर्मपालस्य) तु मते, आत्मानुपयोगात् केवलं परेन्द्रियाश्रयायतनाकारेण विपरिणम्यते। स्वकीयं विज्ञानं परकीयाणां पंचानां इन्द्रियाणां, परकीयं (च) स्वीयानां आकारेण विपरिणम्यते; तस्मात् अपरभूमौ जातस्य निर्वृतस्य वा शव इहाऽपि अनुवर्तते । 15

ग. नाना प्रश्नाः।

१. उक्तपूर्व — कर्मबलेन विपरिणम्यते वाह्यभाजनाकारेण आभ्य-न्तरकायाकारेण नानाधातु-भूमिषु । समाध्यादिबलेन यदा भाजनकाया-कारेण विपरिणम्यते धातु-भूमिषु, अथ स्वपरानियतं भवति । (विज्ञान-)-विपरिणामं काय-भाजनं प्रायेण सर्वदाऽनुप्रवर्तते । शब्द-प्रभादयोऽवि- परिणामा अधिकांशतोऽचिरकालिकाः, वर्तमानप्रत्ययबलोपघातोत्पन्न-त्त्वात् । 18

३. समासतः कथिता ऋस्य (ऋष्टम-) विज्ञानस्य विपरिग्णामाः— सास्रवबीजानि (दश) रूपायतनानि, धर्मायतनोद्भूतं सद्भूतं रूपञ्च।

कथिमदं विज्ञानं न चित्त-चैत्ताद्या(=विप्रयुक्तसंस्कृताभावा) ऽकारेण विपरिणम्यते आलम्बते च (तानि) शसास्रवं विज्ञानं समा-सतो द्विधा विपरिणम्यते—हेतुप्रत्ययवशात् एको विपरिणामः; द्वितीयो विकल्पवशात् । प्रथमे विपरिणामे हि भवति कारित्रं, अन्त्ये केवलं (प्रज्ञप्ति-) विषयः । विपाकविज्ञानं तु हेतुप्रत्ययवशादेव विपरिणम्यते । (अथ) रूपादीनां भवति सद्भूतं कारित्रम् 24 । चित्ताद्याकारेण विपरिणम्यते । एमने तद् न सद्भूतकारित्रं निमित्तभागानां चित्तादीनां अनालम्बनत्त्वात्।

नतु (श्रवश्यं) तेषां सद्भूतं कारित्रम् ? तस्मात् (=विज्ञानात्) निहं जायंते विपरिणाम्यंते; (तस्मात्) श्रसंस्कृतादयोऽसद्भूत-कारित्राः । श्रतो विपाकविज्ञाने न गृहीताः चित्तादयः । यावद् श्रनास्रवभूमौ (तावद्) श्रनुत्तर-प्रज्ञया संप्रयुक्तम् । निर्विकल्पकमि सद्भूत-कारित्रत्त्वे तु न प्रादुर्भावयित निमित्तं; श्रन्यथा बुद्धा न स्युः सर्वज्ञाः ।

तस्मात् कामरूपधात्वोः सास्रव-भूमिकस्यास्य विपाकविज्ञानं भाजनकायः, श्रनास्रवबीजं (इति) त्रीएयेव भवन्ति श्रालम्बनानि। श्रारूप्यधातौ श्रालम्बते सास्रवं बीजं, रूपतो विरागात् न (श्रपेत्तते) कर्मफलं रूपं; समाधिकृते रूपे न हेतुविरोधः।

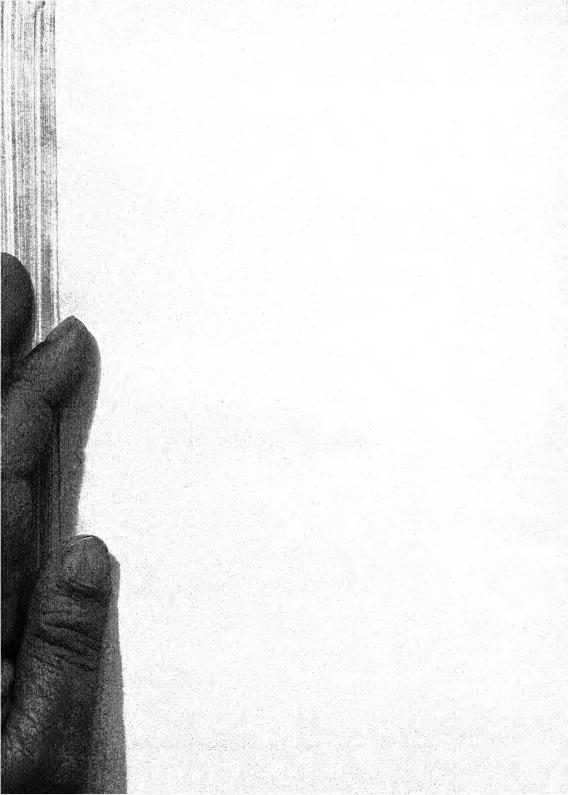
तद् विज्ञानं इदं रूपं त्रालम्बनभावेन उपगृह्वाति इति न विज्ञेयम्। त्रस्यस्य क्रियाकारोऽतिसूत्तमः, तस्माद् त्रसंविदितम्। त्रथवास्याऽऽभ्यन्त-रस्याऽऽलम्बनस्य त्रातिसूत्तमत्त्वाद्, बाह्यस्याऽऽलम्बनस्य भाजनलोकस्य वा दुर्मेयत्त्वात् (इदं) श्रसंविदितं नाम । 5

कथं श्रस्ति विज्ञानं श्रालम्बनिवषयग्राहकं, यदि विज्ञानस्य क्रिया-कारं श्रमंविदितम् ? (स्थिवराणां-) निरोधसमापत्तौ कायं श्रहित्त्वा विज्ञानं तिष्ठती(ति) मतिमवः श्रभ्युपगम्यते तु (भवता) निरोधसमापितः सचित्तका सत्त्वपरिगृहीतत्त्वात् । एवमेव श्रसंज्ञ्यादिभूमिकाले चित्तं भवति (इति) विज्ञेयम् । 8

(इति) विज्ञसिमात्रतासिद्धिशास्त्रे द्वितीयः खंडः ॥२॥

(अथ) धर्मपालादिबोधिसत्वै:कृते,
श्रिधगत(राजा)ऽऽज्ञेन त्रिपिटकधर्माचार्येण युन्-च्वेङा (च) श्रन्दिते
विज्ञितिमात्रतासिद्धि-शास्त्रे

तृतीयः खंडः



४. संमयुक्ताः ।

त्रालयविज्ञानस्य पंच भेदाः।

कतिभिः चैत्तैः इदं विज्ञानं त्र्यस्ति संप्रयुक्तम् ?— ''सदा स्पर्श-मनस्कार-वित्-संज्ञा-चेतनान्वितम् ।''

त्रालयविज्ञानं त्रानादिकालतः यावदाश्रयपरावृत्ति सर्वासु भूमिषु सर्वदा एतैः पंचिभः चैत्तैः संप्रयुक्तं भवति । सर्वत्र चित्ते विद्यमानत्त्वात् सर्वगं (इति) 15

(१) स्पर्शः

स्पर्शोद्यस्ति त्रयाणां (=इन्द्रिय-विषय-विज्ञानानां)सिन्नपातः, विकार-परिच्छेदः, (सच) चित्त-चैत्तानां त्रालम्बनेन सह संगमयिता, वेदना-संज्ञा-चेतनादिस्वभावः कर्माश्रयः । त्र्र्थात्—इन्द्रियं, विषयः, विज्ञानं (चेति त्रयाणां) त्र्रन्योऽन्यानुगतत्त्वात् त्रिकसन्निपातो नाम । त्रमुसरित च तेषां योगं, तस्मात् स्पर्शः त्रिकसन्निपातो नाम । 19

विकारः ।—(स्पर्शा)ऽवस्थानंतरं भवति त्रयाणां चित्त-चैत्त-जननसामर्थ्यं, तद्धि (सामर्थ्यं) विकार उच्यते । 19

विकार-परिच्छेदः ।—१. स्पर्शः तेन विकारेण सदृशः, तस्मात् परिच्छेद उच्यते । इन्द्रियविकारवशाद् आन्तिप्तः स्पर्शस्य उत्पादः (स) प्रधानः तद्विज्ञाना-लम्बने । तस्माद्धि (अभिधर्म-)समुचय-शास्त्रादौ उक्तं— ''इन्द्रिय-विकार-परिच्छेदाः, चित्त-चैत्तान् संनिपातियतुं स्पृशन्ति आल-म्बनं; (स हि) स्पर्शस्वभावः ।" 22

२. चैत्तानां जननसामर्थ्येऽनुकूलत्त्वात् (स्पर्शो) वेदनादीन् (=मनस्कार-वेदना-संज्ञा-चेतनाः) कर्मणां संनिश्रयतया उपयुंक्ते। संवर्त-विवर्त-सूत्र उक्तं—'वेदना-संज्ञा-संस्कार-स्कन्धा हि स्पर्शं उपयुंजते

प्रत्ययतया।" तस्माद् हि उक्तं (सूत्रे)—विज्ञानं स्पर्श-वेदनादीनां दिचतुर्शां हेतूनां योगेन जायते। 26

३. योग(-शास्त्रे)ऽपि उक्तं—''(स्पर्शः) भवति वेदना-संज्ञा-चेतनानां आश्रयः ।"— चेतनाया हि संस्कार-स्कन्धे प्रधानस्वामित्त्वात्; एतस्मिन् (चेतना-)शब्देऽन्ये (ऽपि संस्कारस्कंधीयाः चैत्ताः) परि-गृहीताः । 1

४. (ग्रमिधर्म-)समुचय-शास्त्र (Nanjio's, 1199) उक्तं-

"वेदनाश्रयः स्पर्शः, वेदनोत्पादे अनुत्तरत्त्वात् । स्पर्श (शब्देन) गृद्धते मनोज्ञादिनिमित्तं; वेदनया गृह्यते सातादि-निमित्तं; (स्पर्शो) उन्तरतमोऽन्याभ्यां, (वेदनाया) उत्पादे(ऽस्य) प्राधान्यात्।" 4

५. स्पर्श-स्वभावस्तु असङ्गृतः परिकल्पितः, षड्विधानां धर्माणां चैत्तस्वभावत्त्वात्, भोगे परिगृहीतत्त्वाद्, प्रत्ययत्त्वात् (प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादे) वेदनादिवत् । 5

(२) मनस्कारः।

मनस्कारः खभावेन न त्रिकसन्निपाताद्भिन्नो, अस्त्याभोगचित्त-खभावः, आलम्बने चित्तावर्जनं (अस्य) कर्म। स एवं उत्पादार्थे चित्तबीजं प्रेरयति, आवर्जयति (च) आलम्बनीकर्तुं, तस्माद् उच्यते मनस्कार (इति)। 7

यदि च अयमि आवर्जकः चैत्तानां उत्पादे, (अथापि) चित्तं अधिपितः, तस्माद् एव उक्तं चित्तावर्जकं (इति)। एके (=संघमद्रः) वदन्ति—मनस्कारोऽन्यस्यालम्बनस्य संगमे प्रवर्तकः, एकस्मिन् वाऽऽलम्बने चित्तस्थितिकारकः तस्मात् मनस्कारो नाम। तदुभयं असमंजसं, असर्वगत्वात् समाधिनिविशेषत्त्वात् (च)। 11

(३), वेदना।

वेदनाऽस्त्यनुभव त्रालम्बनस्य, साताऽसातानुभय-लच्चणा। स्वभावतोऽस्याः कर्म रागोत्पादनं—संप्रयोग-विप्रयोगानुभयरागोत्पा-दनं हि 12

केचित् (=संघमद्र) एवं मन्वते—वेदना द्विधा, एका विषय-वेदना=त्रालम्बनानुभवो वा; द्वितीया स्वमाववेदना=सद्यः स्पर्शानुभवो वा । स्वभाववेदनैवास्ति वेदना, स्वलज्ञणस्वातः; विषयवेदना न, परलज्ञण-समस्वात्।

तन्मतं न न्याय्यं—(१) वेदनया हि सहजस्पर्शानामनुप-लम्भात्।(२) समानस्पर्शजा वेदनोच्यते चेद्, स्पर्शः निष्यन्दफलैरिव वेदनास्वभावः स्यात्।(३) पुनश्च, हेतोर्वेदना हि हेतुवेदना नाम, (सा) कथं स्वभाववेदना उच्यते १ (४) चेदुच्येत—राजा यथा स्वराष्ट्रप्रदेशं सर्व भुक्तं (तथा) वेदना-स्वभावेन भुंजीत स्पर्शजा (ऽपि), (तस्मात्) स्वभाववेदना नाम। अयमपि अहेतुः, स्वभतविरोधाद् अस्वीकारात् (च)।(५) चेत्, अपरित्यक्तस्वभावतया स्वभाववेदना नाम, सर्वे धर्माः स्युः स्वभाव-वेदनाः, तस्मात्तन्मतं वालोपलापन-मात्रम्। 21

वस्तुतस्तु, विषयवेदना अनन्यसाधारणलचणा, वेदयते सातादि-लच्चणं; अनन्यसाधारणत्त्वात् अस्ति विषयभावना स्वलच्चणा नाम । 22

(४). संजा।

संज्ञा त्रास्ति विषय(=त्र्यालम्बन)-निमित्तोद्श्रहणस्वभावा, नाना-ऽभिधान-प्रज्ञप्ति-कर्मिका । विषयानुलत्त्रणस्य व्यवश्थितत्त्वेऽनुजायेरन् नानाऽभिधानप्रज्ञप्तयः। 24

(५). चेतना।

चेतनाऽस्ति चित्ताऽभिसंस्कारस्वभावं कर्म, (श्रस्याः) कुशलाद्िषु चित्तकर्मसु नियोजनम् । इयं स्वचित्तं कुशलादिषु कर्मसु नियुज्य विषयं स्वहेत्वाद्याकारेण उपादत्ते । 26

इमे (=स्पर्शाद्यः) हि पंच सर्वगाः, तत्परिगृहीतत्त्वात् । 27

२, ग्रालयविज्ञान-वेदना।

क. त्रालयविज्ञानं किल संप्रयुक्तं, तत्सर्वेगलच्यां (इति) परस्तात् सविस्तरं व्याख्यास्यते ।

इमे स्पर्शाद्यः पंच भवन्ति विपाकविज्ञानं संस्कारतत्त्त्यम् । भिन्ना त्र्रापि काले तु तुल्यालम्बनाश्रयाः तुल्यद्रव्याः, तस्मात् संप्रयुक्ता नाम । इदं विज्ञानं संस्कार(=िक्रया)लत्त्तर्णं त्र्रपटुतमं त्र्रानुकृलप्रति-कूलाकारेणापरिच्छेद्यम् । पंच(पिच्चया) सूद्ममेकजातीयं त्र्रानुसंततं प्रवृत्तं, तस्मात् उपेच्चावेदनासंप्रयुक्तमेव भवति । 2 त्, पुनश्चैतत्संप्रयुक्ता वेदना केवलं विपाकः, प्रागान्तेपककर्मणा प्रत्युपिश्यतं प्रत्ययमनपेन्त्यानुप्रवर्तते; कुरालाऽकुराल(कर्म)-बलानुप्रवृत्त-न्वात्, केवलं श्रस्ति उपेन्नावेदना । दुःखा सुखा (इति) उभे वेदने स्तो विपाकजे, न तु विपाकः, प्रत्युपिश्यितप्रत्ययापेन्नत्त्वात् नैतत्संप्रयुक्ते । 5

ग् पुनश्च, नित्त्यं विपरिशामनात् एतस्मिन् त्रालयविज्ञाने खा-न्तरात्मतया सत्त्वानां शाश्वतदृष्टिभेवति । सुख-दुःखोभयवेदना-संप्रयुक्तं चेद्थ न स्यात् नित्त्यं विपरिशामनंः, कथं गृह्येतात्मतया ? तस्माद्यं उपेज्ञावेदना एव संप्रयुक्ता भवति । इत्थं चेद् इदं विज्ञानं त्र्यपि न भवति दुष्कमीविपाकः

घ. यस्मात् (भवन्-)मते—कुशलं कर्म उपेत्तावेदनाया उत्पादकं; इदमपि सुख-दुःखजात्यविरोधात् कुशलाकुशलोभयावर्जकेः अव्याकृतैः धर्मैरिव कथं (न) स्याद् उपेत्तावेदना १ 10

३. ग्रन्ये चैता:।

क, इदं (श्रालय-)विज्ञानं न विनियतविषयादि (पंच) चित्त-संप्रयुक्तं, श्रन्योन्यविरोधात् । (१) इन्दोऽभिप्रेते वस्तुन्यभिलाषः; इदं विज्ञानं तु स्वरसेन प्रवर्ततेऽनिभलाष(-भूतञ्च)। (२) श्रिधमोन्नोऽवधारणं सुविनिश्चितस्य वस्तुनः, इदं विज्ञानं (तु) श्रानवधारणमपदु। (३) स्मृतिः संस्तुतस्य वस्तुनोऽभिस्मरणं, इदं विज्ञानं वर्ततेऽपदु दुर्वलं श्रविस्पष्टमन-तुस्मरणम् । (४) समाधिः चित्तस्य एकस्मिन्नर्थे श्रासंजनं (=एकाप्रता); इदं विज्ञानं (तु) स्वरसेन प्रतिच्चणं श्रन्यविषयम् । (५) प्रज्ञा केवलं वस्तुगुणादिप्रविचये प्रवर्तते; इदं विज्ञानं (तु) सूद्मं श्रविस्पष्टं श्रप्रविचायकम् । 16

ख, तस्माद् इदं (=आलयविज्ञानं) नास्ति पृथगालम्बनसं-प्रयुक्तम् । केवलं विपाकस्वभावत्त्वात्, इदं विज्ञानं कुशलाकुशलादि-(चैत्त)ासंप्रयुक्तम् ।

ग. कौकुत्त्यादयश्चत्त्वारोऽञ्याकृतस्वभावाः विच्छिन्नाः, तस्मात् न विपाकाः । 19

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